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Moves by Botha Telegraph Pullback From Compromise

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 16—An undisclosed decision by the South African government to break off its dialogue on reforms with the western powers and face up to sanctions turned a rare special convention of the ruling National Party this week into a superfluous exercise, according to political analysts here.

When President Pieter W. Botha announced the special convention last January amid a blaze of publicity emphasizing his commitment to reform, it was billed as a watershed event at which delegates would endorse constitutional amendments giving the black majority a role in central government.

But when the 1,700 party delegates assembled in the Indian Ocean city of Durban Tuesday

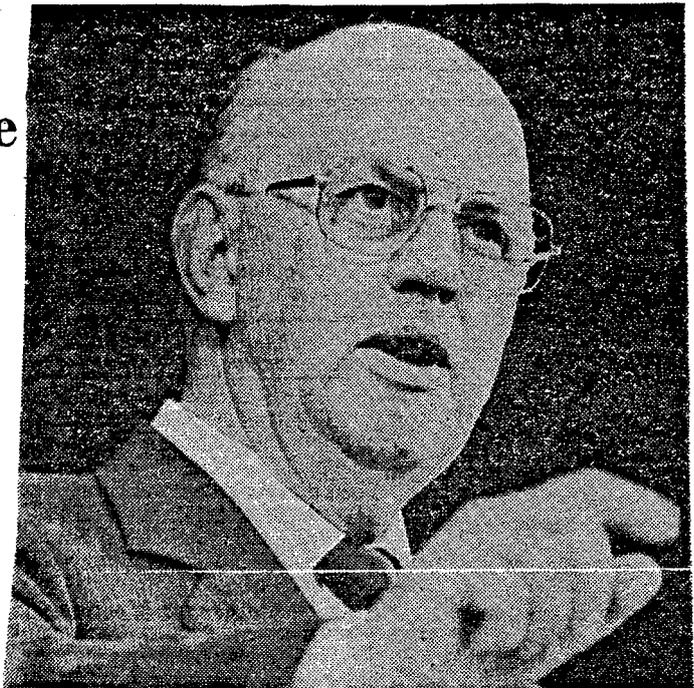
night, there were no amendments for them to consider. Botha instead used the convention as a platform for defiance of sanctions and for drawing more clearly the line beyond which his reform program is not to go.

Even so, as the delegates filed out of the convention hall Wednesday into the balmy subtropical night, after 12 hours of heavy rhetoric, they were wondering aloud why it had been necessary to summon a convention to do that.

What happened, according to some informed political analysts, is that between the announcement and the holding of the convention, the government decided on a change of strategy that nullified the convention's original purpose.

They say the government decided to abandon efforts that had been

See SOUTH AFRICA, A28, Col. 1



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

President Botha makes point in Durban that "we're not a nation of jollyfish."

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

aimed at assuaging western critics and persuading them, in Botha's phrase, that Pretoria acknowledged apartheid to be "outdated" and was committed to moving away from it.

The new priorities were to take a public stand against what was perceived as foreign interference and make a determined effort to crush continuing resistance in black townships.

"The whole political climate and context has changed," said Andre du Toit, professor of political philosophy at the Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch, which is considered close to government thinking.

"There has been some backtracking on quite a few reform issues and a clear decision to back out of the whole framework of discussion with the Americans and other westerners that the government was engaged in at the beginning of the year," du Toit said.

He pinpointed the moment of decision as mid-May, when the government was engaged in discussions with a special Eminent Persons Group appointed by the Commonwealth to assess whether South Africa's claims to be dismantling apartheid were meaningful. The 49-nation alliance was seeking guidance on whether or not to impose sanctions.

Du Toit said those discussions convinced the Botha administration that it could never end the pressure through dialogue and concession. Each policy concession would be followed by a new demand, again backed by the threat of sanctions.

"I think the Eminent Persons Group brought home to them that although they could play it out, there was no end to the process," du Toit said. "They felt they were being pressured into negotiating themselves out of power, so they decided to call a halt and face the threat of sanctions now."



Party Session Became Platform for Defiance

There was a sudden growth of the Afrikaner far-rightist organizations at that time, and on May 22, as the Commonwealth group arrived in Cape Town for another round of talks, the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement rattled the government by breaking up a National Party rally in the northern city of Pietersburg.

Du Toit said this gave impetus to the decision. The far-rightist parties were accusing the government of

being too compliant in its relations with foreign countries, and a major opinion poll published at the time showed that a growing number of the Dutch-descended Afrikaners, who are the backbone of the government's support, shared this view.

Another far-rightist charge, which seemed to unnerve Botha, was that the government was failing to end the persistent violence in black areas because it was hesitant to get really tough with the blacks for fear of upsetting the Americans and other outsiders.

Another leading Afrikaner political scientist, Hermann Giliomee, said key decisions were taken in Mid-May not to release the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, nor to lift the ban outlawing the ANC, as the West was demanding.

Such decisions taken in the inner councils of South Africa's secretive government are seldom disclosed, but Giliomee said he has been told that the decision was made by Botha, who felt that releasing Mandela—who has acquired a messianic image in the black community during his 24 years of incarceration—would be too risky.

Once that was decided, other decisions flowed from it, Giliomee said, because Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC had become the focal point of Western pressure.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former opposition leader in the white-dominated Parliament who has been trying to garner support for the idea of negotiating with the ANC, said a significant segment of Botha's Cabinet had come around to his view by mid-May, but then the president ruled it out.

He suggested Botha was swayed by the security chiefs, Defense Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Events bear this out. After an initial visit to South Africa last February, the Commonwealth group drafted a plan aimed at opening the way for the first direct negotiations between Pretoria and the ANC.

The plan, which the State Department had indicated offered hope of a breakthrough, involved Pretoria agreeing to release Mandela and legalize the ANC, in return for its declaring a truce in its guerrilla struggle to overthrow apartheid and agreeing to negotiate.

Early in May, Foreign Minister R. F. (Pik) Botha, who is thought to be one of those who favors Man-

dela's release, sent a special envoy, Carl von Hirschberg, to London, reportedly to tell the Commonwealth group that South Africa was not opposed in principle to freeing the black nationalist leader and legalizing the ANC but wanted assurances of western backing if it had to act against resulting violence.

Apparently encouraged, the group returned to South Africa to meet Pik Botha on May 13. As some recounted afterward, he arrived late, apparently delayed by a long Cabinet meeting that presumably was making its decision on Mandela. He seemed distressed and accused the group of causing difficulties for South Africa.

President Botha did not see the Commonwealth members. Instead they were advised to attend a speech, in which the president slammed the "unsolicited interference" of "meddling groups visiting the country."

Four days later, after a brief visit to the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, and just 30 minutes before they were due to meet with key members of Botha's Cabinet in Cape Town, the group was told that South Africa had just launched a series of commando raids on ANC facilities in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The mission in ruins, the group returned to London that night and prepared a negative report that led to the Commonwealth accepting a sanctions package and helped influence yesterday's 84-14 vote in favor of expanded sanctions in the U.S. Senate.

Soon afterward, the government's information bureau issued a heavily publicized booklet labeling the ANC and Mandela as communists and making it clear that there was no chance of Pretoria agreeing to negotiate with them.

Two weeks later, President Botha declared a general state of emergency and his security forces began rounding up an estimated 10,000 political detainees.

Declaring that South Africa was prepared to "go it alone," the president said: "South Africans will not allow themselves to be humiliated in order to prevent sanctions. If we have to be dependent on our own Creator and our own ability alone, then I say let it be."

There remained one more event to underscore the South African decision. Although the writing was on the wall, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in a bid to deflect pressure for sanctions from her Commonwealth and European Community partners, sent Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe to South Africa for a final attempt at persuasion.

The mild-mannered Howe was given a public brushoff. Botha called a press conference to accuse Howe of trying to strong-arm South Africa into releasing Mandela unconditionally and unban the ANC.

Then came this week's special convention of the National Party. "Those who want to force us into negotiation with radical elements, by demanding unacceptable concessions through blackmail and a manipulated world opinion, should not underestimate us . . . I'm not a jellyfish, we're not a nation of jellyfish," Botha declared.

Johannesburg

WEEKLY MAIL, July 18 to July 24, 1986 3

CIA chief visited SA to plan Unita arms — diplomat

By ARTHUR GAVSHON
in London

often accompanied assistant secretary of state, Chester B Crocker, on his missions to Angola, South African and frontline states.

A partial account of Frasure's evidence to the Select Committee was made available by informants who said they had heard him. They said his overall portrayal of US policy left some members of the committee with the impression that Washington rates co-operation with South Africa as being more important strategically than its stated aim of dismantling the apartheid system.



CIA chief William Casey

AN AMERICAN diplomat told a closed session of Britain's Foreign Affairs Committee that US arms have been reaching the rebel Unita movement in Angola covertly through South Africa.

And British political informants say the director of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), William Casey, visited South Africa secretly around mid-March to make the necessary arrangements.

British political informants who disclosed this also reported the parliamentary group was advised by US officials that the Reagan administration is determined to resist congressional pressure for extensive new sanctions against South Africa.

The diplomat, identified as Robert C Frasure, appeared before the committee in the House of Commons last week. The committee, which has been studying Britain's involvement in the South African crisis, is due to report shortly before Commonwealth leaders in London on the issue of imposing sanctions against the apartheid state.

Frasure handles African affairs at the US embassy in London and has

Frasure, when asked by this correspondent, declined to discuss the routing of US weapons to the Unita forces. But if the information attributed to him — that US arms are being delivered by way of South Africa — is correct, the political significance at this time would be extremely high.

It would imply a degree of collusion between Washington and Pretoria which President Reagan has long been concerned to disavow. And that implication of collusion would be interpreted by most African leaders as proof and a symbol of American co-operation with the government of President FW Botha.

The only other route for the delivery of US arms to Unita is through Zaire and in the past this route has been used. However, on May 9, Zaire's ambassador to Britain, Mukamba Kadiata Nzembe, went to unusual lengths formally to deny reports that new American arms are being funnelled to Unita through his country.

Early this year, the Reagan administration decided to send Savimbi a supply of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles — a shoulder-fired weapon that can penetrate the Soviet MI-24 Hind helicopters operating in Angola.

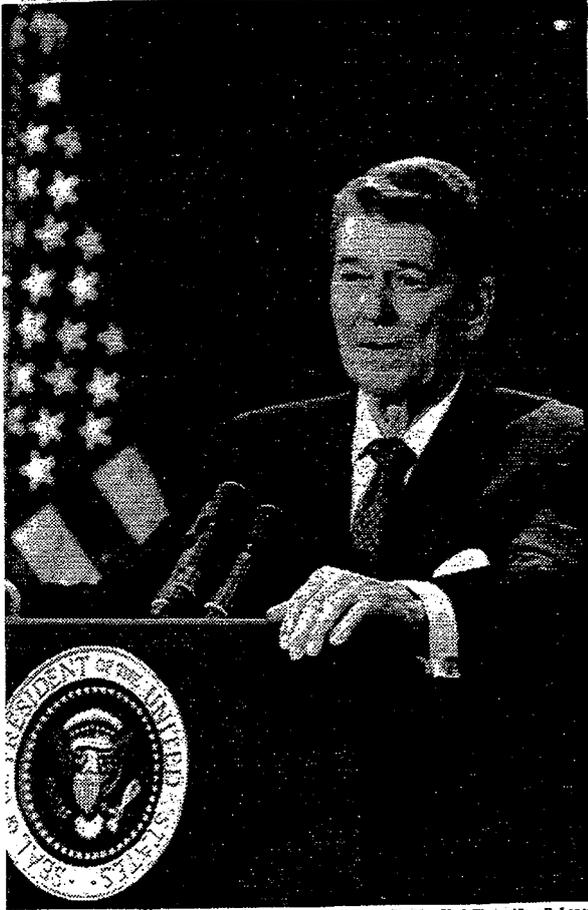
This can present a major departure of policy because Stingers are among America's top-drawer weapons; past American arms shipments to friendly governments have usually been foreign-manufactured cast-offs.

In preparation for a new phase of backing for Savimbi, diplomats in London reported, it became necessary for the administration to co-ordinate certain lines of action with the South Africans. Since aid for Unita remains clandestine, it is administered by the CIA.

The informants said CIA director Casey visited South Africa to make the coordinating arrangements in mid-March. Few hard details have emerged about the Casey mission among other reasons because CIA officials never comment upon their movements of the director.

It would be surprising to diplomats here, though, if Casey did not use the occasion of his visit to emphasize the administration's wish to insulate itself from any semblance or suggestion of co-operation with South Africa at a time when apartheid policies are under worldwide scrutiny.

President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Issues



The New York Times / Jose R. Lopez

President Reagan answering questions at news conference in Chicago.

African Policy

Q. Mr. President, your recent speech on South Africa met with what I think is an account called a bipartisan chorus of boos on Capitol Hill. It neither silenced your critics nor satisfied members of your own party who are pressing for a more forceful U.S. approach to that problem. At this point are you willing to ignore those calls for firmer U.S. action and possibly let Congress seize the initiative in setting policy toward South Africa?

A. Well, I don't think that it's a case of whether it's firm action or not. I think the simple case is that punitive sanctions that would affect the economy there would not only be disruptive to surrounding states that are virtually linked to South Africa's economy, but would also be very punitive to the people that we want to help.

and whether the members of the Congress were ready to accept what I said in that speech, I can tell you that in communication with some of the most prominent of the black leaders, individuals who are leaders of groups of several million — 4.5 million in one religious group — and are all solidly opposed to the sanctions. And the group that is in support of them in South Africa is a group that very definitely has been the most radical and wants the disruption that would come from massive unemployment and hunger and desperation of the people, because it is their belief that they could then rise out of all of that disruption and seize control.

And this has been transmitted to me personally by some of these other leaders like Buthelezi of the largest tribal group in all of South Africa, the Zulus. And there are others. There are religious leaders, another one, another bishop you never hear of him, I don't know whether I pronounce his name right, but it's, I think, Moreno or Monorem. I'm going to have to find out how they, what sounds they attach to some of their combinations of letters. But he's the leader of some 4.5 million Christians there and all of them are deadly, deathly opposed to sanctions.

So I just think that up on the Hill there, well-intentioned though they may be, they're asking for something that would not be helpful. On the other hand, I think there are evidences that maybe ourselves and some of our allies could be invited to meet with their Government representatives and see if we couldn't bring about some coming together of these responsible leaders of the black community.

Q. I'd like to follow up, sir. If you're unwilling at this point to define what a reasonable timetable is for the abolition of apartheid, does the situation in effect reach a point at some stage where the United States is pushed to go beyond friendly persuasion to prod the South Africans for change?

A. Well, I think that's something that you face if and when that time comes. Yes, we're impatient and, yes, we feel as strongly about apartheid as anyone does, and it should be done away with. On the other hand, President Botha himself has said the same thing, and that his goal is to eliminate apartheid.

Now we'll go over to that side.

Tutu and Sanctions

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to go back to your first answer on South Africa. You said that the only blacks who oppose, who want sanctions are the radical blacks, the ones who want upheaval. One of the blacks who very much is in favor of sanctions and is very critical of your policy is Desmond Tutu, who was a bishop of the church and the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Are you saying that he's one of those radical blacks who wants upheaval?

A. No, but I don't think he's right in what he's advocating now. But Christ, I guess that was careless of me. I was talking in terms of the various groupings, political alliances and so forth of the people in the black community there. Of course there are individuals that, there may be all over individuals that think that's the thing to do that there's no other answer now except just punish, never mind trying to find a solution to the problem. And I agree, that was careless of me. No, I was not linking him in with the particular group that I had in mind.

South Africa Summit

Q. You also, if I might follow up, sir, you also, in your first answer, talk about a possible meeting of Western governments invited to talk to the South African Government and the blacks. Could you tell us a little more about where that stands? And also, where does it stand now — the question of your appointing an ambassador to South Africa? And all the possibility of a special envoy?

A. Well, we have made no decision yet on the ambassador, nor have we made up our minds whether we want to send an envoy or not.

But at the risk of violating something I said or thought that I wouldn't do, I am going to say one thing about Mr. Botha's speech today.

Now, I'm not going to comment generally or take questions on that because I haven't heard it and I'm not going to comment till I hear the whole thing. But I did, thanks to the media, hear at least one line of his.

And this line — I think that he himself was — he spoke of the idea of having the leaders of West Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States to some meetings. Well, this is what we ourselves have been talking about and among ourselves these same leaders — is if we could be of help.

President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Issues

This is a sovereign nation. You can't go in and dictate to them and tell them how they must run their country. But if we could be of help in bringing together various groupings here to discuss and with the government as to how something could be planned to bring along an end to apartheid earlier, this we would be pleased to do.

Well now the only — as I say, I can't comment because I haven't heard or read — and I will get his transcript and read the speech — but he did — and that was quoted on the air — he did say that he was thinking of such a meeting.

Q. Would you go to that kind of summit, sir?

A. What?

Q. Would you go to that kind of a summit meeting?

A. I don't know whether it would require us, or whether it could be done with foreign ministers or not. That — we'd have to see the details.

I have to go over this side. If you've noticed, I'm going from Washington to Chicago.

Andrea.

African Nationalists

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. When you spoke earlier of that one group at you said wants disorder and is a bad, just to clear up the point, you seem to be referring to the African National Congress, the very group at Secretary of State Shultz says could be negotiated with that the commonwealth nations feel should be part of the solution. Now are you saying that they should not be among the groups that ought to be included in some sort of dialogue even though they seem to be very representative of a large number of people in South Africa?

A. Andrea, the African National Congress started out some years ago and there was no question about its being a solid organization. But in 1921 in South Africa the Communist Party formed, and some years later the Communist Party of South Africa joined with, and just moved into, the African National Congress. And it is that element — I don't say the entire N.C., no — we've, and George Shultz has talked with them, we know that there are still sound people.

We've had enough experience in our own country with so-called Communist fronts to know that you can have an organization with some well-meaning and fine people, but you have an element in there that has its own agenda, and this is what's happened with the A.N.C. And right now, the A.N.C. in exile, the ones we're hearing from and that are making the statements, are the members of that African Communist Party. So, no, if you could do business with, and separate out and get the solid citizens in the A.N.C. to come forward on their own, that's just fine.

Sanctions Elsewhere

Q. Let me ask you to explain also the logic of what you said tonight about sanctions. The front line states, the neighboring states, have said that they — even though hurt by sanctions — would welcome it if it came from Western countries. Yet President Botha has imposed sanctions upon them. You have not criticized him for that — you personally. And at the same time this country has imposed sanctions on Nicaragua and Poland. Are you saying that what those regimes do to their people is worse than what the South African regime has done to the residents of that country?

A. No, with regard to Poland, if you had checked the sanctions that we finally felt had to be applied there — we applied sanctions that we were sure — and we sought Polish advice on this — that would not harm the citizens of Poland — that there would be restrictions on the government, that was at that time denying Lech Walesa and

the union, and so forth, the Solidarity movement — its rights.

And with regard to Nicaragua, there is no comparison between South Africa and Nicaragua. In South Africa you're talking about a country, yes, we disagree, and find repugnant some of the practices of their government, but they're not seeking to impose their government on other surrounding countries.

Nicaragua is a totalitarian, communist state. It is a sort of a vassal of the Soviet Union. And it has made plain in utterance after utterance, ever since the Somoza revolution, that their revolution is not going to be confined to their borders — that they intend to spread that revolution throughout Latin America. So what we're talking about is helping the people of Nicaragua. Just recently the last newspaper, La Prensa, was silenced. Two religious leaders were ejected from the country for criticizing some facets of the government, and we simply feel that the revolution

against Somoza, which declared in writing to the Organization of American States what their goals were — a pluralistic society, a democracy, free speech, freedom of the press, free labor unions and all of this they pledged was what they were trying to achieve. Then one element in the revolution threw out the others that had fought beside them and who are now — largely make up the contrast, took over, seized power at the point of a gun, and we simply believe that the people of Nicaragua have got a right to try for their original goals.

Comparison Issue

Q. Yes, Mr. President, the comparison you discussed before between Nicaragua and South Africa seems to agitate many of your critics who note the eloquence with which you address the issue of freedom fighting in Nicaragua but seem to lose that eloquence in South Africa. Do you honestly believe that the South African Government treats its black majority worse than the Sandinista regime, Marxist though it may be, treats Nicaraguan citizens inside Nicaragua, keeping in mind the number of black South Africans who have died over the past year alone, the amount of cross-border incursions the South African Government has conducted against the neighboring states, etc. et al?

A. I think that I have condemned publicly all of those things that you're talking about. On the other hand, I also realize the complexity of the South Africa problem, because much of that death that you spoke of is being inflicted by blacks on blacks because of their own tribal separations.

And all of this must be taken in account into finding a system of government. But also I'm quoting now one of those black leaders who wrote a most statesmanlike and eloquent letter to me just recently. And he pointed out that while, yes, they were impatient and, yes, they hoped that we could make progress faster, he pointed out he was — he did not disapprove of Botha. He pointed out what he has accomplished and the things that he has done.

And he also made a point about what would happen if those in our country who want us to have all American companies that are over there doing business withdraw. As he pointed out that those companies — some 200 of them — following the Sullivan principles in which there is the kind of treatment that we would recognize as being decent in this country with regard to their employees and outside the actual employment the things they've tried to do to improve life for the families on the outside, that this would all be lost to some people had their way with sanctions and so forth and with forcing us to withdraw.

But then he also pointed out that be

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cause of the Sullivan principles that were used by these American companies, a great many South African companies had taken the cue from that and adopted on their own principles that were similar to that, having to do with promotion, having to do with hiring, having to do with ignoring racial difference with regard to promotion to supervisory positions and all.

Now this is all going on. Well, not being like that is going on in Nicaragua. Not when a priest stands up and speaks to his congregation and because he says some things that, well, for example, protesting the fact that the government has shut down on the church's newspaper and shut down the church's radio station, seize their printing presses so that the can't even have church bulletins anymore — and then he's thrown out of the country for having said that.

That's a little different than what was going on South Africa.

Finding an Envoy

Q. Just to follow up, sir, twice now black candidates to become your new Ambassador to South Africa seem to have one reason or another to have fallen by the wayside. Is it — are you having difficulty in finding a black ambassador to South Africa, because you can find no qualified black who agrees with your policy there?

A. No, it has nothing to do with that and the one that fell to the wayside let me tell you, I regret that more than anything. I have the greatest respect and admiration for that man and what happened was some possible connection with illegal action involving some institutions — he is in the public relations field at this moment — and he, for one thing, very probably would not have, be able to leave and have the time to go there as that comes to head.

Minister accuses NECC of plotting revolt

By PAT SIDLEY

THE Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has accused the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) of being involved in a plot to overthrow the state and replace it with a structure called "people's power".

In papers this week before the Rand Supreme Court, he claimed the NECC wants to replace the current education system with one called "the people's education system", an instrument to mobilise black communities to overthrow the government and replace it with a black regime.

Viljoen also charged the NECC is carrying out the aims and policy of the African National Congress.

These allegations were made in an affidavit submitted in response to an NECC court application to overturn Emergency regulations relating to black schoolchildren.

Replying to the charges in the affidavit, Rev Molefe Tsele of the NECC has emphatically denied the organisation is doing anything unlawful or that it intends to act unlawfully. The organisation is concerned with the quality of black education, which it finds "woefully inadequate and inferior", he said, and would like the present system of education changed to a unitary, nonracial democratic education system.

Judgement in the case was reserved yesterday.

The outcome of the case is likely to have broad ramifications for 2-million schoolchildren, many of whom are engaged in boycotts involving the same issues as those before the court.

These include the compulsory registration of black students contained in a proclamation gazetted just before schools were due to reopen on July 13.

The NECC has asked the court for an order which would declare invalid the proclamation or the rules that provide for:

- Compulsory registration of black pupils;
- The right of the Director General

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of Education and Training or any officer he delegates to refuse registration

● A procedure whereby any class or standard a student is placed in can be changed, with any student not accepting the change "deemed to have left the school voluntarily".

The NECC is arguing that while the Education and Training Act deals only with black schoolchildren, the Emergency regulations derive from the Public Safety Act, which does not differentiate in the same way. It is not

lawful, the NECC is saying, for regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act to become discriminatory

Tsele's argument to the court is that the regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act apply only to black children and these children have been singled out by the State President for "inequitable, unequal and unjust treatment".

The basic argument of the state in the case is that Parliament provided for the State President to make different regulations for different areas and different classes of persons.

'People's schools' go on — despite troops

By SEFAKO NYAKA

CLASSES of "people's education" are still being taught in some schools in Soweto, despite the stringent security measures introduced more than a month ago.

When black schools reopened for the second semester more than three weeks ago, the Department of Education and Training (DET) ruled that "No person who is not a pupil at, or is not employed at, a school shall at any time enter upon or be on the premises or in the building of such a school."

This week a number of students, who asked not to be named, told me how "people's education" goes on right under the noses of the Security Forces.

A group of pupils move from school to school lecturing on "people's education." My informants had attended such lessons.

"As we approached the gate of one school, I saw eight heavily-armed Security Force members. We walked towards them. I was worried about what would happen if they demanded ID cards from us," one informant told me this week.

"The Security Force members looked at us without interest. They let us through without checking. I later learnt that none of the pupils at the school had been issued with an ID card.

"Some pupils were milling around on the verandah of the school."

This was in direct violation of the DET's stipulation that no registered pupil in any school shall on any school day whilst being on the school premises during the hours during which tuition is normally given be outside a classroom of such school unless it is during a prescribed break — or except for the purpose of visiting the dressing room or to change clothes.

"Again the Security Forces present seem to turn a blind eye to everything around them.

"We went into a classroom not far from the administrative block of the school."

After the singing of a "freedom song", and the chanting of a few slogans, the pupils took their seats and the lesson commenced.

This time the lesson was about the DET's Emergency regulations and

how "some sections of the white liberal press" were playing into the hands of the system by writing negative articles.

"Comrades, there are stories doing the rounds that some schools are used as shebeens and gambling dens," the "teacher" said.

"This is exactly what the DET wants and all those whose sole objective is to see to the destruction of black education.

"This will give those people the excuse they need to close down some schools as they have threatened to do," the teacher told the attentive pupils.

My informant said: "I looked through the window as staff members passed by as if unaware of what was going on in the classroom.

"The number of pupils standing outside had dwindled. There was no commotion or loud chanting. It appeared as if all the pupils had gone into their classes, or had gone back home."

He said the teacher continued: "Any normal person would have known that these measures would not work. But let us look at the motives of those who promulgated these highly provocative measures."

A hand shot up: "Comrades, I think the authorities knew quite well that those measures would worsen the situation. This is what they wanted to happen."

A young girl said she believed the DET's plan was to stop the teaching of "people's education".

"The DET realised that it has lost control over schools and that its programmes had crumbled.

"The authorities thought that by giving in to the students' demand for SRCs, which to me meant dual power sharing, we would abandon our demand for the scrapping of unequal education," she said to applause.

Surely somebody — either the teachers or the Security Forces — must have been aware something was going on in this classroom. According to my informant, the class continued undisturbed.

"The DET imposed the measures without consulting our parents or the SRCs. In fact they outlawed the only democratic voice of the students. If the SRCs cannot meet, then how are students expected to air their grievances?" the young girl said.

"Comrade, why are we at school when our leaders, both student worker and community leaders are in detention? Is it not a betrayal of the ideals that led to their arrest?"

The young girl added that some student leaders are in hiding and cannot benefit from "people's education".

"We are in touch with those who are unable to attend classes because of persecution. The fact that we are able to go on with Traseco (Transvaal Student Congress) is an indication that we are all leaders and can take over when executive members are either detained or in hiding," came the sharp retort.

Traseco leaders are either in detention or on the run. But the refusal of students in Soweto to heed the DET's regulations indicates the far from having thrown the student in disarray, the regulations have seen to the emergence of a new layer of student leadership, especially in Soweto.

"But what about those in detention? How do we know what their impressions of us are?" a student asked.

"The decision to prevent classes from being closed is a democratic one taken by the majority of the students."

And since we know that if schools are closed that will satisfy the authorities, we shouldn't allow them to have their way," said the teacher.

One pupil pointed out that it has always been the students' decision that whatever happens, the school buildings should be used to implement Traseco programmes.

"Those in detention were here when that decision was taken and they are bound by it."

The debate focused on why some pupils have registered and some not.

"It is a tactical decision because the government cannot close that particular school if the majority of students have registered."

That pupils made a bonfire of their cards soon after registering is an indication that even those who registered did so on "tactical grounds".

"The lesson ended, and after singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, we left the classroom and headed for the gate. I was not an official break but still the Security Forces did nothing to prevent us from leaving the school premises, my informant concluded.

Secret plan to bust the rent boycotts

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

THE state, business and community councils are collaborating in a grand plan to break the nationwide rent boycott which has already cost the state more than R250-million.

According to documents in the possession of Weekly Mail, leading the boycott-busting exercise are the Gesamentlike Bestuursentrums (Joint Management Centres, or JMCs), made up of representatives from business, community councils, ex-development boards, the South African Police and the SA Defence Force.

JMCs are regional organs directly accountable to the State Security Council. Their function is to assess the security situation in each region and recommend to the authorities appropriate "solutions", ranging from Security Force action to the upgrading of living conditions.

Over the past 18 months, the JMCs — which together comprise the National Security Management System — have become increasingly involved in township matters.

Documentary evidence of the involvement of the JMCs in the breaking of rent boycotts was discovered this week.

In a document entitled "Strategy for the collection of arrear rental and service charges", submitted to a meeting of the Lekoa Town Council on November 1, 1985, it is stated that "local collection action groups" made up of councillors, policemen and officials will be formed and mandated to use all available means to collect rentals in arrears.

The document instructs, however, that in resolving the boycott, "no acknowledgement through negotiations must be given to revolutionary groups or organisations".

"All actions," it continues, "are to be taken in mini-Gesamentlike Bestuursentrums (local constituents) and (in that) context ... within the ambit of (the) National Security Management System."

The document recommends a wide range of strategies to break the rent boycott, including:

- Legal action must be taken against defaulters. Because the large majority of the township population is not paying rent, it is necessary to identify initial targets, the document states. These include businessmen and households that are reasonably well-off and employed workers identified by employers. "Identified hostile residents must be identified as first priority for civil procedure steps, but it must not be done obviously."

- Employers must be contacted and requested to supply lists of workers' names. Ideally, employers should deduct rent by stop-order.

- Councillors, with "SAP support", must hold household discussions with groups of

●From PAGE 1

residents to motivate them to pay rent. Information from these discussions must then be sent to the (white) town clerks who will computerise it in order to compile "community profiles". This, the document notes, will help them ascertain the "healthy areas" — presumably areas where the rent boycott is weak.

- Action must be taken against councillors who do not "pay their arrears".

- The "hearts and minds" of the youth must be won, and they must be persuaded to convince their parents to pay rent. This should be done at "weekend camps" where, states the document, they must be given lectures on the future of "black constitutional reform", the functions and necessity of local authorities, why it is necessary to pay rent ("for the upliftment of socio-economic circumstances"), and that better educated people "earn a higher income".

- Police stations must be established in all black areas.

- The media must be used. This suggestion was apparently successful; the local newspapers agreed to run columns that deal with inter-racial reconciliation and Radio Sesotho

agreed to broadcast a series of talks on the need to pay rent.

- In a clear attempt to usurp the authority of the street and area committees that have been established by the UDF-affiliated civic associations, the re-establishment of "authority structures" was recommended by the document, in particular the enforcement of discipline "within the context of the family structure".

- The establishment was recommended of "law and order committees" in each ward that can "serve as a forum for dialogue between parents and rebellious youth".

- All councillors and officials must get involved in "climate creation" to prepare the community for rent increases. This should be done by educating the community about how their wages have risen. The new tariffs would then be justified in terms of rising costs of services provided by the local authorities.

Other parts of the document reveal how sensitive the state is to the rent issue. For example, the document recommends that all decisions on rent or related increases that affect the black community must be taken at cabinet level.

As at June last year, the now-defunct development boards suffered losses amounting to R144-million. In the Vaal townships alone, authorities have lost about R20-million in uncollected rents. In Soweto the figure stands at R9-million.

Community councils have been forced to dig deeply into their reserves. The resulting bankruptcy and sustained nationwide unrest have contributed to the collapse of close to 40 local authorities.

There are 31 townships where rent boycotts are known to be taking place: Mamelodi, Alexandra, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Bophelong, Tumahole, Huhudi, Ermelo, Piet Retief, Soweto, Ratanda, Tembisa, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Warmbaths, Carolina, Waterval Boven, Amsterdam, Lydenberg, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Port Alfred, Alexandria, Cradock, Duncan Village, Grahamstown, Aliwal North, Burgersdorp, Poigietersrus, Refenggotso.

Death of a Strongman

KwaNdebele Residents Celebrate a Killing

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

KWANDEBELE, South Africa— There is celebrating in the villages of this tribal "homeland" 50 miles northeast of Pretoria following the assassination Tuesday of a black political strongman who residents say conducted a reign of terror here.

For four heady days cattle have been slaughtered for huge barbecue feasts. People have danced in the streets with slogans pinned to their clothing saying things such as, "Liberty, freedom, equality—the tyrant is dead." Bus drivers have taken groups of singing, chanting youths on free rides around the territory.

"*Amahlungu amahle*," the youths have chanted, an alliterative slogan in the Ndebele language that means, literally, "the beautiful pain" or the "good bad news."

The mass display of delight at the death of Piet Ntuli, who was interior minister in the homeland's administration and head of an armed vigilante group called the Mbokhoto that residents say terrorized the community, is a measure of how his excesses have transformed a passive tribal population of 500,000 into a militant opposition that may force the South African government to make the biggest policy reversal of its 38-year rule.

The government may be compelled to abandon plans to give KwaNdebele nominal independence on Dec. 11 under the apartheid system of racial separation.

The radicalizing of this formerly apolitical community also underscores a point made by many blacks and other analysts outside government: Repression, instead of crush-

See HOMELAND, A22, Col. 1

HOMELAND, From A1

ing the black rebellion, has intensified it by angering large numbers of previously docile people.

These analysts have noted that when the unrest began nearly two years ago, only a minority of South Africa's 28 million blacks—mostly the educated elite in the industrial cities—could be considered politicized. Analysts have called this a major reason the white minority of 5 million has been able to retain political control with relative ease.

But as the authorities have tried to stamp out the rebellion with massive repression in which more than 1,000 people have been killed and about 10,000 detained, there has been an angry reaction and a political awakening among less sophisticated communities in more remote areas.

The unrest has moved around the country, from the big cities to small-town South Africa and now increasingly into tribal areas such as KwaNdebele where the least sophisticated and most politically dormant people live. The nongovernment analysts believe a large-scale politicizing of the population has accompanied this process.

The government analyzes the situation differently. It believes the unrest is caused by Moscow-controlled agitators and terrorists who are infiltrating the country and that a basically moderate black population favors tough action to end their intimidation. But what has happened in KwaNdebele seems to have shaken this view in the minds of some officials.

"A year ago 90 percent of the people here were ready to go along with independence," says Vusi Sibiyi, a leader of one of the activist groups that has sprung up in KwaNdebele. "They were simple, apolitical folk, and they didn't know what it meant. But Ntuli politicized them, and now they're 100 percent opposed."

"There has been an upsurge of grass-roots democracy that is phenomenal," said a white observer who knows the area well but who did not want to be named. He said he thought the opposition to independence was now so great that the generally compliant tribal Cabinet of Chief Minister Simon Skosana, shaken and weakened by the death of its strongman, might withdraw its request for independence.

If that happened, Pretoria would have no option but to agree, the observer said.

A member of the Cabinet, Chief Cornelius Mahlangu, supported this analysis in an interview. Mahlangu, who is minister of health, said the Cabinet would meet Thursday to review its request.

"I have changed my mind," he said. "I can see now that the people are totally opposed to it. I don't know how the other ministers feel, but I know that Piet Ntuli's death has shaken them."

So universal is the opposition that even Skosana's own family has turned against him. One son, James Skosana, 19, is the leader in his area of the militant young activists known as "comrades."

Interviewed at the All Seasons Liquor Store in Tweefontein village, a family-owned establishment that sports the slogan, "We never run dry," Peter Skosana said that he had more than 20 brothers and sisters—the chief minister is a tribal traditionalist with five wives—and that all were strongly opposed to their father. He said he himself had been beaten up by the Mbokhoto vigilantes.

Peter Skosana said Ntuli had dominated his father. "Now that Ntuli is dead I think my father will back away from independence," he said.

Homeland Residents Celebrate an Assassination

Independence for the homelands is a key part of apartheid. It provides the pretext for giving blacks only token rights in South Africa's central political system.

So far, four of the 10 homelands have been given independence. KwaNdebele is scheduled to become the fifth and in many ways the most important, because its closeness to the country's industrial heartland around Johannesburg and Pretoria means many city workers can be resettled there to become daily commuters.

Amid the violence and intrigue that characterize South Africa's racial politics these days, it is unclear who killed Ntuli. The bomb was highly sophisticated, with a timing device that set it off several minutes after he had driven out of the heavily guarded government office complex where the car was parked.

What is clear is that even in this society of inflamed racial passions there have been few people as thoroughly hated as Piet Ntuli. "There were 500,000 people here with a motive to kill him," remarked one source, who must remain unnamed. "Even the government had come to regard him as an embarrassment."

He was the godfather of the Mbokhoto vigilantes, whose name is the Ndebele word for the millstone used to grind corn.

There are accounts of how Ntuli and his Mbokhoto made political opponents walk barefoot over hot coals and had them flogged naked in a room flooded with soapy water until they floundered about like stranded fish in the slippery, bloody grime.

He was twice tried for murder and acquitted on legal technicalities. At the time of his death, 26 other murder allegations had been made against him. He had also been indicted for automobile thefts and for having a cache of arms.

Initially Ntuli was useful to the South African government's plans. His tough action against the "comrades" looked like a way to prevent the black rebellion raging in other parts of South Africa from extending into the homeland, and the Mbokhoto was used to quell resistance to the incorporation of neighboring territories into KwaNdebele. But the government's attitude changed as it became clear that Ntuli's excesses were backfiring and provoking massive community resistance.

A counterattack began in mid-

May with members of the "comrades" and their community supporters attacking the shops and homes of Mbokhoto and administration leaders. Scores of buildings were ransacked and burned down. It became a civil war in which, a priest living in the area says, at least 160 persons have been killed.

To cover up what was happening and try to quell the violence, the government imposed especially severe restrictions on the homeland under the sweeping provisions of the state of emergency. In mid-June KwaNdebele was declared out of bounds to all nonresidents. A 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew was imposed, children were forbidden to leave the districts where their parents live.

But the fighting, burning and killing continued. Aware of the political backlash that Ntuli was causing, government officials began saying openly that he would have to go.

This reporter and another foreign correspondent traveled into KwaNdebele Thursday, the first to do so since it was declared off limits. A Supreme Court ruling invalidating some of the regulations made this briefly possible before a new decree issued by President Pieter W. Botha reimposed them on Friday.

Driving through the villages and talking to the residents made it clear that despite the severity of the clampdown, the community-backed "comrades" had won.

Signs of the struggle were all around: street barricades of huge boulders to obstruct the big

armored troop carriers called Caspirs and the burned-out shells of property belonging to Mbokhoto members and their supporters.

In a village called Vlaklaagte-One, the reporters were shown a complex of buildings containing a liquor store, bar lounge, restaurant and supermarket that had belonged to Ntuli. It was surrounded by a high security fence and protected by three armed guards. The reporters were told that on June 11 a mob of villagers had stormed the fence, overpowered and killed the guards and set fire to the complex.

Scrawled across a wall of one of the gutted buildings were words in Ndebele which read, "Ntuli, the dog of dogs, is dead. There remains Skosana. May he die like a dog with his stomach swollen on the ground."

Peter Skosana, who was showing the reporters around, flinched and stopped translating the grisly graffiti.

There are many such agonies in South Africa's black community, where the generation gap has often become the front line of a civil war between conservative "fathers" and radical "comrades."

Back at the All Seasons Liquor Store, a fire was being lit for another feast. A few hundred yards away, a supermarket belonging to an Mbokhoto leader was being set on fire. Three white soldiers looked on but did nothing.

An older brother of Peter Skosana, Josiah, arrived with a truckload of meat to be barbecued. Villagers gathered around and the singing began. "The tyrant is dead," they chanted. "Amahlungu amahle."

A large, gray Mercedes-Benz drove up. Behind the wheel was Chief Mahlangu, come to look in on the celebration of his colleague's assassination.

A FEW miles outside Port Elizabeth — South Africa's "Detroit" — entanglements of razor-wire have been thrown up around a major black township called New Brighton, one of the oldest in the Eastern Cape. The use of razor-wire to seal it off is in a sense symbolic of the state of siege under which blacks find themselves in this province — an area which offers a gloomy portent for the future of South Africa as a whole.

The Eastern Cape has long been troublesome of the rulers of South Africa. In the late 18th and 19th centuries the British fought a series of bloody engagements with local tribesmen, the so-called Kaffir wars which reached a climax in the battle of Grahamstown which saw the defeat of the great Xhosa warrior-prophet Nxele.

In the second half of the twentieth century the province has produced the most famous names in the black liberation struggle: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko among them. It was in the Eastern Cape that the youth league of the African National Congress was born, which gave a new, militant impetus to the organisation's activities in the 1940s. The defiance campaign of the 1950s was most marked in the area. After the smashing of resistance in the post-Sharpville era it was again in this province that black rebellion re-emerged with the birth of the black consciousness movement in the early 1970s.

The present bout of unrest began further north, in the Vaal triangle. But again it has been in the Eastern Cape that the rebellion has found its most dramatic expression: in monster political rallies at the funerals of black activists, in the development of an alternative grass-roots political system — township street and area committees — as well as the launching of the consumer boycott movement.

Recognition of this vanguard role of the Eastern Cape has earned it the most ruthless application of the present state of emergency in the country — a repressive drive in which echoes can be heard of a letter written 174 years ago by the British governor, Sir John Cradock, to the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Liverpool: "... I am very happy to add that in the course of this service there has not been shed more Kaffir blood than would seem to be necessary to impress on the minds of these savages a proper degree of terror and respect."

The efforts of the present-day South African authorities to "impress" the minds of the rebellious are not as

The bloodshed on the other side of the razor's edge

DAVID BERESFORD reports from the Eastern Cape Province on the sombre portent for the future of black South Africa and the first evidence of Pretoria's new attitude

"A proper degree of terror and respect." Grim faces at a township funeral after a clash with police

bloody, but the principle is much the same. The terror implicit in the razor-wire at New Brighton is reflected in a paucity of information emerging from the townships and the difficulty in making contact with community leaders, many of whom — at least of those still on the loose — appear to be spending their lives in a variety of disguises.

A local MP, Mr Andrew Savage, quotes the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, as having told him recently: "I am not going to surrender any part of this country to informal government." And while the precise number of detainees is almost impossible to gauge accurately, they appear to have been sufficiently widespread to have effectively destroyed, at least for the time being, black political organisation in the Eastern Cape with the striking exception of the trade unions which, surprisingly, the authorities have left largely intact.

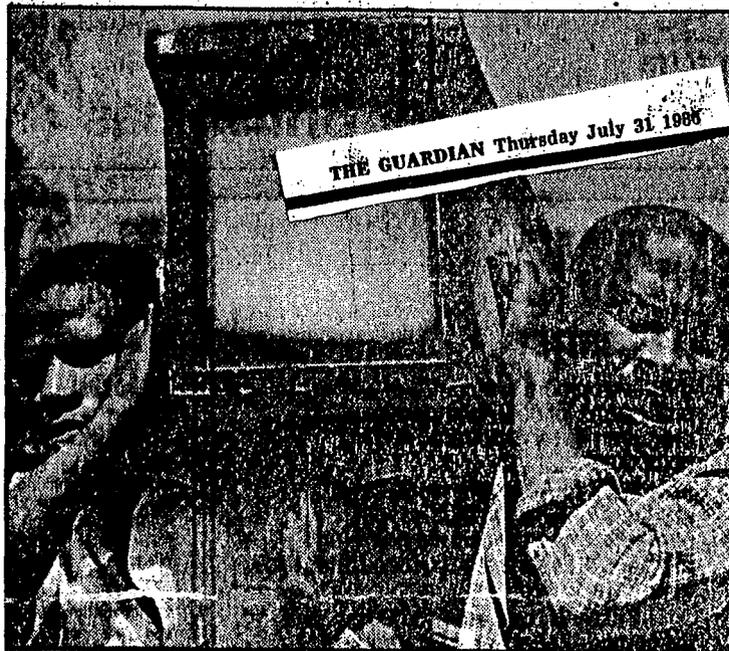
The Progressive Federal Party — the white parliamentary opposition — has a list of what it euphemistically calls "missing persons" (deliberately euphemistic, because it appears to be a breach of the confused emergency regulations to maintain a list of detainees as such), with nearly 800 identified names in the Eastern Cape. On previous experience of the ratio of identifiable detainees — those actually held, this

would suggest well over 2,000 are being held in the province.

The "terror" — that feeling which, as one activist described it, accompanies the sound of movements outside one's front door during curfew hours — is not limited to black. White liberal homes have been raided and, housewives, students, and academics have joined the "missing persons list, notably in the university city of Grahamstown, which Trollope described in 1877 as "a very pretty little town" and a contemporary traveller, the Rev. William Shrewsbury, as "England in miniature."

The activities of the security forces themselves cannot, of course, be reported under the emergency regulations. But there is a new dimension to security operations which is not subject to reporting restrictions — what are known as "law enforcement officers."

A significant facet of the conflict in other parts of South Africa has been the activities of the so-called "vigilantes," conservative blacks who in many instances appear to have been encouraged by the authorities into conflict with young radicals on a "divide and rule" principle in the Eastern Cape. However, the relative political solidarity of the Xhosa people has not facilitated such tactics. Instead there is widespread use of law enforcement officers — known locally as the



"Amachaka" — (People of Chaka, the legendary Zulu warrior-king, because many appear to be Zulus imported from Natal).

The Amachaka are security guards recruited to police the townships by the government-established community and municipal councils. The councils themselves, as part of "the system," are highly unpopular — at least 30 out of the 50 established in the Eastern Cape having closed by the forced resignation of members. But their law enforcement officers continue to operate with a particularly fearsome reputation which is illustrated by stories like that of the killing of a boy called Rasta Ndabambi.

Rasta was among a group of youths who were allegedly attacked recently by a group of law enforcement officers on a primitive golf course at Walmer, another black township outside Port Elizabeth. The officers were apparently enraged at the theft of a radio from their vehicle. One of the youths afterwards described, in a sworn affidavit, how the officers opened fire on them as they ran for cover in a nearby graveyard. They were hiding in some bushes when the boy Rasta was spotted by the officers and told to come out.

"When he came out they shot him from about three metres away. They shot him in the stomach. They beat him up and he said sorry and he was crying and bleed-

ing. After they beat him up, another law enforcement police officer drew his gun and shot him straight in the head. I saw all this from about 20 metres away." A discussion followed, according to the witness, in which it was suggested a statement would be made to police that the dead youth was a "stone-thrower." The account was supported by a statement from another youth who did not see the killing, but described hearing screaming, two shots, and then silence.

The suspicion that such incidents are being covered up as killings of "stone-throwers" — a phrase regularly used by the Government's Bureau for Information to explain security force killings — is encouraged by another such incident in Walmer township, which was the subject of a Supreme Court restraint action in Port Elizabeth last week.

The action was successfully brought against Walmer law enforcement officers by Florence Menzi, whose husband, John, had been shot dead. Describing the killing, Mrs Menzi said they were sitting in their home when there was a banging and kicking on the door. She opened it, to be confronted by three law enforcement officers.

"They were all wearing their green uniforms with balaclavas on their heads. I could not recognise any of

them because of the balaclavas, but they were all black men. They shouted, asking why I hadn't opened the door and when they saw my husband behind me, they rushed inside the room and began assaulting him. They slapped me as well.

My husband managed to get out of the house and run behind the house at the back. They followed him out and I heard two gunshots behind the house."

When Mrs Menzi and neighbours plucked up the courage to go outside they found a trail of blood, but it took her four days to find her husband... in the local mortuary. According to affidavits before the court, the killing was reported by the authorities as that of another "stone-thrower."

But it is not only on the basis of such incidents that the Eastern Cape offers a gloomy portent. The province also provides evidence of what seems to be Pretoria's new philosophic approach — its apparent repudiation of the politics of conciliation. Whether in its dealings with the international or domestic communities.

It can be found, for instance, in the handling of the consumer and school boycotts in Port Elizabeth, where the consumer boycott has been almost 100 per cent effective, repeated appeals by businessmen to central government for help in defusing it, have been ignored by Pretoria. The consequences are

to be seen in the streets of the city which even under the emergency remains clear of black shoppers.

The attitude of the authorities in the face of such coercive action appears to be that of "the devil take the hindmost." With black unemployment approaching 60 per cent in the Eastern Cape the suffering for the hindmost is inescapable.

Similarly, on the schools issue, opportunities for conciliation appear to have been almost contemptuously disregarded by the government. The boycott of schools — over the latest government control measures for children, including the introduction of "school-passes" — has been widespread in this province. But there are comparatively high educational standards among the blacks of the Eastern Cape and there were indications last week of anxiety in the community to settle the issue and get the children back to classes.

Appeals were made to the department of education for a six-day postponement of last Friday's deadline for children to re-register and comply with the new regulations. But the appeals were dismissed. This week the department announced that it was beginning to close schools in the Eastern Cape, transferring teachers and equipment to other areas. With the likelihood that even conforming pupils will now be forced into a sympathy boycott there are now real fears that the entire school system in the province faces collapse.

Political activists here refuse to accept that the country is facing a repeat of the 1950 crack-down which effectively crushed black resistance for one-and-a-half decades — arguing that the politicisation of the masses has now gone too far. In conversation they repeatedly drop references to "when the emergency is over" and they ask hopefully what the international community is going to do.

After his defeat at the battle of Grahamstown, Nxele surrendered to the British, having pledged that one day he would return to lead his people to freedom from the whites. He was incarcerated on Robben Island and drowned a year later while trying to escape. His personal possessions were not buried for another half century.

"Today there is a phrase used by the Xhosa, 'Kukukza Kukka Nxele,' which translates as 'The Coming of Nxele.' It means a forlorn hope. And in their hope that liberation is near, the question is whether black South Africa is once again awaiting the coming of Nxele.

I had to strip, says Bishop's affidavit

WEEKLY MAIL, August 8 to August 14, 1986



By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg West, Bishop Mfaniseni Ndwandwe, says he was made to strip down to his underpants at the Klerksdorp Prison in full view of about 100 other detainees.

Three other priests who were detained with him, Reverend Simon Masopha, Reverend Motsiri Mosai and Reverend Petrus Kolisang, were made to strip completely naked.

"We were utterly humiliated," said Ndwandwe in papers before the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court in Pretoria this week. "From their observations the other detainees ... who were looking on seemed both shocked and disgusted at this absurd procedure."

Ndwandwe and the three other priests are claiming in court that their detentions in terms of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act were unlawful and invalid.

The first respondent is the Commissioner of Police, while the second respondent is the Minister of Law and Order.

The third and fourth respondents are the Minister of Justice and the Officer Commanding Klerksdorp Prison.

According to papers submitted in court, Mosai was originally detained on June 10, while Ndwandwe, Masopha and Kolisang were detained the following day.

On June 16 the four applicants were told they were being released. They were taken out of the prison building by a Klerksdorp prison captain.

But as they stepped outside, the four clergymen were approached by plainclothes policemen who informed

them they were being arrested in terms of Regulation 3 of the Emergency regulations.

"We were utterly dumbfounded and speechless. The policemen were laughing and smiling, and seemed very pleased with themselves," Ndwandwe said in his affidavit.

They were immediately driven back to the prison buildings, where a warrant officer told them it was necessary to conduct a body search.

In an answering affidavit on behalf of the first and second respondents, Lieutenant James Stols, attached to the riot-investigation unit (onlust-ondersoek eenheid) of the SA Police, said he had no knowledge of the allegations that the clergymen were made to strip, but submits that the allegations are completely irrelevant to the matter.

Stols says the first, second and third applicants were instrumental in the setting up of a "so-called civic association at the end of 1985 (whose objective was) to destroy existing structures and thus make the township ungovernable."

Stols said there were plans to use dynamite to blast the houses of policemen in the township and to kill their families. The dynamite, he said, would be obtained by the first, second and fourth applicants. He said the third applicant made his church available for the storage of petrol bombs.

The matter has been postponed to enable the applicants to file affidavits responding to the allegations.

ECSA

339 Lafayette Street
New York, N.Y. 10012-2725