

---

# **POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS**

**LAW IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
APARTHEID, 1980-1994**

■ **RICHARD L. ABEL**

---

**WITH A FOREWORD BY NELSON MANDELA**

■ **Routledge**

**New York**

**London**

# CONTENTS

	Foreword, Nelson Mandela	vii
	Foreword, John Dugard	viii
	Foreword, Geoffrey Budlender	x
	Preface	xiii
	Glossary of Acronyms and Foreign Words	xvii
Chapter 1	Speaking with the Ogre	1
Chapter 2	Politics by Other Means?	7
Chapter 3	Carving Loopholes in the Pass Laws	23
Chapter 4	White Resistance to the Military	67
Chapter 5	Seeking Recognition	125
Chapter 6	Mpophomeni and the War in Natal	173
Chapter 7	State Terrorism: The Response of Law and Medicine to Police Torture	211
Chapter 8	Censorship and the Closure of the <i>New Nation</i>	259
Chapter 9	The Alexandra Treason Trial	311
Chapter 10	Bakwena ba Magopa: The Last Forced Removal	385
Chapter 11	Moutse and KwaNdebele: Ethnicity and Gender in the Challenge to Grand Apartheid	435
Chapter 12	Disestablishing Oukasie	495
Chapter 13	The Roles of Law	523
	Notes	551
	References	597
	Index	631