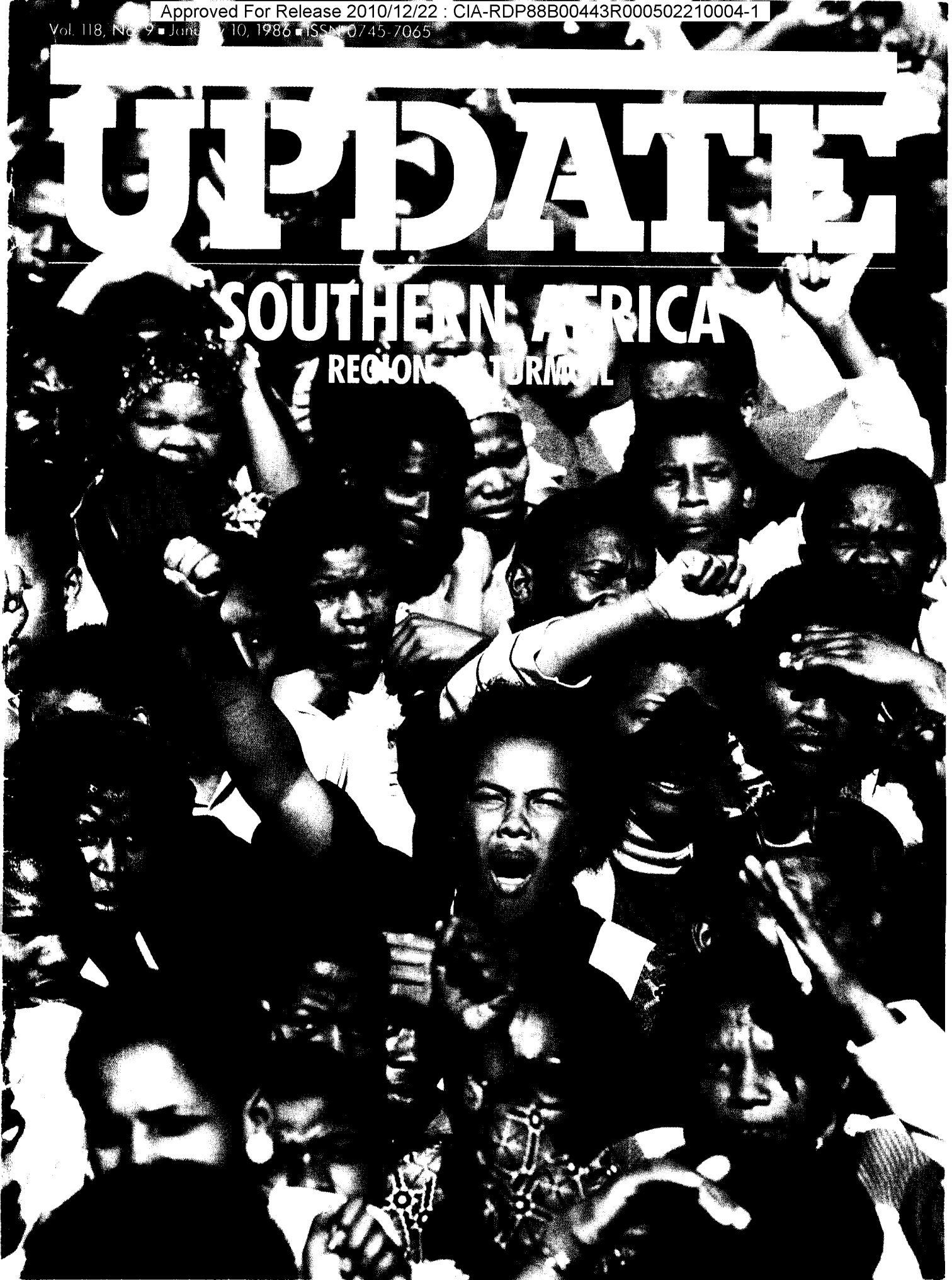


UPDATE

SOUTHERN AFRICA

REGIONAL TORNADO





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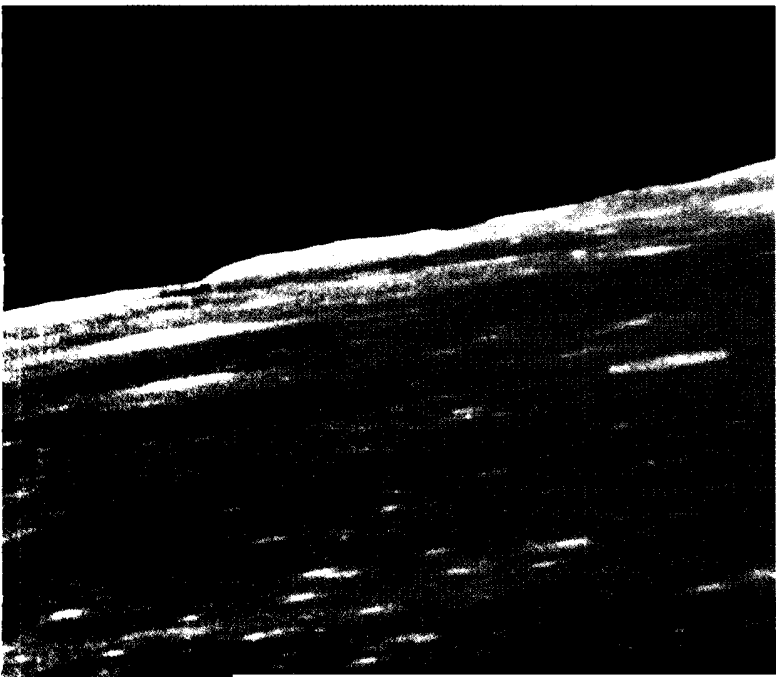
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UPDATE[®]

January 10, 1986 ■ Vol. 118, No. 9

Southern Africa: Region in Turmoil



Louise Gubb/JP Pictures

A focus of protests in South Africa for decades, passbooks enable the government to control the movements of all non-whites. Here, a woman displays hers. For details, see pages 12-13.

Cover photo: © Louise Gubb/JP Pictures.
Cover subject: Mourners at funeral for riot victims in Duncan, South Africa.

5 A Region the Whole World Is Watching

The unrest that has South Africa in its grip has drawn the world's attention toward an entire region—one that has more than its share of troubles.

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NEXT TIME (Jan. 24): "The U.S. Affairs Annual." How good were the "good old days?" How good is today? The statistics in a history piece answer the first question. The latest data on the states—everything from population and school spending to crime and divorce rates—help you answer the second. Plus a report on "Regional America" and talks with six governors and U.S. President Reagan.

Maurice R. Robinson, founder of Scholastic Inc., 1895-1982

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JANUARY 10, 1986 ■ 3

ANGOLA
Area: 481,000 sq. mi., more than three times the size of California.
Population: 7,900,000
Per Capita Income: \$500
Literacy: 20%
Life Expectancy: 42
Labor Force: 60% farm, 15% factory; govt. & services N.A.
Major Exports: oil, coffee, diamonds, sisal, to Portugal, Brazil, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia.
Major Imports: military weapons, transport, other machinery from Portugal, France, U.S.S.R., South Africa, Brazil, U.K.

ZAMBIA
Area: 290,000 sq. mi, 22,000 sq. mi. bigger than Texas
Population: 6,800,000
Per Capita Income: \$414
Literacy: 44%
Life Expectancy: 51
Labor Force: 65% farm; 35% industry, commerce
Major Exports: copper, cobalt, zinc to Japan, U.K., U.S., West Germany, China, South Africa
Major Imports: transport, other machinery, oil, chemicals, food from U.K., South Africa, U.S., West Germany, Japan, China

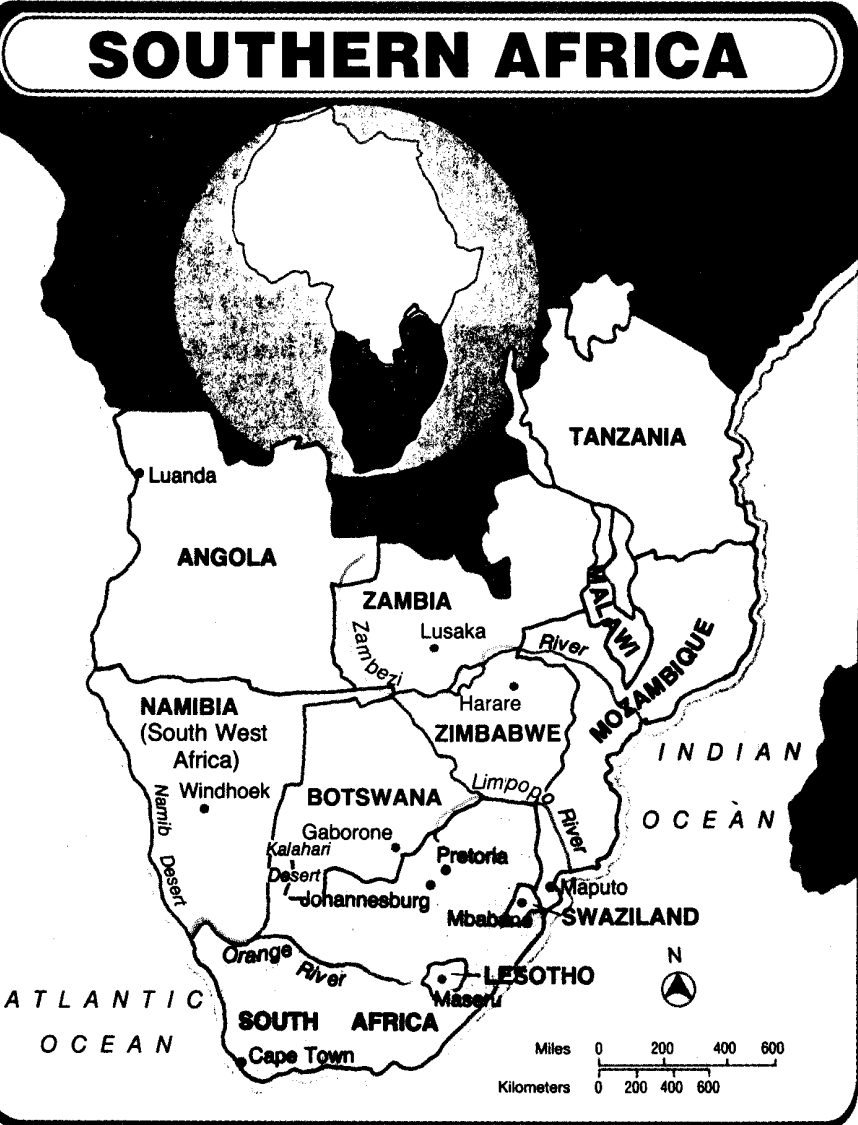
ZIMBABWE
Area: 150,000 sq. mi., nearly twice the size of South Dakota
Population: 8,600,000
Per Capita Income: \$13,480 (white); \$315-\$655 (black)
Literacy: 69%
Life Expectancy: 56
Labor Force: 35% farm; 30% industry, commerce; 20% service; 15% govt.
Major Exports: tobacco, gold, alloys, asbestos, cotton, sugar to South Africa, U.K., West Germany, U.S., Netherlands
Major Imports: transport, other machinery, textiles, oil, steel, chemicals from South Africa, U.K., U.S., West Germany, Japan

BOTSWANA
Area: 232,000 sq. mi., more than twice the size of Arizona
Population: 1,100,000
Per Capita Income: \$550
Literacy: 35%
Life Expectancy: 54
Labor Force: 70% farm
Major Exports: diamonds, meat, metals to Switzerland, U.S., U.K., Southern Africa Customs Union*
Major Imports: machinery, transport equipment, food, from So. Af. Customs Union, Zimbabwe, U.K., U.S.

MOZAMBIQUE
Area: 303,000 sq. mi., more than twice the size of California
Population: 13,900,000
Per Capita Income: \$220
Literacy: 33%
Life Expectancy: 49
Labor Force: 85% farm; 9% industry, commerce; 4% govt.; 2% service
Major Exports: cashews, shrimp, sugar, tea, cotton to U.S., Portugal, South Africa, U.K., Netherlands
Major Imports: petroleum, machinery, spare parts from South Africa, West Germany, Portugal, Iraq, U.K.

SOUTH AFRICA
Area: 471,000 sq. mi., 4/5 the size of Alaska
Population: 32,500,000
Per Capita Income: \$1,722 (black-white average)
Literacy: 98% white; 85% Asian; 75% Colored; 50% black
Life Expectancy: 70 white; 65 Asian; 59 black
Labor Force: 34% services; 30% farm; 29% industry, commerce; 7% mining
Major Exports: gold, food, diamonds, metals, machinery to Japan, U.K., U.S., West Germany, France
Major Imports: machinery, motor vehicles, chemicals, metals, textiles from West Germany, U.S., U.K., Japan, France

NAMIBIA
Area: 320,827 sq. mi., somewhat smaller than Texas and Oklahoma combined
Population: 1,052,000
Per Capita Income: \$1,150
Literacy: 99% white; 28% others
Life Expectancy: 53
Labor Force: 60% farm; 19% industry, commerce; 8% services; 7% govt.; 6% mining
Major Exports: diamonds, uranium, copper, zinc, lead, fish to South Africa
Major Imports: food, construction materials from South Africa, West Germany, U.K., U.S.



*Members are South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

LESOTHO
Area: 11,700 sq. mi., slightly bigger than Maryland
Population: 1,500,000
Per Capita Income: \$355
Literacy: 52%
Life Expectancy: 49
Labor Force: 87% farm; 3% industry, commerce; 1% govt.
Major Exports: diamonds, mohair, wool, pharmaceuticals, clothing to Switzerland, South Africa, West Germany, Belgium-Luxembourg, U.K.
Major Imports: food, livestock, clothing, oil, motor vehicles, textiles, chemicals from South Africa, U.K., West Germany

SWAZILAND
Area: 6,704 sq. mi., slightly smaller than New Jersey
Population: 700,000
Per Capita Income: \$840
Literacy: 65%
Life Expectancy: 47
Labor Force: 53% farm; 9% industry, commerce; 9% service
Major Exports: sugar, chemicals, wood pulp, fruit, electronic equipment to South Africa, U.K.
Major Imports: machinery, transport equipment, fuels, food, livestock from South Africa

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A REGION THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING

Racial violence in South Africa has claimed more than 900 lives over the past 15 months. The nation's self-inflicted wound is causing pain for the entire region—and even for the world.

This past November 21, 50,000 people marched on government offices at Mamelodi, a black township 10 miles outside South Africa's capital city of Pretoria. All were black. Most were women. They rallied to demand an end to the army's occupation of their township.

The march ended in tragedy. The police—prompted, they claimed later, by youths who hurled gasoline bombs—fired into the crowd. Among the 13 dead were old people and young children. Many had been shot in the back while fleeing.

Over the past 15 months, clashes of the sort that took place in Mamelodi have claimed hundreds of lives. Like a terrible earthquake, the violence has sent a shudder throughout the world. People everywhere have begun to look on in horror as South Africa's white government deepens a self-inflicted wound. This issue of UPDATE examines that wound and suggests why the healing process, when it begins, may leave ugly, disfiguring scars.

REGIONAL PROBLEMS

This is not just an issue about South Africa, however. It is also about the region of Africa that South Africa dominates with its massive army and powerful economy—the most powerful one on the continent. (See Economics, page 14.) Just about anything South Africa does—or fails to do—has a direct impact on every other nation in the region. These nations have problems of their own—plenty of them. The South African government's attempts to perpetuate white minority rule often intensify them. (See the report on the "frontline states," pages 16-18, and on Lesotho and Swaziland, page 19.)

There are many ways to break into this issue of UPDATE. You might

want to begin with DataBank (page 25), which gives a breakdown of South Africa's people, or with Wordpower (page 24), which explains some of the tricky language of South African racism. Or you might prefer to start with one of the two pieces that describe ties between the U.S. and South Africa. One of these articles focuses on the two nations' economic ties.

Another article explores the debate over "constructive engagement," the Reagan Administration's policy toward South Africa. (See page 22.) This article shows how hard it is for one nation's government to convince another's to change its ways. Despite nearly five years of quiet diplomacy, the U.S. has failed to get South Africa's white-ruled government to make more than token changes in its apartheid laws.

MISINTERPRETING THE U.S.

Why hasn't the U.S. approach made more headway? The problem, its critics say, is that it has led many South Africans, white and black, to believe that the U.S. supports apartheid. Nothing can be farther from the truth. But, during the nearly five years of patient dialogue, U.S. trade with South Africa has increased, and the presence of U.S. companies in South Africa has grown. (See chart, page 15.) Seeing these economic links tighten, many South Africans concluded, wrongly, that the U.S. approves of their government's slow pace toward change.

In recent months, the U.S. has taken steps to make its opposition to apartheid clearer. President Reagan has put restrictions on the sale of U.S. military and computer hardware, for one thing. For another, he has had U.S. diplomats in South Africa make

a more public show of support for the aspirations of the black majority. For example, an official at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria attended the mass funeral in early December for the 13 people who died November 21 in Mamelodi. Ten other Western diplomats also attended the funeral.

Despite these steps by the U.S., many people are urging more dramatic ones—appointing a black U.S. ambassador to South Africa, for example, and clamping down further on trade. Some suggest that the U.S. should begin a dialogue with popular black South African groups and step up funding for educational programs aimed at black South Africans.

These proposals—and others like them—have at least one thing in common. The people who propose them believe that real change is coming to South Africa—sooner rather than later. And they believe that the U.S. should act now to ensure that U.S. relations with any black-led government will be friendly.

THE WHITE MINORITY

What about the white minority? No one who has thought seriously about South Africa believes that the white minority can be ignored. For one thing, the white minority's roots go as deep into South Africa's past as the roots of the black majority. (See History, page 9.) For another, the whites have a lock on the expertise needed to run South Africa's complicated public and private enterprises. Until the black majority gains similar skills, it will have to rely on the managerial and technical know-how of the white minority. These are the feelings even of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned head of the nation's oldest black protest group. Mandela wants justice for the black majority, he once told a reporter, not revenge.

There's nothing abstract about the pain South Africa feels today. The pain is very real, and it is being felt not by a place but by people—people of all races. More than 32 million people, black, white, Asian, and "Coloured," are apartheid's "victims." That's the word used by one of the four South African teenagers profiled on the next three pages. You should find his story, and those of his peers, an excellent summary of South Africa's predicament.

FOUR TEENAGERS WHO ARE "VICTIMS OF APARTHEID"

Apartheid literally means separate-ness, and so, in four corners of Johannesburg, four teenagers live their separate lives. They know almost nothing of each other's experience. The government's apartheid policies ensure that each—black, Afrikaner,

Coloured, or English—lives in a ghetto, an area inhabited only by people of the same background.

It was final-exam week in late November when Corrie, Dikwe, Antony, and Amalia spoke to UPDATE correspondent Vivienne Walt. These four

students are unlikely ever to meet each other or to make friends with anyone outside their ethnic group. But their lives and futures have become increasingly intertwined, as the violent struggle for political power intensifies around them.

DIKWE THIPE, 15 Naledi, Soweto.

Dikwe will always remember 1985 as the year the army arrived in his neighborhood of Naledi in "Deep Soweto." Soweto—a collection of black districts originally called the South West Townships—is a sprawling ghetto, home to more than one million blacks on the outskirts of high-rise Johannesburg.

This past July 21, the government declared a state of emergency, giving police nearly absolute powers of arrest and search. A nightly curfew was imposed on Soweto. In protest, high school students walked out of class, demanding "liberation before education." Thousands of small children were tear-gassed, whipped, and arrested on school grounds.

Dikwe, one of South Africa's 23.4 million blacks, has seen friends die. "I remember one day in August," he says. "We were at a vigil for one of my friends, Mandla, the night before his funeral. He was also 15. He was shot by the police. We were singing, about 400 of us, and the army came and fired tear gas. We were so angry, we threw stones at the hippie [the slang name for an armored truck]."

"The next day," Dikwe recalls, "when we left the graveyard—about 700 people—the police came again and fired tear gas. Our friends started running, and the police shot at them. Eight people were killed."

And so Dikwe's year continued, with funerals every weekend, very often for those shot dead at other funerals. In August, the government outlawed a group he belonged to, the Congress of South African Students.

COSAS has been at the forefront of



Photos © Mike McCann

Dikwe Thipe stands before his home in Soweto, where he lives with his father and younger brother. A sister and her children, looking on, live nearby.

this year's political unrest. Its teenage leaders called for the police and army to leave the black townships and persuaded students to stay away from classes until black demands are met.

"One day in July," Dikwe says, "the police arrived at our COSAS meeting and arrested us. They took us to the police station and started asking questions. We didn't answer, so they beat us with their fists and kicked us."

"About midnight, they took us back to Naledi in their van and dropped us off in a field. We crept back in the dark and made it home."

Dikwe doesn't like the violence which has become part of everyday life in Soweto. "It's not safe to live in Soweto, no," he said. "You can get killed or kidnapped. The army kidnaps people, and so do the [black] youth. If they don't trust you or they think you're a police informer, they will just burn you alive."

Living with tension and fear, Dikwe has begun to dream of a future South Africa in which all races have

equal rights. "We will all live together," he says hopefully. "Whites will go to school with us. Now, I don't understand white culture. I've never had a white friend."

He corrects himself a moment later. "When I was five, my mother worked as a maid for a white family. It was the first time I had ever seen whites. There was one boy my age. But every day, his mother would shout at him not to play with me."

Dikwe last saw his mother seven years ago, when she left his father. She moved to a so-called homeland—one of 10 rural areas assigned to blacks by apartheid policies. Dikwe's sister, who is a year younger than he, lives nearby in Soweto, with an aunt.

But for Dikwe, the greatest loss is his 17-year-old brother, who, fearing arrest by the police, fled the country last year. "I don't know where he is," he says. "I have just been told he is somewhere safe. I miss him a lot."

Dikwe helps to cook, clean the house, and look after his 12-year-old

brother. His father, an auto mechanic, is teaching him the trade. Like most families in Soweto, Dikwe's remains poor. "When people pay my father," Dikwe explains, "we eat meat and rice. Otherwise, it's always bread."

This is life in Soweto: poverty and police, curfews and school boycotts. "I don't think there will be school next year," Dikwe said, "because our friends are still in jail. We will not go to school until they are released."

"When I see the white school children in their neat uniforms, I think, if we put them into the spirit, they would help us fight. All they need is someone to go and ask them to help. After liberation, we will all be one."

CORRIE VAN DER MERWE, 17 Alberton, near Johannesburg.

"A black government?" asks Corrie in response to a question about her nation's future. "No, I wouldn't like it. We would have to live according to their ways, as a minority. They would discriminate against us."

Corrie is an Afrikaner, one of 2.9 million descendants of the original Dutch immigrants who sailed to South Africa in the 1600s. Her father, a leading Conservative Party member of Parliament, believes that President Pieter W. Botha has given in to too many black demands. He urges more white control, not less.

He has taught Corrie to be proud of her Afrikaner heritage. Two model ox-wagons sit on the living room carpet, reminding Corrie and her two brothers of their Dutch ancestors who trekked into the interior of the country to flee British rule in the early 1800s.

"We Afrikaners are really different," says Corrie. "We are more conservative in our morals than the English." She speaks perfect English, but laughs at the thought of marrying an English-speaking South African. Her ideal family would be "very traditionally Afrikaans, with the father as the head of the household—someone the children look up to."



Mike McCann

Corrie Van Der Merwe fears that apartheid's end will change her way of life.

As a student at a girls' boarding school in central Johannesburg, Corrie sees little of the outside world. From Monday morning to Friday evening, the boarders are confined to the school grounds, except for a couple of hours one afternoon a week.

But even with such strict isolation, Corrie has felt the wave of black militancy this year. "We were told at school a few days ago not to go into the center of town, because of unrest."

"I really don't know the motives of the black school boycotts," she admits. "I am very ignorant about it. I

have never had any black friends."

At Corrie's school, as in most white South African schools—particularly where subjects are taught in Afrikaans, the Afrikaner language—politics is a taboo subject. But on the school playgrounds and at home, the 14 months of rioting are a central topic of conversation. "A few years ago, I wouldn't have thought about going to the same place, like a restaurant, as a black person," says Corrie. "Now in the city there are many more blacks, and in certain ways I resent it."

In Corrie's opinion, apartheid is desirable. It's a social structure which promises her and other Afrikaners great benefits. Yet, to her, it is more than desirable—it is natural. "People all live with their own kinds. Why should we be forced to live together? I don't think mixed marriages are a good idea. What will happen to the children [of a racially mixed marriage]? I don't know why they [the blacks] would want to come to our schools, when they have their own."

But Corrie realizes that time seems to be rapidly running out for the era of white rule. "I'm worried about the future," she confesses. "I am scared that I might not be able to find work and that my children might not be able to go to school. I am worried that something is going to happen."

AMALIA HENDRICKS, 16 Bosmont, Johannesburg.

Amalia is not black, nor is she white. In the eyes of the South African government, she is "Coloured," a descendant of marriages between blacks and whites. Most Coloureds trace their racial status to their grandparents' generation or earlier, before such bonds were outlawed in 1949.

Although Amalia is fair-skinned enough to be mistaken for white, she and her family—like the rest of the nation's 3.25 million Coloureds—are

shut out from privileges accorded to whites by the laws of apartheid. They must live in a neighborhood reserved for Coloureds, and Amalia must go to a school just for Coloured students.

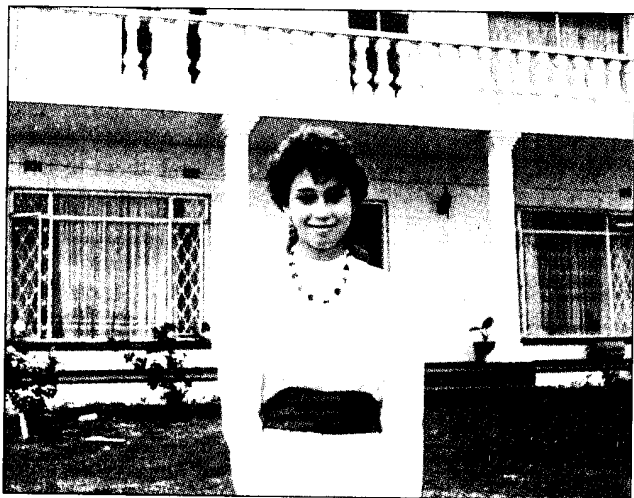
"One day I was kicked off the whites-only train," says Amalia. "When I got on, I sat next to two white girls who smiled at me. Then my friend followed me. He's very dark, and suddenly there was a commotion. The conductor kicked us off. As I walked past the train window, the two white girls looked like they wanted to take their smiles back."

Now, she says, she no longer

"passes for white," as she calls it. "We would sneak into movies, but why should we have to ask permission? What if we aren't allowed in?"

Instead, Amalia has begun to see herself as "part of the oppressed." She helped to organize a three-week school strike and exam boycott, in sympathy with students 1,000 miles away near Capetown. There, police arrested hundreds of Coloured students and killed many in street battles.

"We decided that, under those circumstances, we couldn't write [take] our September exams," says Amalia. "Instead, we organized alternative



Amalia Hendricks, outside her parents' house in a "Coloured" suburb, no longer tries to "pass for white."

programs." Such programs have run in high schools throughout South Africa in recent months. "Every day we would read literature and poetry and sing freedom songs."

Despite the school protests, events in Bosmont have been low-key, compared with the turmoil in black townships. "People don't feel affected,"

Amalia says, "because we have all got meals to eat, and some have big houses and cars."

Caught between two worlds, a lot of Coloured people align themselves with the top rung of society—the whites. Many fear that, by siding with blacks, they risk being

pushed to the bottom of the social ladder. "Many people around here say we should leave black people to fight their own battles," Amalia says.

She disagrees, but also disapproves of violence by black students. "Quite frankly, it's mass hysteria," Amalia says. "Burning and killing each other is not going to change things. We

should have mass demonstrations, like Gandhi." Mohandas Gandhi, who masterminded India's march to independence in the 1940s, led civil disobedience campaigns in South Africa early in this century. He won a few concessions but none for blacks.

Still, Amalia knows, protests often turn violent in South Africa. "I'm not scared of dying," she says. "It would be worth it for the right reasons."

Amalia's father, a builder, hasn't worked in a year because of the economy's woes. Her parents "fight all the time," she says. "It's a big strain on me and my younger sister."

Despite the dangers around her, Amalia has big plans. "I want to be a journalist, to get to the top and travel, particularly to Japan," says Amalia, who holds a brown belt in karate.

Still, wherever she goes in the future, "I want to be here for the change," Amalia says. "Because my parents and grandparents have suffered all these years, I want to see what joy this country can bring."

ANTONY KRAWITZ, 17 Illovo, Johannesburg

For Antony, white South Africans must ask themselves "whether or not they can live with their conscience. I cannot," he told UPDATE. "I have three meals a day, and then at night I drive past a newspaper vendor who's six years old and has no shoes on. I find that very difficult to live with."

Antony is one of nearly 1.9 million "Anglophone," or English-speaking, white South Africans, a group that makes up about 40 percent of all South African whites. He concedes that "I live among wealth and enjoy it." Illovo, where he lives, is a comfortable suburb north of Johannesburg. His family's spacious home, with a tree-shaded swimming pool, seems to have been transplanted from a well-to-do neighborhood in the U.S.

Antony too would probably fit well into most U.S. high schools. He likes rock music, plays sports, and swims every day. He and his friends plan a vacation at the beach. He has just taken his final exams at Johannesburg's private Jewish high school.

But the sense of safe serenity is misleading. "I really don't feel secure



Antony Krawitz, of English descent, resents apartheid despite his privileges.

here, but I don't know where else in the world I would like to live." His two sisters both plan to move to Australia this year. Antony hopes for a future without apartheid, in South Africa. "I don't think apartheid will be here by the time I bring up my children," he says. "If it is, I will leave. But this time, the rioting isn't going to stop. Things are changing soon."

In one big way, Antony is playing for time, hoping for a new government. Like all white males, after grad-

uation he was "called up" to the armed forces for two years. But he has managed to defer his service for three years until he completes a commerce degree at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University, where he starts his freshman year in February.

At least for now, Antony is relieved that he's avoided military duty—and the possibility that he might have been assigned to keep order in black townships. "I don't agree with the country's policies," he says, "and I don't want to fight for them."

Antony feels that "apartheid has brought up a nation of racists." He includes himself in that category. "Deep down, I am a racist. Because of the environment I grew up in, I don't feel at ease with my black peers. I am a victim of apartheid."

Antony's feelings of prejudice are also aimed at other whites. "I have become racist towards Afrikaners as well," he says. "I blame them for what's happening, and that's wrong."

Meanwhile, Antony's life is sociable and busy. Illovo is just a few miles from Dikwe's home in Soweto, but it could be in another country. "In the end, we're all the same," Antony says. "It's just that the government has made us different." —Vivienne Walt

HOW THE AFRIKANERS' PAST SHAPES THEIR DECISIONS TODAY

Though Afrikaners have oppressed non-whites for centuries, they view themselves as a persecuted people. The historical reasons are a key to understanding South Africa's current crisis.

The blood-chilling battle cries of Zulu warriors pierce the South African bush. Against a backdrop of flames, a small band of Afrikaner farmers defend their covered wagon, now riddled with spears. A white boy, armed with a rifle, is wounded. His sister falls to the ground, and her father carries her away.

The onlookers are thrilled, some to tears. For this is not a real battle but a re-enactment of one that was fought almost 150 years ago.

The show has a message—a racial one. "God is telling us," an Afrikaner priest warns, "that a small people cannot become a great nation by mix-

ing with a neighboring people."

Afrikaners flock to such pageants—this one was staged last October—because they are acutely conscious of their history. A knowledge of that history is essential to understanding the current crisis in South Africa. It helps explain why rigid racial segregation exists there. It also explains why the Afrikaners, who have oppressed the blacks for centuries, still see themselves as a persecuted people.

South Africa is a strategic point overlooking the sea route between Europe and Asia. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company, which carried on trade with the Far East, set up a way

station at the Cape of Good Hope.

The new colony attracted Dutch, Huguenot (French Protestant), and German settlers. The colonists gradually evolved their own language, Afrikaans, which is close to Dutch.

A CHOSEN PEOPLE

The Afrikaners believed that God had chosen them for salvation—and condemned the blacks to servitude. Black slaves were first shipped to South Africa in 1658. By the early 1700s, the slaves outnumbered the whites. The South African economy had become dependent on a large supply of cheap, exploited black labor.

Intermarriage between whites and blacks was banned in 1685. White settlements often expelled "Coloureds"—people of mixed race—and forced them to live in their own communities beyond the frontier.



Boer guerrillas assaulting a British convoy in 1902. Memories of the horrors of the Boer War stiffen Afrikaner resistance today.



Culver Pictures

Boer pioneers and their *laager*, or defensive camp of ox wagons. Afrikaners today frequently call up images of encircled wagons as they attempt to hold off calls for change. Their history has made them believe that their survival is always at stake.

By 1815, Britain had taken control of the Cape Colony, and English settlers began to arrive. The British extended some legal rights to blacks and abolished slavery in 1833. They prosecuted *Boers* (Afrikaner farmers) who maltreated their non-white servants.

Afrikaners bitterly resented these efforts to protect blacks. In 1837, about 6,000 Boers embarked on the "Great Trek," pushing northeast beyond the colonial frontier. These *Voortrekkers* hoped to escape British rule and preserve Afrikaner culture.

On February 6, 1838, the Zulu chief Dingaan met with a party of Voortrekkers and agreed to give them land. Then, on the same day, he had the Boer party murdered. Zulu warriors swiftly overran white settlements in a series of raids—the same raids reenacted in last October's pageant.

On December 16, 1838, at Blood River, the Zulus met a force of 500 whites. Badly outnumbered, the Boers drew their covered wagons into a circle—a *laager*—and inflicted a crippling defeat on the Zulus.

This battle still shapes South African racial attitudes. Today, Afrikaner teachers point to Blood River and tell their pupils that blacks cannot be trusted. Though all the nations of the world have condemned South Africa's racial policies, many Afrikaners still believe that they can win by once again forming a "laager"—pulling into a protective circle and fighting off all demands for reform.

The Voortrekkers established two independent agricultural nations—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Then, in 1867, diamonds were discovered on the banks of the Orange River. In 1886, there was a huge gold strike in the Transvaal. Hostility between Britons and Boers grew as they competed for these rich resources.

In 1884, Germany annexed the colony of South-West Africa, today known as Namibia. The British now feared that Boers and Germans might join to threaten the Cape Colony, which guarded the sea route to India, Britain's most prized possession. By October, 1899, British goading and Boer stubbornness resulted in war.

THE BOER WAR

The Boer War began with a series of stunning Afrikaner victories. The Boers were superb cavalymen. They could move swiftly and live off the land. But, in the long run, they could not prevail against the vast resources of the British Empire. By June, 1900, British troops had captured Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal.

The Boers switched to hit-and-run tactics. By day, they raided British railway lines and supply trains. At night, they faded into the countryside.

This was one of the first modern guerrilla wars. The British responded with another new military tactic—the concentration camp. Afrikaner farms were burned, and over 150,000 Boer civilians were herded into camps, to keep them from aiding the guerrillas.

Epidemics broke out in the camps and killed 26,000 inmates, mostly women and children. Faced with that catastrophe, the Boers surrendered in 1902—on the condition that the Brit-

ish would preserve white supremacy.

The Afrikaners have never forgotten the horrors of the camps. Today, at historical pageants, speakers tell Afrikaners that, once again, their survival as a people is at stake.

In 1910, the Cape Province, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Province of Natal were joined to form the Union of South Africa. Two former Boer generals, Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts, led the Afrikaners to victory at the first national elections. By voting, the Boers got what they had failed to win in war.

The British government believed that it could win the loyalty of the Afrikaners by granting them self-government. That gamble paid off when World War I broke out in 1914. Botha and Smuts sided with Britain, and, in 1915, South African troops overran German South-West Africa.

After the war, Smuts helped to found the League of Nations, a forerunner of the United Nations. He suggested that conquered German colonies become "mandates"—territories that the victorious Allies would prepare for self-government, under League supervision. When the League gave South Africa a mandate for South-West Africa, he was disappointed. He wanted the colony to become part of South Africa.

DENYING THE VOTE

Smuts also helped draft the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights in 1945. He had no intention of granting those rights to non-white South Africans, however. In the Cape Province, a few blacks and Coloureds had long been entitled to vote. But Smuts refused to extend that privilege to the other provinces. He wouldn't let non-whites sit in the South African parliament, either. Blacks lost all meaningful voting rights in 1959. The vote was taken from the Coloureds 10 years later.

South Africans of Indian descent were also denied the vote. They could not own land in certain parts of the country, or even enter those areas. Indian immigration and business activities were restricted, and Indian residents were forced to carry special passes. In 1908, nonviolent protests, including the burning of passes, were led by Mohandas K. Gandhi, who later used similar tactics to gain independence for India. Gandhi won a few promises from Smuts, but Indians re-

mained subordinate to whites.

By the 1920s, white mine workers were paid 15 times more than black miners. Most black workers were denied the right to strike, to enter skilled trades, and to bargain with employers through unions. The South African government assumed near-dictatorial powers over its black citizens. It assumed the right to resettle tribes, appoint chiefs, and control African courts and land ownership.

During the 1930s, Afrikaner extremists, many of them influenced by the racist policies of Nazi Germany, began to advocate *apartheid*—the Afrikaans word for total race segregation. Under the banner of the National Party, these extremists won the 1948 election and carried out their program.

Interracial marriages were banned. Schools and universities, cultural events, sports, post offices, public transit, labor unions, and even some churches were strictly segregated.

The government also decreed that certain areas would be reserved for certain races. People who lived in the "wrong" area—37,694 Indian families, 44,885 Coloured families, and 1,513 white families by 1972—were forcibly moved. Often their homes and businesses were bulldozed.



Hendrik Verwoerd, as minister of native affairs and then prime minister, was apartheid's chief architect.

Africans had long been required to carry passes, which allowed the police to restrict black migration to the cities and other "white areas." Now enforcement of the pass laws was stiffened, resulting in thousands of arrests.

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

On March 21, 1960, at the town of Sharpeville, police fired into a crowd of Africans who were protesting the pass laws. Sixty-nine blacks were killed and 180 injured.



In March, 1960, South African police fired machine guns on protesters at the town of Sharpeville. Some of the 69 killed in the massacre lie on the ground above.

A nervous government promptly outlawed the African National Congress, a black organization fighting for majority rule. In several cities, race riots erupted. Half of South Africa was placed under a state of emergency, and 18,000 people were arrested. The national economy went into a tailspin, as investors pulled their money out of South Africa.

For a moment, it seemed that apartheid was about to crumble. But the government cracked down hard on black militants. Nelson Mandela, who had organized sabotage against jails, post offices, and railroads, was arrested and sentenced to life in prison. By 1962, South Africa was on the way to economic recovery, thanks largely to her enormous mineral reserves. (See Economics, page 14.)

The Organization of African Unity tried to organize a boycott of South Africa, but several black governments found that they had to do business with the racist regime. South African aid helped build Malawi's new capital at Lilongwe, and the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. By 1972, 78 percent of black workers in South African mines came from nearby states, mostly from Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, and Malawi.

Meanwhile, South African blacks were being removed from integrated urban neighborhoods and resettled in new suburban townships. By 1976, the South Western Native Township (Soweto) was home to 750,000 Africans, many of whom commuted to nearby Johannesburg for work.

The government hoped that separate black cities would be easier to police, but in June, 1976, riots erupted in Soweto. Dozens of public buildings, schools, and police vehicles were burned, and 176 people died.

In 1966, the U.N. General Assembly ended South Africa's mandate over Namibia and demanded independence for the territory. South Africa still occupies Namibia, but internal unrest and the threat of economic sanctions have forced the government to make concessions—in Namibia and at home. (For details, see the next article.) Today, apartheid remains what British historian Paul Johnson once called it: "a massing of totalitarian power . . . which, for consistency and duration, is rivaled only by Soviet Russia's own."

—Jonathan Rose

WHAT'S BEHIND SOUTH AFRICA'S CRY OF PAIN

The arguments in favor of apartheid now ring hollow even to many whites who once voiced them. But the government, rather than dismantle an unjust system, merely tinkers with it.

In order to hold a job, Sara Quabela, a black woman in South Africa, lives in constant fear of arrest. "My children are starving and there is no work where I come from," she told a U.S. journalist recently, referring to the distant "homeland" where South Africa's white government has assigned her. She found a job in Johannesburg paying six rand a day—about \$2.50—but was arrested, fined 30 rand, and sent back to her homeland. There, on exhausted soil, she could not support her family. So she went back to Johannesburg. "I have no choice but to try again," she said.

Sara's story is not unique. An estimated 5 million blacks live illegally in South Africa's cities. They are victims of the maze of laws that make up apartheid, South Africa's policy of discrimination against non-whites.

WAVE OF VIOLENCE

Over the past 15 months, that policy has caused a wave of violence that may break South Africa apart. The violence has put Pieter Botha, the nation's president, in a tight spot. To his right, Afrikaners taught to revere their Dutch ancestors' sacrifices vow to die to preserve white rule. To his left, thousands of blacks, aware of their own pain and the sacrifices of their ancestors, vow to die to end white rule. Botha's response has been to tinker with the system, proposing small changes. Yet, as this survey of South Africa's turmoil shows, the time for minor changes may be long past.

Apartheid laws divide South Africans into four race groups: white, black, Asian and Coloured (people of mixed race). Each group is assigned its own areas, schools, and facilities.

Political rights are also distributed according to race. Whites elect the state president and members of the

powerful 185-seat white parliament. Recent reforms have given Asians, who trace their ancestry mostly to India, their own, nearly powerless, 46-seat parliament. Coloureds now have a parliament, too, with 92 seats and little power. Yet blacks have political rights only in the "homelands," 10 areas set aside for them.

Outside the homelands, blacks have little freedom of movement. Section 10 of a law called the Urban Areas Act states that only certain blacks may live in South Africa's cities. Blacks have "Section 10 rights" if they were born in the city where they live, or if they worked there for more than 10 years. Blacks without such rights—like Sara Qabela—risk jail, fines, and "deportation" to the homelands.

Part of South Africa's problem, observers say, may be that its white leaders aren't totally honest—even with themselves—about apartheid's goals. These laws preserve white minority rule. Yet officials often say that they are designed to give all groups in South Africa the freedom to grow as they wish. "Each race in South Africa is allowed to develop," Botha said recently, "still maintaining its own traditions and integrity."

Few besides diehard white South Africans buy that argument. John W. Riehm, head of Freedom House, a private U.S. group, calls apartheid "legalized racism." The United Nations agrees, and expelled South Africa from the General Assembly.

Botha insists South Africa is "on the path of reform." Apartheid has been modified lately, most notably by a new constitution adopted in 1983. This body of laws created the new Coloured and Asian parliaments.

But critics say all real power is still in white hands. For example, the white parliament can veto any deci-



Blacks as well as whites serve in South Africa's police force and thus play a role in enforcing apartheid laws. Dressed and armed for

sion made by the Asian or Coloured parliaments. Also, the new Constitution gives no role in the nation's government to South Africa's 23 million blacks—72 percent of the population.

In the past year, residents of the black townships outside South Africa's cities have protested the "reforms." More than 900 people have died in the almost daily demonstrations since October, 1984. Many were victims of fighting between blacks. But at least 75 percent died in clashes with police, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

UNAVOIDABLE BLOODSHED

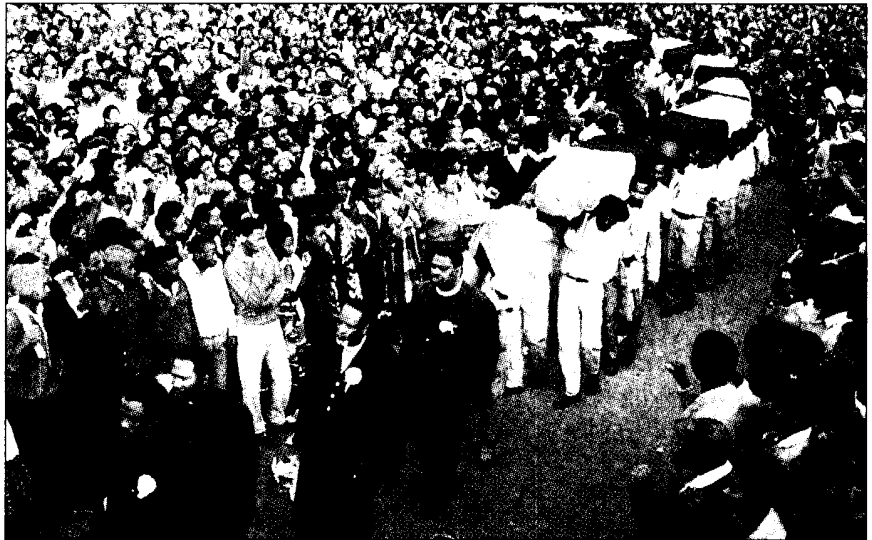
Bishop Desmond Tutu, whose work for racial justice won him a Nobel Prize, has pleaded for non-violent protests. Yet he thinks violence can no longer be avoided. "I still hope for peaceful change," he says, "but I think that because the government refuses to make meaningful reforms, more bloodshed is inevitable."

A focus of the protests is the white government's plan to deny South African citizenship to blacks. To achieve this end, the government grouped the nation's blacks by tribal heritage into 10 "black nations." During the 1970s, each "nation" was assigned a "homeland"—generally a barren tract of rural land. All people with parents in the Tswana tribal group, for example, were assigned to Bophuthatswana, five separate parcels of land along South Africa's northern border. It didn't matter where the 2.5 million



© William Campbell Sygma

riot duty, these men look on during a mass funeral held for the more than 900 blacks who have died during the past 15 months.



© Peter Magubane/Gamma Liaison

At a funeral in Duncan Village, near East London on South Africa's southeast coast, the coffins of riot victims are draped with the flags of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC, South Africa's oldest black protest organization, is now outlawed.

Tswanas were born or raised. If they didn't have Section 10 rights, they were moved to Bophuthatswana, which became independent in 1977.

Even for blacks with Section 10 rights, life in urban areas is restricted. They cannot live wherever they want—nor, under the law, can anyone else in South Africa. The Group Areas Act of 1950 requires South Africa's four racial groups to live apart. Since 1961, 3.5 million non-whites have been evicted from their houses and relocated, either in the homelands or in other parts of the same urban area. The reason: to rid areas designated as white of so-called "black spots."

Another focus of the protests in black townships is the hated passbooks. Passbooks are identity documents that non-whites must carry at all times and produce on demand. These passbooks show where their bearers live and work—where, in other words, they are allowed to be. Non-whites can be arrested if caught without passbooks, or outside areas their passbooks give them permission to be.

Whites carry identity documents, too. But these are merely cards, much like driver's licences in the U.S., and their bearers are rarely asked to show them. "Most of the time, it sits in your drawer at home," says Lily Stewart, a white South African. Whites can travel anywhere they want, although they must obtain permits to visit some black areas.

In September, a government panel called passbook laws "evil and de-

grading" and advised that they be scrapped. No end to the pass policy has been announced, although arrests for passbook violations are down.

What has been announced is a proposal to allow blacks to own land outside the homelands. If parliament okays the plan, blacks will be able to buy land in areas reserved for them.

THUNDER FROM THE RIGHT

For most South Africans, such reforms offer too little, too late. Yet a large bloc of whites calls the reforms too extreme. "Changes the government is making will destroy this country," says Julia Stofburg of the Herstigte National Party (HNP). The HNP and the larger Conservative Party are both set against dismantling apartheid.

The HNP uses history to buttress its claim that the whites have a right to run South Africa. When whites first colonized South Africa in the 1600s, the HNP points out, very few blacks lived in the area. Many moved to South Africa in the 1800s and 1900s, lured by jobs and the higher standard of living generated by the whites.

Black migration into South Africa continues today. Every year thousands of blacks from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Botswana move to South Africa illegally. According to the HNP and others, apartheid protects white society from being overwhelmed by this migration. Moreover, they say, apartheid—and especially Section 10 regulations—protect blacks already living in the cities from

an influx of unskilled workers.

Over the past year, the HNP has gained strength. Recently, it took a parliamentary seat—its first—from Botha's National Party, which has ruled South Africa since 1948.

Botha, whose party has lost a third of its traditional supporters, refuses to let apartheid alone. "We cannot follow a policy of stagnation," he said after the HNP won its seat. His party has gained the support of liberal voters who back his reforms.

While diehard defenders of apartheid have become more visible, so has black opposition. Demonstrations are only one part of the protests. Students in many black areas refuse to go to classes or take exams. The African National Congress, (ANC), an outlawed black group, has committed acts of sabotage inside South Africa.

The latest group of blacks to speak out against apartheid is the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Unions of black workers, once banned, were first allowed to form six years ago. Their leaders have only now begun to take a stand on South Africa's political future. The Congress called for Botha's resignation, for a government takeover of the country's mines, and for an end to the pass laws. If these demands aren't met, warns Elijah Barayi, head of the Congress, "We are going to burn all the passes of the black man." Last month, 50,000 Congress members vowed to do just that.

—Clare McHugh

WHY SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMY IS THE TARGET OF APARTHEID'S FOES

South Africa's economy is the nation's pride. Enemies of apartheid view it as the government's Achilles' heel—a vulnerable point which, if hurt, could force an end to minority rule.

A mile deep into the soil of Johannesburg, South Africa's biggest city, is a dark, sweaty world far from the skyscrapers and lights. Beneath the banks and boulevards, the offices, schools, churches, and homes are the pits where men dig for gold.

Perhaps only in such oil-rich nations as Saudi Arabia or Kuwait is the economic foundation of a country as clear as South Africa's. Gold, diamonds, and a rainbow of rare metals are the roots that support the richest, most powerful nation in Africa.

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 lured prospectors and foreign investors to what was then a land of farmers and herders. The impact was immediate. Roads were built where there had been only wagon trails. Bridges arched over rivers. With the infusion of millions of dollars from gold sales, South Africa's economy changed overnight. As peoples' incomes rose, so did their demand for new, more, and better goods. Imports of steel, machinery, clothing, and other goods soared.

A NATION TRANSFORMED

In 1887, coal was discovered. This provided abundant, cheap power to run the mines and fuel the railroads.

All of this transformed the land and the people. The site of the original gold find, once grassland, went from mining camp to metropolis. Called Johannesburg today, the site is where 1.5 million people live.

The ripple of gold earnings to other areas of the economy continues. Industry, office work, and other services now represent a bigger share of the domestic economy than gold or diamonds. Since 1946, manufacturing's share of the economy has more than doubled—from 12 percent to about 26 percent. Factories began a rapid expansion during World War II, when

European imports were unavailable. Today, the country produces everything from chemicals and steel to plastics, paper, and cars.

The combination of mineral riches, manufacturing, and a high level of education—at least for whites—makes the nation an economic giant in Africa. Its gross national product (GNP)—the value of all goods and services produced in a year—is huge. It's nearly nine times the combined GNPs of the five nations that border it to the north and east.

Despite all the factories, South Africa's mines—yielding everything from antimony to zirconium—remain the economy's vital core. Mining employs more than 7 percent of all workers. By comparison, mines provide only about 1 percent of all U.S. jobs.

South Africa's fortunes rise and fall with the price of gold. During the 1970s, its price rose from \$35 to \$700

an ounce. In 1980, it hit a high of \$875 an ounce. South Africa's income soared alongside those prices. Between 1972 and 1980, gold's share of South Africa's export income rose from 28 percent to 44 percent. Last year, gold is estimated to have accounted for 50 percent of the nation's export earnings. Today, South Africa supplies about 70 percent of the non-Communist world's gold.

Gold's rising price helped keep South Africa's treasury full, too. During the 1970s, government income from the heavy tax it levies on gold sales soared more than 3,000 percent. The treasury took in more money than it spent. In 1986, this surplus makes a crucial difference. "If the mines shut down completely, the country would go bankrupt," says Michael Coulson, a British expert on South Africa's economy. "That's unlikely to happen, but that's the bottom line."

TARGETING THE ECONOMY

The government's going broke may be unlikely, but the nation's economy is under assault nonetheless. Blacks are protesting the system of racial segregation known as apartheid. And much of the protest is designed to shake up South Africa's economy.

The protests have stirred opposition to apartheid far from South Africa's shores. U.S. President Ronald Reagan has announced a list of economic sanctions against South Africa. In recent years, South Africa's private banks and companies have borrowed heavily abroad, and the President ordered restrictions on U.S. loans to these borrowers. He also banned computer sales to South African agencies that enforce apartheid, and he outlawed sales in the U.S. of the Krugrand, a South African gold coin.

The sanctions followed an earlier demand by U.S. and other banks that South African banks and companies repay their loans. Seeing the protests, killings of blacks, and miners' strikes, U.S. banks worried about the impact of the unrest on South Africa's economy. They demanded payment on billions of dollars in loans.



Jason LaRue

Gold, used in electrical switches and jet engines as well as jewelry, earns billions of dollars for South Africa each year.

This demand caught South Africans off balance. "We are being asked to pay all our debts in a minute," complained Aubrey Dickman, an economist who works for a group of South African mining and industrial companies. "No country can do that." The South African government, which also owes billions of dollars to U.S. banks, slapped a four-month freeze on its own loan repayments. The freeze has been extended into 1986.

In the U.S., meanwhile, anti-apartheid protests have shifted to 350 U.S. firms that do business in South Africa. These companies—with investments of about \$2.8 billion—account for less than 20 percent of all foreign investment in South Africa. U.S. firms control about 33 percent of South Africa's auto industry, 44 percent of its oil industry, and 70 percent of its computer industry. Many of apartheid's foes say that the U.S. firms' presence aids South Africa's economy. And that, they say, helps keep apartheid alive.

DISINVESTMENT

These critics hope to weaken the South African economy by getting U.S. companies to withdraw. To convince companies to withdraw, they want people who own shares of these companies to sell them—making the shares worth less and less. Critics hope that the mere threat that U.S. companies will leave South Africa will push the white minority there to grant full rights to the 23 million black Africans.

So far in the U.S., at least 10 state and 30 city governments have sold some of the stock their pension funds own in companies that do business in South Africa. Students at more than 70 colleges and universities have pressured their schools to "disinvest," too. And many have.

Yet there is sharp disagreement in the U.S. and South Africa over the impact of disinvestment. The U.S. State Department says that South Africa needs about \$1 billion a year in foreign investment—mainly in mining, manufacturing, and oil refining—to keep its economy growing. A pull-out would presumably wound the

TOP 10 U.S. COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By number of employees)

Company	Employees
Ford Motor Co.*	6,673
General Motors Corp.	4,949
Coca-Cola Co.	4,765
Mobil Corp.	3,342
U.S. Gypsum	2,631
Goodyear Tire	2,510
Caltex Petroleum Corp.	2,151
Allegheny Int'l Inc.	2,025
R.J. Reynolds	1,804
Int'l Bus. Machines	1,793

* Ford merged its operations with Amcar Motor Holdings, of which it owns 42 percent.

Source: Investor Responsibility Research Center, Wash., DC

"My people want you and need you here, just as we need the whites and the whites need us."

DIVIDED OPINIONS

Experts in the U.S. and elsewhere are similarly divided. "Our strongest leverage against the system is economic pressure," says Willard Johnson, a political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Foreign investment has always been seen by Afrikaners [the majority of whites] as a sign of moral approval, as well as a base for industrialization."

Others are not so certain. "South Africa is a fairly self-sustaining economy," says Stephen Lewis, chief economist at a British firm that studies South Africa's economy. "It could pay for its imports without credit [from U.S. banks] and still survive."

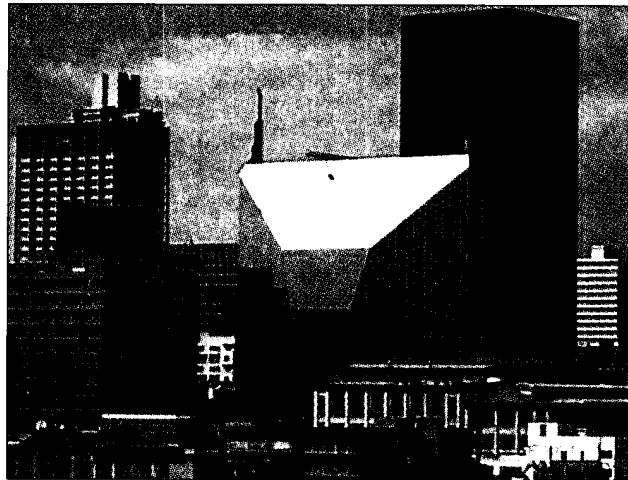
Whatever the impact, the disinvestment drive angers South African

President Pieter W. Botha. He threatens to retaliate by cutting chromium sales to the U.S. By his estimate, that would put a million Americans out of work. "My message to the U.S. . . . is that by digging a hole for South Africa, they could end up harming themselves," he says.

Botha's numbers might be off target. But a study by the U.S. Commerce Department finds that 60 percent of all Americans in private industry work for firms that use chromium—most of it from South Africa.

Ironically, South Africans have not always been eager to encourage international firms to settle in their country. Only 20 years ago, some South Africans saw foreign investment as a *threat* to apartheid. M. Viljoen, a former top labor official, warned that foreign investment would make South Africa too industrial a nation. To meet their demand for labor, he said, companies would hire and train more blacks. And *that*, he felt, would lead to racial equality. "The enemies of South Africa encourage foreign investment as much as they can," Viljoen said. "They consider that every dollar invested will crack and destroy . . . apartheid."

—Peter M. Jones



Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city, is built on the site of the first gold strike a century ago. Diamond-shaped headquarters of the Anglo-American Corp. stands in the center.

economy. But the question is, who would get hurt—blacks or whites?

Critics say that blacks are already hurting under the current system. Whites miners, for example, earn on average four times the wages of blacks. Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black leader who won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, supports economic pressure, even though it might hurt blacks. He says he will demand disinvestment if the whites do not end apartheid by 1987.

Other blacks disagree. "It is morally imperative that American firms remain active here," says Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of 7 million Zulu people.

A CLOSE-UP LOOK AT FIVE NATIONS ON THE "FRONT LINE"

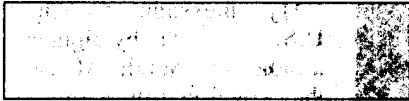
Five nations—Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Botswana—are the “front line” of black-ruled nations bordering white-ruled South Africa. They’re on the front line in more ways than geographically. Their economies and their security all depend to some extent on the way South Africa solves its problems.

That’s why, in public, the leaders of these frontline states restrain their objections to South Africa’s racial policies, which they condemn in private. It’s also why they oppose forcing an end to apartheid with economic sanctions—restrictions on trade with South Africa. “Those [governments] who talk of sanctions must give us some assurance that they will assist our economies should sanctions be applied,” says Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe’s prime minister. “We are the ones who will suffer first from sanctions.”

Several of the frontline states are heavily dependent on South Africa, which employs miners from

neighboring nations. These miners bring home substantial income. Yet the frontline states may lose that source of income if South Africa sends some 1.5 million black foreign workers home in reaction to sanctions applied by the U.S. and other nations. South Africa’s manpower minister, P.T.C. du Plessis, has spoken ominously about “contingency plans . . . for relieving unemployment in the face of disinvestment, sanctions, and boycotts.” Such statements send shock waves through the frontline states, whose economies, as the following pieces show, are already teetering.

Another common worry of the frontline states is the possible involvement of the U.S. in Angola’s civil war. President Reagan is said to be in favor of secret aid to UNITA. UNITA, the rebel group fighting Angola’s Marxist government, currently relies largely on aid from South Africa. And the U.S. Congress is considering bills which would provide some \$27 million in open aid to UNITA.



Capitalist know-how helps fuel Angola’s Marxist economy. It’s a marriage born of necessity. Angola is a vast country 13 times the size of Portugal, from which it won independence in 1975. Locked in civil war from the start, the young nation never had time to create the expertise it would need to develop the nation’s resources alone. So a U.S. firm, Gulf Oil, pumps oil out of the ground at Cabinda, a coastal enclave physically separated from the rest of Angola by Zaire’s western tip. Without this odd partnership—a Marxist state’s reliance on a capitalist company—Angola might well be bankrupt. Oil and related products account for 84 percent of the nation’s exports.

Angola’s Marxist president, José dos Santos, leads the MPLA, which took power after the Portuguese left in 1975. But his party is only one of three groups that fought for independence. When an earlier MPLA leader turned his back on the other two groups, they began to fight the government. Today, the UNITA faction, led by Jonas Savimbi, controls, in the South, some 30 to 40 percent of the country.

Communist nations help dos Santos fight the war. Cuba has some 25,000 sol-

diers in his country. Military advisers from East Germany and the Soviet Union work with the Cubans.

Savimbi’s UNITA gets help wherever it can—from several black African nations and even from South Africa. South Africa is UNITA’s chief supplier, and gives it access to airstrips and roads.

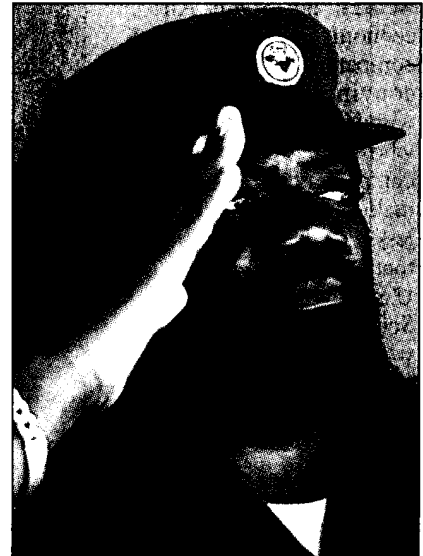
DIAMOND MINE

Besides its oilfields, Angola’s major money-maker is a diamond mine at Dundo, in the east-central portion of the country. The government relies on geologists and mine experts from South Africa’s De Beers Company to run the mine. Savimbi’s troops have raided the mine to get diamonds to finance his operations.

South African troops are frequently active in Angola, too. Their target is the South-West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO), a group dedicated to freeing Namibia from South African control.

Angola’s civil war has made it hard for the country to feed itself. It imports food, military equipment, and machinery from a number of places, including Portugal, France, and the Soviet Union. It exports half its products—mostly oil—to the U.S.

Three tribal groups—the Ovimbundu, the Mbundu, and the Kongo—account for 72 percent of Angola’s population. Angola also has a sizable mixed-race population, created through intermarriage during 500 years of Portuguese rule.



Pascal Maatre/Gamma Liaison

Jonas Savimbi’s National Union has battled the government for 11 years.

Many of the mixed-race Angolans are descended from Portuguese criminals. Centuries ago, Portugal used Angola as a penal colony—a place to send its criminals. Men condemned to Angola saw it as a kind of prison. But it was also a lush, rich country, full of potential. Portugal never had the money to develop Angola. So Angola remains one of the last large tracts of unexploited land in the world.

Zambia

President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's elected leader since Great Britain granted it independence in 1964, rules over a one-party state with a single goal: economic development. Development is an elusive goal for Zambia, whose only major resource, copper, has been in little demand in recent years.

Still, Zambians consider themselves fortunate that they are separated by other frontline states from South Africa. This distance enables them to focus their energies on strengthening their industries. Yet Zambia, a landlocked nation, is dependent on South Africa for transporting its goods to the outside world.

Zambia, slightly larger than Texas, is lucky in another way. Its 6 million people belong to more than 70 tribal groups. A nation of minorities, Zambia has been spared the kind of tribal hostility that has torn other African countries apart.

Zambia won its own independence peacefully. But its neighbors Angola, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique did not. Their wars for liberation caused Zambia much harm. At one point, war spilling

over from Zimbabwe closed down Zambia's tourist industry, losing it millions of dollars in needed foreign exchange.

Falling copper prices have forced Zambia to shelve a number of plans. Among them was an ambitious scheme to create a university system. For President Kaunda, slow development is painful. "At independence," he said, "we had only 100 university graduates. We were on a race to higher achievement when the oil crisis of 1973 came. Then, soon after, copper prices began to go down. With high interest rates,

we can no longer buy the raw materials we need. We can't get foreign currency, so our industries have been going down in production. Unemployment has set in."

PROMOTING AGRICULTURE

Faced with all these problems, Zambia has decided to make an all-out effort to develop farming. This, experts say, seems a reasonable aim for a country with so much rich, fertile land.

South Africa, though far away, is rarely distant from the thoughts of Zambia's leaders. "South Africa is the most impor-



Skyline of Lusaka, Zambia's capital, where 600,000 live. Two other Zambian cities house over 300,000.

tant trading country in Africa for Zambia," a Zambian diplomat in the U.S., Elias Kavembe, told UPDATE.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS

Zambia does what it can to help South Africans find a solution to their problems. Recently, it brought together white South African businessmen and the exiled leaders of the African National Congress, the leading black protest group in South Africa. But, for the foreseeable future, Zambia's major preoccupation will continue to be its own economy.

settlers fled upon independence, 100,000 remain. Their farming and business skills have been an essential ingredient in Zimbabwe's success.

Still, Zimbabwe is finding it difficult to feed its people. Before independence, it exported food. But soon after, it was importing food—the result of drought, continual rural violence, and the exodus of white farmers, who had trained few black Zimbabweans to take their place. Recently, however, the nation recorded a food surplus again—one of the few nations anywhere in Africa to do so.

Two major tribal groups dominate Zimbabwe's population of about 8 million. The Shona, of which Mugabe is leader, make up about 77 percent of the total. The Ndebele, led by Joshua Nkomo, account for 19 percent. Mugabe and Nkomo, once bitter enemies, now live by an uneasy truce. In 1983, relations between them were so bad that Nkomo fled into exile.

PRESSURES FROM REFUGEES

One of the nation's major problems is taking care of many thousands of refugees from Mozambique, which is in the throes of civil war. As long as fighting continues in Mozambique, the refugees must be fed and housed—not easy in a country that is



Last year, the largely capitalist Zimbabwe celebrated the fifth anniversary of its independence.

already spending more than it earns.

Of all the frontline states, however, Zimbabwe should be able to handle the job. Its farmers are prospering again. The government has not threatened to take over any businesses. The result, for a newly independent nation, is a sound economy. With its exports—mainly tobacco, gold, and steel alloys—Zimbabwe can afford to import the machinery its industries need and the fuel to run them.

Despite these successes of capitalist economics, Mugabe insists that he wants to "create a socialist society" in Zimbabwe. But few expect him to actually do it, although he may make Zimbabwe a one-party state, with his socialist party, ZANU, in charge.

Mozambique

Of the five frontline states, no country is in poorer shape than Mozambique. Its economy is a total shambles. At \$220 a year, the country's per capita income is the lowest of the group. A terrible drought has killed 100,000 people, and 4 million still face starvation. A civil war has raged there for the past eight years, draining the economy and making the countryside unsafe for ordinary travel.

In order to secure some measure of safety for his people, President Samora Machel, a Marxist, had to swallow his pride. He signed a peace accord with South Africa, which had been supporting the rebel movement. Yet, even this humiliating act was little help. Within a year, South Africa had broken the accord and begun to resupply the rebel group, the Mozambican National Resistance Movement.

Mozambique's ruling party, Frelimo, was the guerrilla organization that won independence from Portugal in 1975. The Portuguese hadn't prepared the Mozambicans to run their own affairs. After 500 years of Portuguese rule, only 7 percent of the population could read. The country had fewer than 100 doctors. Practically no

one had been trained to run the farms, the industries, the ports, or the government bureaucracy. Worse, Mozambique, a fertile land twice the size of California, was unable to feed itself.

Most of the Portuguese who lived in Mozambique fled after independence. About 60,000 Portuguese now live in South Africa, where they aid the anti-Machel rebels.

Uneasy relations with South Africa have hurt Machel's Mozambique from the start. In 1975, 100,000 Mozambicans worked in South African mines. Their earnings were a great help to Mozambique's economy. Shortly after Machel took over, however, South Africa sent 60,000 Mozambican miners home. Mozambique still feels the loss of their earnings. South Africa also stopped using the port at Maputo, Mozambique's capital city. This shift cost Mozambique millions of dollars a year in lost income.

DANGER ZONES

At present, Machel's government can't claim full control of any of the country's 10 provinces. Only Maputo and a few



The port city of Maputo is one of the few places in Mozambique that government forces still control.

other cities are safe to move around in.

President Machel has begun to turn to the West for aid. This past September, he met with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. U.S. assistance last year amounted to about \$30 million.

To find its footing economically, Mozambique will need more than foreign aid. It must find a way to make its farms produce an adequate food supply. And, to get dollars to buy needed equipment abroad, it must find a way to boost its exports.

Botswana

Until Botswana's 1960 discovery of diamonds, this Texas-sized nation's economy was based almost entirely on cattle. Discovered by geologists from De Beers, part of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, diamonds have given Botswana a chance to make its way economically. At the same time, diamonds have made Botswana, of all the frontline states, the one most dependent on South Africa. Diamonds make up about 90 percent of Botswana's exports.

Botswanans also earn paychecks in South African mines. Thus, Botswana's economic health is tied to South Africa's. "Whatever you do against South Africa is going to hurt us," says Legwaila Legwaila, Botswana's ambassador to the United Nations. "The economies of our two countries have been inextricably linked."

President Quett Masire oversees a capitalist economy—one in which few of the 1.1 million Botswanans have much chance to deal in cash transactions. Some 85 percent of them earn their livings from the land. The Kalahari Desert, which covers a large portion of Botswana, is home to the San, who make up about 5 percent of the

population. The San live as their ancestors did, hundreds of years ago. Most other Botswanans belong to the Tswana tribal group.

The diamond mines, expected to remain productive for at least 50 years, are crucial to Botswana. The government takes half the profits, and it taxes diamond sales.

Tourism brings in cash, too. Mostly, tourists trek to the huge Okavango Swamp in the North. This vast wilderness is filled with rare wildlife. Just north of the Okavango, Botswana borders the Caprivi Strip, a long finger of Namibian land. This odd quirk of the map means that South Africa, or its disputed territory of Namibia, hems in Botswana on three sides.

Botswana uses its export income to import grain, fuel, machinery, transportation equipment, and metals—almost all from South Africa. South Africa also supplies half of Botswana's electricity and permits Botswana access to its ports.

CONTROLLED MARKET

Botswana's diamonds are marketed in a very complicated way, through a near-mo-

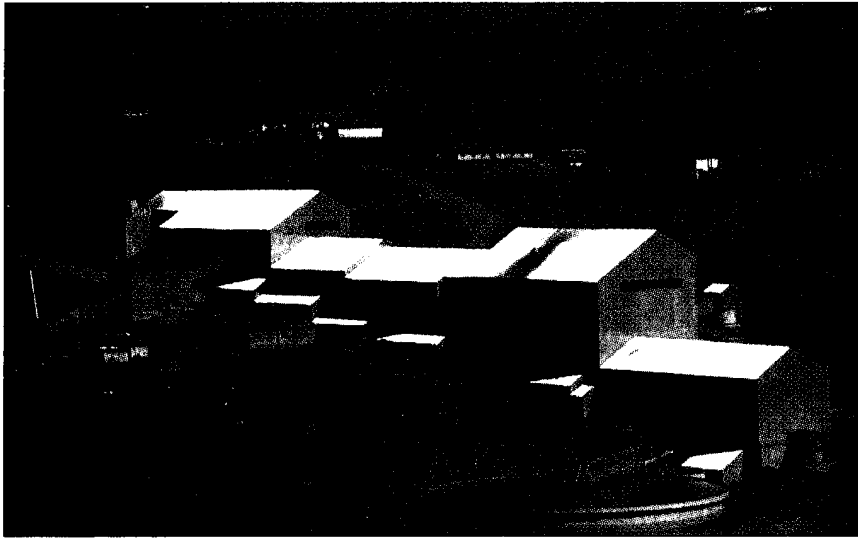


In Botswana's racially mixed society, black and white children of diamond miners attend school together.

nopoly controlled by De Beers. There is no other reliable way for Botswana to sell its diamonds—a situation that makes its reliance on South Africa nearly total.

Even in good years, it must buy abroad about two thirds of the grain it uses. The drought of the past three years has forced Botswana to become more dependent on foreign aid than any other African nation. The government has had to divert much of its development budget for emergency relief.

—Ettagale Blauer



Jason Laurg

A diamond mine in Lesotho. Unlike Swaziland, Lesotho has no significant mineral wealth. About half its work force is employed in South African mines. Swaziland, on the other hand, earns a lot from tourism and exports iron ore, mainly to Japan.

TWO ISLANDS IN THE STORM

The tiny kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland are trying to make their own way in a region torn by strife. That's not easy, with South Africa and its problems pressing on all sides.

LESOTHO

Slightly larger than Maryland, landlocked, mountainous Lesotho is bordered on all sides by the Republic of South Africa. That country's racial conflicts often touch Lesotho's borders, yet they rarely cross them. That doesn't mean that the 1.5 million citizens of Lesotho—mostly black Africans of the Basuto tribe—are indifferent to what goes on around them. They strongly oppose the racial policies of the South African government.

Last October, King Mosheshoe of Lesotho asked the United Nations "to take necessary and appropriate measures to deter and disarm the oppressive regime" of South Africa. The king also called for economic sanctions against South Africa, even though such sanctions would hurt Lesotho's economy. In this, the king was backed by Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan and most of Lesotho's elected representatives.

This is a brave stand by a tiny nation. However, the people of Lesotho have a long history of brave stands.

In 1824, after wars had laid waste much of Southern Africa, Moshesh, king of the Basuto tribe, led his people to safety in the Lesotho Highlands. There, they formed the Basuto nation, which prospered for 32 years.

In 1856, Boers—white settlers of Dutch origin—began moving into the region. They tried to drive out the Basutos. But the Basutos fought back from mountain fortresses.

CALL FOR HELP

Finally, in 1868, King Moshesh appealed to the British for help. The British, bitter rivals of the Boers, created the Protectorate of Basutoland.

Over the years, the Basutos developed democratic institutions for self-government. Finally, in 1966, the Protectorate of Basutoland became the independent Kingdom of Lesotho.

From the start, Lesotho's government has tried to live in peace with South Africa. That's not easy. In December, 1982, South African troops raided Lesotho in pursuit of members of the African National Congress

(ANC), a group outlawed in South Africa. Thirty refugees and 12 Lesotho citizens were killed.

For a time, it seemed that Lesotho would no longer be an "island of peace." A few months later, however, Lesotho agreed not to shelter the ANC, and peace was restored.

In a way, Lesotho is a "hostage" nation. It has no army. South Africa has the most powerful army on the African continent. Thousands of Lesothans work in South Africa, whose leaders have threatened to expel them if foreign nations sever trade links with South Africa. Nonetheless, Lesothans continue to speak out against injustice in South Africa.

SWAZILAND

In past development and present status, Swaziland resembles Lesotho. But there are some big differences.

Like Lesotho, Swaziland is a landlocked, mountainous kingdom. Its history begins in the late 1700s, when a Swazi chief, Ngwane, led his people over the mountains to their present location. During much of the 1800s, the Swazi nation was pressured by Boers and British. In 1890, Swaziland became part of the Boer republic of Transvaal. Twelve years later, Swaziland became a British protectorate. It gained full independence in 1968.

CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE

Almost entirely surrounded by South Africa, the kingdom shares a short border with Mozambique. Though smaller in size and population than Lesotho, Swaziland is richer in mineral and agricultural resources.

Despite its wealth, Swaziland is less defiant of South Africa than Lesotho is. Swazi police have even arrested ANC refugees from South Africa.

Ruling groups in Swaziland are very conservative and traditionalist. They don't want Marxist Mozambique to affect their ways. Also, they are painfully aware that their small nation could become a battleground between white-ruled South Africa and black frontline nations, which include Mozambique.

Clearly, Lesotho and Swaziland share the same goals. Each, in its own way, is struggling to maintain independence, stability, and cultural identity in a strife-torn region.

—Michael Cusack

KEY FIGURES CAUGHT UP IN SOUTHERN AFRICA'S TURMOIL

The 10 men profiled on these pages are among Southern Africa's top newsmakers. One, South Africa's chief executive, is a defender of his nation's policy of racial separation. The other nine are among apartheid's most vigorous opponents.

Four of them govern "Frontline States"—nations north of South Africa that have formed an alliance against South Africa. Two are leaders of outlawed rebel groups. Two others—a wealthy white South African and a black clergyman—argue for more peaceful avenues to change.

Among those missing from this list are Randall Robinson, a leader of the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S., and Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in South Africa. Two other figures of note are Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of South Africa's 7 million Zulus, and Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed activist Nelson Mandela. Recently Mrs. Mandela spoke out in defiance of a government ban on her appearance in public. Her book, *Part of My Soul Went with Him*, was recently released in the U.S.



Peter Jordan/Gamma-Liaison

Harry Oppenheimer, 77, South Africa's most powerful capitalist, is a vocal foe of apartheid, which he feels is unjust. Moreover, like many South African whites, he fears that apartheid could wreck his nation's economy. An unassertive man, he is the son of a German immigrant to South Africa who built a worldwide business empire on gold and diamonds. He believes that economic growth, spurred by foreign investment, can help South Africa prosper—for all its people.



Tannenbaum/Sygma

Bishop Desmond Tutu, 54, 1984 winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace and head of the South African Council of Churches, is one of the most respected and vigorous opponents of apartheid. Tutu calls for calm negotiations between the white South African government and black leaders. A former school teacher, he is a confident, warm public speaker. In hopes of forcing apartheid's end, he has urged foreign corporations to stop creating businesses in South Africa.

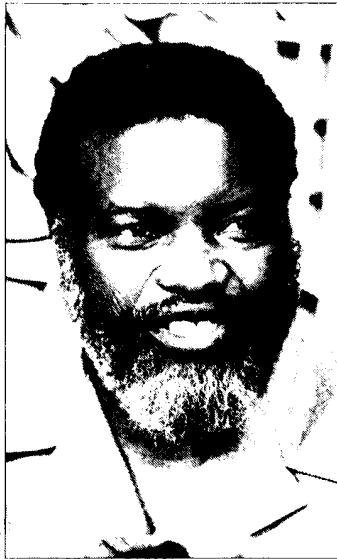


AP/Wide World

Nelson Mandela, 67, the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC), stands as a symbol of the determination of South Africa's blacks to win full rights. The proud son of a tribal chief, he joined the ANC in 1944. He has served 23 years of a life sentence for plotting the white government's overthrow. He has turned down offers for release because they stipulate that he renounce violence and live in a "homeland." His goal: "a democratic and free" South Africa.



Pieter W. Botha, 69, state president of South Africa, is a quick-tempered, tough politician. Prime minister from 1978 to 1984, he convinced white voters to accept a tricameral Parliament—one for whites and two weaker ones for Coloureds and Asians. These reforms shocked some hardliners. Yet others call them too little, too late, and score their goal of keeping the nation in the grip of the white minority. His plans fueled months of unrest by denying the black majority a political voice.



UPI

Dr. Sam Nujoma, 56, heads the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which the United Nations considers the legitimate representative of the 1.2 million mostly black people of Namibia (South-West Africa). SWAPO's Angola-based guerrillas are battling for Namibia's independence from South Africa, which gained control of the former German colony in 1915, imposed apartheid laws, and won't let go. Born of poor farmers, Nujoma co-founded SWAPO in 1960.



AP/Wide World

Quett Masire, 60, presides over Botswana, which boasts one of Africa's most open and democratic societies. An exporter of diamonds, Botswana sits in the middle of turbulent Southern Africa. Though 86 percent of his nation's imports come from South Africa, Masire has rejected South African pressure to keep African National Congress guerrillas from basing their operations in Botswana. Botswana's policy is to protect refugees from S. Africa.



Peter Jordan/Gamma Liaison

Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, 61, has since 1964 been president of Zambia, until then the British colony of N. Rhodesia. The recent collapse of the price of copper, Zambia's key export, has plunged its economy into deep trouble. A Marxist and one of Africa's most respected and trusted leaders, Kaunda regards white South Africans as Africans and believes that blacks and whites there must find a way to live together. In 1982, he held talks with P.W. Botha, then South Africa's prime minister.



UPI

Dr. Hastings Banda, 79, is "Life President" of Pennsylvania-sized Malawi, one of the world's least developed countries. He was educated in Scotland and the U.S., where he practiced medicine. An authoritarian ruler who encourages capitalism and pro-Western foreign policies, he has kept Malawi politically and economically stable since its independence in 1964. Banda is a foe of apartheid. Yet Malawi maintains diplomatic and trade relations with South Africa.



Therry Campion/Gamma Liaison

Samora Machel, 52, is president of Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries, which he helped free from Portuguese rule in 1975. A Marxist and foe of apartheid, he wants an end to violence in Southern Africa and particularly in his war-torn nation. In 1984, Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord. They agreed to end support of rebel actions against each other. Though backed by the Soviet Union, Machel hopes to lure Western business investment.



Robert Mugabe, 61, prime minister of Zimbabwe, is a revolutionary who fought to end white minority rule in his country. A Marxist, he has said he intends to make Zimbabwe a one-party, socialist state. Yet today Zimbabwe has a capitalist-style economy. A carpenter's son, Mugabe is a strong critic of South Africa's racial policies. "We cannot accept apartheid because it is politically, socially, and economically an undemocratic and unjust system," he says.

—Christopher C. Williams

THE DEBATE OVER U.S. POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. policymakers are caught up in an intense debate over how the U.S. can help end apartheid. Critics say the President's cautious tactics so far don't put enough pressure on South Africa.

The protesters were peaceful but insistent. Every weekday for a year—until this past Thanksgiving—they marched outside the South African embassy in Washington, DC, demanding that the white-ruled nation end apartheid. Drawing on tactics learned from the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s, more than 3,000 protesters there pushed forward to be arrested—including 22 Congressmen and Senators, religious and labor leaders, and scores of others.

The protesters, organized by a group known as the Free South Africa Movement, didn't expect their marches to convince South Africa's leaders to grant full rights to its black majority. Instead, anti-apartheid leaders aimed their efforts closer to home—at the American people. Their goals: to raise public awareness of the plight of South Africa's blacks, and to push the U.S. government to step up pressure on that nation's white regime. "We're going to lobby as long as it's necessary," said Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. "The world is watching America, and we are the only people who can change the policies of our government."

Anti-apartheid protests are at the center of an emotional debate over what the U.S. can—and should—do to help speed the end of South Africa's system of racial segregation and oppression. "America's view of apartheid is simple and straightforward: we believe it's wrong," President Reagan declared this fall. "We condemn it. And we're united in hoping for the day when apartheid will be no more."

What's not so simple is how the U.S. can best use its influence to make that goal a reality. Anti-apartheid activists such as Mrs. King argue for strong steps to undermine white

rule, including cutting off U.S. trade and investment. Business leaders and top U.S. officials, however, counsel a more cautious approach. Punishing South Africa, they warn, will lessen U.S. influence, not increase it. The U.S., they say, can best help by working for gradual change before it's too late. "Do we want to see the country become so unstable that there is a violent revolution?" warned U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. "History teaches that the black majority might likely wind up exchanging one set of oppressors for another."

U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS

For years, U.S. policymakers have struggled to balance moral opposition to apartheid with the need to protect other U.S. interests in the region. The problem is, South Africa has been America's most dependable ally there, and it is southern Africa's strongest industrial and military power. Its technical know-how and modern transport system play a major role in the economies of a dozen neighboring black

nations. Its mineral wealth has made it the main supplier of several metals the U.S. considers essential to its own economic and military security. It controls the shipping lanes around the southern tip of Africa, which carry 70 percent of Europe's oil from the Middle East. And it's the leading opponent of Soviet influence in the area.

For all these reasons, President Reagan has tried to maintain close relations with South Africa. His policy, known as "constructive engagement," has stressed quiet persuasion to encourage the white regime to gradually adopt reforms. "Indignation alone doesn't make for an effective foreign policy, nor does isolating South Africa" says Bob Bruce, a State Department spokesman. "Constructive engagement means trying to work constructively for change. In the Administration's view, the South African government urgently needs to engage in dialogue and negotiations with black leaders."

Backers of constructive engagement fear that cutting off most trade and investment in South Africa could backfire. Such moves, they claim, would hurt U.S. companies in the region, most of which already abide by principles of equal hiring and pay for black workers. Even worse, they say, such actions could sabotage jobs and



President Reagan meets Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, at the White House. Bishop Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, calls for tough U.S. sanctions against South Africa to force the white regime to dismantle apartheid.

J.L. Arian/Syema

living standards for millions of other black workers. "The Administration does not approve of disrupting the South African economy," says Bruce, "because that will hurt the very people you're trying to help."

Another key U.S. worry is American dependence on South African minerals. "South Africa is the Middle East of non-fuel resources," says Robert Wilson, director of strategic resources for the U.S. Commerce Department. "It's a geographic accident. They have almost every metal in significant quantity."

RELIANCE ON KEY METALS

According to Commerce Department studies, the U.S. relies on South Africa for about half of its supplies of five key metals—platinum, chromium, manganese, cobalt, and vanadium. These are needed to make specialty steels and alloys used in many high-tech products, such as cars, computers, and military equipment. Some 3.2 million U.S. jobs—mostly in the transportation, steel, and aerospace industries—could be affected if South African supplies were disrupted. "It could be very damaging to our economy," says Wilson. "And the key alternative supplier is the Soviet Union. We're not thrilled with the idea of depending on them for materials we need for national defense."

U.S. policymakers call "constructive engagement" just one part of a regional policy. That policy closely links progress in South Africa to reducing tensions among its neighbors.

South Africa is caught up in bitter armed squabbles with the Soviet-backed governments of Angola and Mozambique, and with guerrillas fighting its control of Namibia.

The U.N. has called repeatedly for independence for Namibia, a mineral-rich but thinly populated territory that South Africa has held since World War I. The Reagan Administration wants to negotiate a cease fire, leading to free elections and an independent government. But South Africa has stalled negotiations, some observers say, because it fears that elections would produce a rebel victory. Instead, last June it set up a new puppet regime there.

Another major obstacle to a solution in Namibia is South Africa's support for UNITA, an anti-government rebel group in Angola. There, some 30,000 Cuban troops prop up the Communist government. The U.S. seeks peace talks between UNITA and Angola's government. The key, most experts say, is a plan for Angola to send the Cuban troops home in exchange for a South African withdrawal from Namibia. Meanwhile, U.S. officials are hinting that if Angola doesn't soften, they may begin aiding UNITA. But, critics warn, such a move might appear to link Washington too closely with South Africa.

Is President Reagan's policy working? Yes, say backers, who say that South African president P.W. Botha is slowly placing his nation on the path of change. He has brought Indians and Coloureds (South Africans of mixed

race) into the government, legalized black labor unions, and abolished such "petty apartheid" laws as the bar against inter-racial marriages. "We have to remember that the government there is caught between right wing [whites] and the black majority," says the State Department's Bruce. "We are disappointed with the pace of reform. But to white South Africans, it's going very fast."

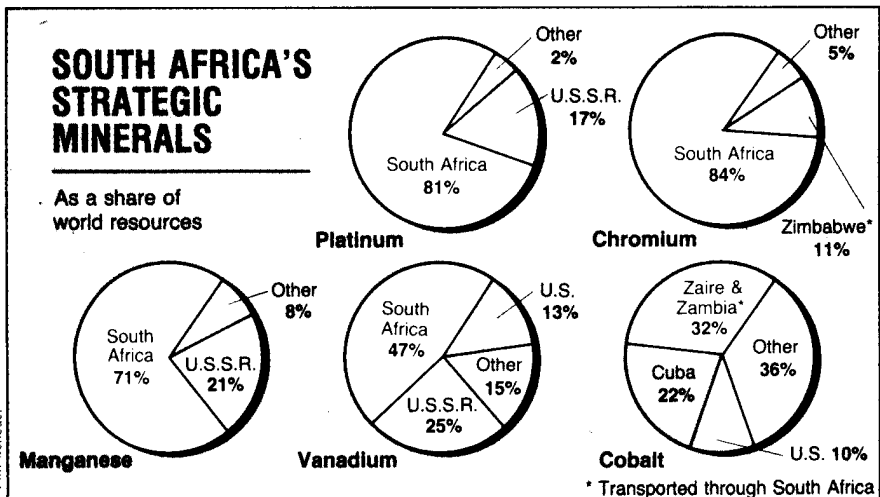
Critics, however, worry that constructive engagement has given South Africans the wrong impression of U.S. concerns. Emphasis on "quiet diplomacy," they say, has encouraged many whites to believe that the U.S. actually backs them. And it has bitterly angered most blacks, who blame the U.S. for defending the white regime. "That policy of constructive engagement is as evil, as immoral, as un-Christian as the policy that they are seeking to buttress—apartheid," said Bishop Desmond Tutu, the black Anglican leader who won the Nobel Peace Prize last year.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

Under growing pressure from Congress, last September President Reagan imposed sanctions aimed against "the machinery of apartheid." The order banned exports of nuclear technology and computers used to enforce race laws, imports of gold coins, and most loans to the South African government. President Botha promptly accused the U.S. of "economic warfare." Critics, however, said the President's move was too weak to have any real effect. "These are minor cosmetic changes," says Doug Tilton, legislative director of the Washington Office on Africa, a non-profit group that monitors African affairs. "U.S. investment is still strengthening the system on which apartheid exists."

Sooner or later, such critics warn, South Africa's black majority will come to power. In the long run, they say, the way to maintain U.S. interests is to put U.S. policy on the side of history, even at the risk of short-term problems. "When white rule is finally doomed," says Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa, a backer of anti-apartheid legislation, "we don't want to go down as the one government that held the coattails of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and racism in Africa."

—David Goddy



The U.S. relies on South Africa for much of its supplies of several key metals used in high-tech products and military hardware. If these exports were cut off, officials worry that the U.S. might be forced to buy them from the Soviet Union.

A Glossary on Southern Africa

Afrikaner: Descendant of the Dutch farmers, or *Boers*, who settled South Africa in the 1600s. Afrikaners, who first passed apartheid laws, make up 60 percent of white population and dominate politically. Their language is the Dutch-derived *Afrikaans*.

Anglo: Descendant of the British who settled S. Africa in the 1800s. They make up 40 percent of S. Africa's white population and are considered more liberal than Afrikaners.

African National Congress (ANC): S. Africa's leading black opposition group. ANC has been fighting racial discrimination since 1912. Whites, claiming the ANC is led by Communists, outlawed the ANC in 1962. Based now in Zambia, it calls for black rule within the decade.

Apartheid: South Africa's policy of racial segregation. Whites have political, economic, and military control. Blacks and people of other races face job, school, and housing discrimination. Blacks have no vote in national elections. Pronounced uh-*pahr*-tate.

Azania: Name some blacks give to S. Africa. From Greek ("dry country") or Arabic ("land of slaves").

Coloured: The 10 percent of S. Africans who are descendants of black-white marriages. *Asians* are those whose ancestors came from India.

Constructive Engagement: U.S. policy toward S. Africa since 1981. U.S.



Laws known as "petty apartheid" restrict blacks, Coloureds, and Asians from public places used by whites. Recently, some of the petty apartheid laws have been lifted, and signs like this one—in English and Afrikaans—have been taken down.

says diplomatic and trade ties, not economic sanctions, allow it to pressure S. Africa to ease race policy.

Disinvestment: Selling stock in U.S. companies that do business in S. Africa. Supporters say this will pressure South Africa to end apartheid. Opponents, including President Reagan, say black workers will suffer most if U.S. companies leave.

Frontline States: Five nations—Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana—wedged between South Africa and the rest of black-ruled Africa. All oppose apartheid.

Homelands: Ten isolated, rural areas reserved for black self-rule. Four are independent, though no nation outside S. Africa agrees. Citizens of independent homelands are removed from the S. African census, increasing the percentage of whites in S. Africa.

Laager: A circle of wagons used by Afrikaners to defend against Zulu attacks in the 1830s. Now refers to Afrikaners' fearful state of mind, as apartheid foes increase.

Linkage: Tying one diplomatic action to another. U.S. and South Africa link independence for Namibia, now controlled by South Africa, to departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

National Party: Afrikaner-dominated political party in power since 1948. Afrikaners also control hard-line *Conservative Party* that pushes for stricter apartheid. Main opposition is the Anglo-led *Progressive Federal Party*.

Pass Laws: Rules limiting movement of blacks and Coloureds. Non-whites

must carry pass books, are not permitted in white areas without reason. In 1982, over 200,000 blacks were arrested for violating pass laws.

Petty Apartheid: Laws forbidding black-white contact on buses, parks, restaurants, other public places. Recently some rules have been lifted.

Rand: South Africa's money. One rand equals about 36 U.S. cents, down from \$1.29 in 1980. President Reagan stopped U.S. sales of the *Kruggerand*, a one-ounce gold coin.

Sanctions: Bans on certain types of trade. U.S. sanctions against S. Africa include bar on sales of computers to agencies enforcing apartheid. Goal is to pressure whites to end apartheid.

Soweto: The sprawling black ghetto of 1.2 million people southwest of Johannesburg, S. Africa. Most in Soweto are poor, live in overcrowded, housing. The name derives from *SO*uth *WE*st *TO*wnships.

Strategic Dependency: U.S. reliance on foreign nations for minerals vital to defense and communications. S. Africa is the U.S.'s main source of chromium, manganese, and platinum.

Sullivan Principles: Fair employment rules for U.S. companies in S. Africa. Drafted by black U.S. clergyman Leon Sullivan, principles include racial integration, equal pay for equal work, and more non-whites in management. Signed by 186 companies.

SWAPO: South-West Africa People's Organization. SWAPO fights for independence of Namibia, now ruled by South Africa. —Maura Christopher

Poetry Contest

A \$1000 grand prize is being offered in World of Poetry's new poetry contest, open to all students. There are 100 prizes in all. Beginners welcome! For a FREE list of rules and prizes, write —

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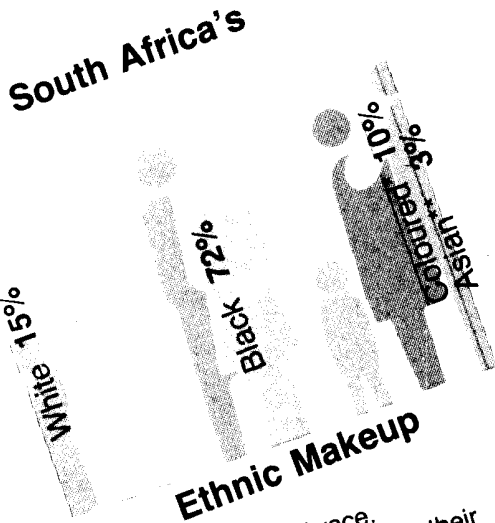
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City

State/ZIP

DATABANK

SNAPSHOT OF APARTHEID



Source: Embassy of South Africa

* People of mixed race.
 ** Mainly people who trace their ancestry to India.

Total population: 32,500,000

White South
 English-speaking* 40%
 Afrikaans-speaking 60%

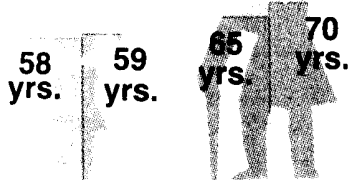
- South Africa's 10 Largest Black Groups**
1. Zulus 7,000,000
 2. Xhosas 5,000,000
 3. Northern Sothos 2,561,000
 4. Tswanas 2,500,000
 5. Southern Sothos 1,896,000
 6. North Ndebeles 1,290,000
 7. Shangaha-Tsongas 1,001,000
 8. Swazis 950,000
 9. Vendas 500,000
 10. South Ndebeles 428,000

Africans
 * Includes 183,000 speakers of Portuguese, German, Greek, and other European languages.
 Total White Population: 4,875,000

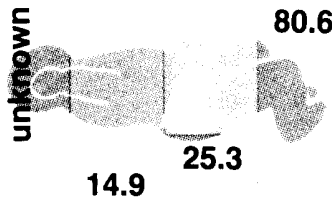
Note: South Africa's government calls these groups "black nations." Each one is made up of many tribes—200 tribes, for example, in the case of the Zulus. As a means of holding onto power, the white government has assigned each "nation" a piece of territory called a "homeland." Four homelands have become independent, although no nation outside of South Africa recognizes their independence.

VITAL STATISTICS

Life Expectancy

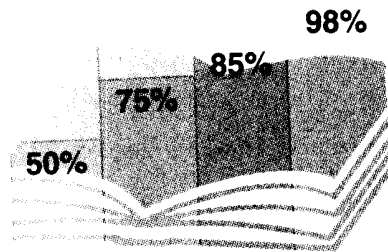


Infant Mortality



(Deaths per 1,000 live births)

Literacy Rate



Source: U.S. Dept. of State

DEATH TOLL

Number killed in racial unrest, 1984 & 1985

1984 (Total killed: 175)

1985 (Total to Nov. 20: 746)

Jan. 1-Aug. 31, '84 26
 Sept. 1-Dec. 31, '84 149

January 4
 February 35
 March 76
 April 46
 May 66
 June 45

July 96
 August 163
 September 69
 October 85
 Nov. 1-Nov. 20 61

* Note: Of the 895 people killed from Sept. 1, '84, to Nov. 20, '85, eight were white. Among the dead in 1985 were 360 blacks killed by police and 201 killed in conflict between black groups. At least 17 of the dead were police—most of them black—killed by black township residents. Township residents killed one soldier; guerrillas killed one policeman. White civilians killed two blacks; black civilians killed four whites.

Source: Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg

© 1986 Graphic Chart & Map Co.

PUZZLES

WORDSEARCH

E	N	I	M	A	N	D	E	L	A
P	U	E	P	A	C	N	W	A	R
O	G	Q	B	A	R	A	B	R	A
H	D	R	I	W	A	L	A	M	C
T	U	L	D	B	E	I	B	R	I
D	E	A	O	S	M	Z	M	E	S
L	A	L	O	G	N	A	I	O	M
E	T	T	G	F	T	W	Z	B	R
V	H	A	N	A	W	S	T	O	B
O	E	K	T	S	I	X	R	A	M

The words on the list are hidden in the diagram. When you find them, circle them. Each word runs in a straight line. Some of them run on a slant, or backwards. (See *MALAWI*, in the example.)

Nine letters will be left over. In order they spell the long march the Afrikaaner settlers took in the late 1800s:

- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---------|------------|
| Angola | Botswana | Lesotho | Mozambique |
| Arab | Cape of Good Hope* | Malawi | Racism |
| Boa | Durban | Mandela | Swaziland |
| Boer War* | Gold Mine* | Marxist | Veldt |
| | | | Zimbabwe |

*Written as separate words in diagram.

CROSSWORD

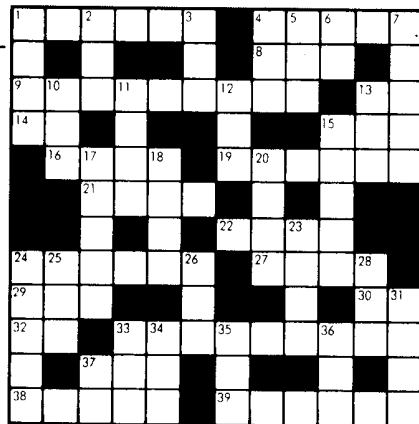
*Starred clues refer to articles in this issue.

ACROSS

- *1. Capital of Zimbabwe.
- *4. Major South African economic resource.
- *8. African National Cong.
- *9. Areas where many Blacks are forced to live in South Africa.
- 13. Ma's mate.
- 14. Account of (abbr.).
- 15. ___ code (for mail).
- 16. Occupational Safety and Hazards Admin.
- *19. Capital of Mozambique.
- 21. Trade, pawn.
- *22. Nobel Peace Prize Winning Bishop in South Africa.
- *24. Members of certain southern African ethnic groups.
- 27. Exam.
- 29. Chicken ___ king.
- 30. Tiniest state in 32 Across.
- 32. New England, for short.
- *33. Racist, discriminatory policy of South Africa.
- 37. Parent-Teacher Assoc.
- *38. South African ethnic group.
- *39. Its capital is Lusaka.

DOWN

- 1. Laughing sounds.
- 2. Male sheep or L.A. footballer.
- 3. Environmental Protection Agcy.
- 4. Mutually Assured Destruction, for short.
- 5. ___ and outs.
- 6. North of S.C.



- *7. Namibian insurgent group: South-West Africa People's Org.
- 10. Goose-eggs on a scoreboard.
- 11. Repeat.
- 12. Nat. Assoc. of Manufacturers.
- 13. Watermelon spit-out.
- *15. Native peoples of southeastern Africa.
- *17. Major Zimbabwean language.
- 18. American Civil Liberties Union, for short.
- 20. Touch or join at the edge or border.
- 23. Technical (abbr.).
- *24. President of Malawi.
- 25. Beer, lager.
- 26. Ocean.
- 28. *Precedes cycle or mester.*
- 31. Thought, concept.
- 33. With a quick look: ___ glance.
- 34. Skillet.
- 35. Rice, in Nice.
- 36. ___ and Flow (back and forth motion).
- 37. 3.14159

SCRAMBLER

Unscramble the letters in each of the four words listed below. Each word will spell an African nation. The circled letters, when rearranged in the spaces at the bottom, will answer the riddle.

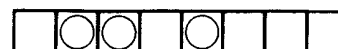
GOOT



NOCOG



TOAHIPIE



WATASNOB



Riddle: What a Nobel Prize-winning South African Bishop might have responded when told of recent, piecemeal reforms offered by his government?

“Don't _____ me, I'm _____ angry!”

Answers in your teacher's edition.

Puzzles created by Andrew Gyory.



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MUSIC

READERS REACT TO RATING RECORDS

by Chip Lovitt

The mail-in response to the article "Rock Music: Is It a Good or Bad Influence?" (November 1 issue) should have been rated X, as in X-tra heavy. Thanks to thousands of teens and teachers, this question has generated more mail than all the music columns in the last 10 years combined.

The mail ran nearly 10 to 1 against rating records. Here are some of your comments, both in favor of and against record rating.

"Putting a label on records warning of 'offensive' lyrics is okay," wrote J.E., of Maryland. "But rating records is not okay. If you don't like a record, don't buy it."

"I think labels should be put on albums because people have the right to know what they are buying. This isn't censorship. It's just putting on labels," wrote J.C., of Virginia.

"No one rated my parents' music when they listened to rock in the 1950's. You didn't have to be a certain age or get someone's permission to listen to rock then," said F.K., of Colorado.

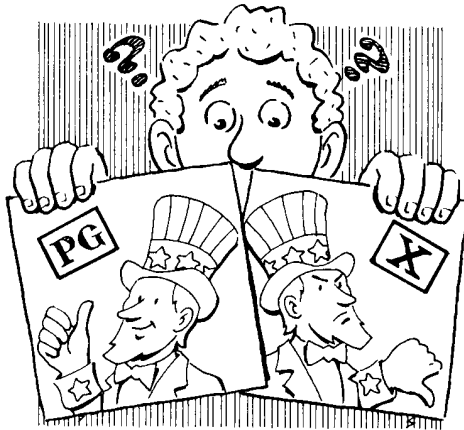
"There's nothing wrong with a sticker on an album," another reader added. "It would help people know what kind of music is inside."

"Teenagers should have the right to listen to the type of music they want," said B.B., of New York. "Besides, just because some music can be a bad influence doesn't mean all of it is."

"Ratings are unnecessary," wrote V.K., of New Jersey. "No one is being forced to buy records."

"Records should be rated. I think the public has a right to know what song lyrics say before they spend their money on a record," said L.L., of California.

"I think parents are overreacting to this issue. They listen to one or two bad songs and think all rock



music is like that," C.Y., of Pennsylvania, pointed out.

"I think lyrics should be printed on album covers. Then if you saw a warning label, you could just look at the lyrics and decide whether or not you want to listen to them," said S.J., of Ohio.

"I listen to a lot of the heavy-metal bands everyone is complaining about. I don't think it has done anything harmful to my behavior," said T.H., of Florida.

"I think it would be fine to put labels and ratings on records," writes E.E., of Utah. "A lot of heavy-metal groups are disgusting and their music is trash."

"If rating labels are used," wrote S.C., of Washington, "it might lead more rock fans to buy albums that contain 'offensive' lyrics or subjects. An X or R rating on a record might encourage more kids to buy the record just to be rebellious."

"Music is very important in our lives," wrote a group of 14-year-olds from Ohio. "We do feel that certain subject matter in rock songs is not right for young children. Therefore, putting a label on a record saying it's not recommended for listeners under 13 years of age is all right. But music shouldn't be restricted in any way for kids who are 13 or older."

"Kids have always listened to music their parents didn't like, but that

doesn't mean it's all automatically good or bad," wrote C.S., of Pennsylvania.

"It's up to me and my parents to decide what music is right for us—not some government agency," wrote B.V., of Georgia.

"Record rating represents a limitation on my freedom of choice," wrote several readers.

"What's next?" asked one reader. "Will I have to be a certain age to see a concert?"

Many people agreed that some rock groups have gone too far, especially in their videos. But many others said, "If you don't like them, don't watch them."

"Sure some groups go too far," wrote R.S., of Texas. "But many cartoon shows and prime-time shows have more violence and suggestive scenes than any rock videos. Do you think kids who see a cartoon character being pushed off a cliff will imitate the cartoon? I doubt it."

One thing nearly all readers agreed on was the issue of censoring rock songs or videos. Like M.C., of Idaho, they felt, "Censorship is wrong in a free country like America."

S.F., of Maine, added, "For anyone to be suggesting censorship in a free country like the United States is far worse than having kids listening to music which some people might find 'objectionable.'"

The industry-wide debate on the issue of rating records has prompted some record companies to take action. They have agreed to put a rating sticker on some LP's and to print lyrics when space allows. But most people in the music and record industry remain strongly opposed to actual ratings. Regardless of the outcome of this debate, the letters readers sent to me indicate that nearly all teenagers think they have the right and the intelligence to decide whether or not a record is right for them as individuals.

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1984, Hickox/Daniel Productions, Inc.

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Starring: Carl Marotte, Jessica Steen, Shawn Thompson. Executive Producer: John Brunton. Executive Producers for Scholastic: Jane Startz, John Matoian. Directed by: Martin Lavut. Produced by: Iain Paterson. Screenplay from the book by Todd Strasser.



1985, Insight Production Company, LTD.

When Blue Collar Meets Blue Blood, Anything Can Happen — And Sometimes It's Love

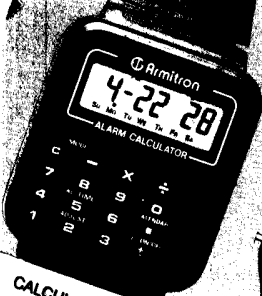
Focusing on the relationship between two young adults from opposite ends of the social spectrum, this engaging program sensitively explores class differences in American society. Jeff Mead (Carl Marotte) and Melissa Stotts (Jessica Steen) are from two different worlds: he sells beer at the baseball stadium, and she sits in the owner's box. When Jeff and Melissa fall in love, their honesty and acceptance of each other's differences is put to the test. From the book by respected teen author Todd Strasser, "Workin' For Peanuts" makes the subject of class distinction believable and exciting for adolescents and young adults.

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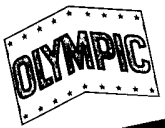


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