

Sad times

THERE are two things that we feel must be said about the terrible violence in Durban.

The first is the fact that the myth about a peaceful and calm region, which was presumably under the magnetic sway of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha, has effectively been blown. The second, again touching Chief Buthelezi, is that leaders need to exercise extreme care about the things they say in public. The two issues are in a way related.

A picture has been created particularly by Inkatha that it has the kind of control in that region that brooks no nonsense. We ourselves have rather naively believed, and actually mentioned, that Inkatha was the only black organisation that has control from the topdown — that it is able to direct and control events in its area.

The trouble with the scenario is that it placed the people of Natal almost outside the terrible ambit of oppression that is experienced by all blacks. It in effect said that the people there are not as gravely oppressed as blacks say in Duduza in the East Rand or Langa in Uitenhage. It also gave the detractors of black leadership sufficient ammunition for attack, as it was alleged that leadership in the urban areas could not compare with leadership say in KwaZulu.

Lastly, various spokespersons in Inkatha are always claiming that their organisation is strong, but led by the people, not the elite. When things go awry as now, the need for scapegoats becomes almost desperate. At first the word was let out that the trouble was caused by people from outside the region. When that argument fell through the blame was cast on the United Democratic Front and other black organisations.

From here, we frankly do not know whence the trouble first came or what the motivation to attack Indians came from. What we know for certain is that the people in Durban are as mad at their condition as the people of KwaThema or Duduza. And when people get into such irrational fury they do not exactly consider carefully who the target should be. It just so happens that Indians are perhaps perceived to be more well to do than most blacks, and it is also perhaps true that the relations between the two groups are not exactly sanguine.

Also, what with one thing or the other, the Zulu culture does not fit into the Asian culture, so that all manner of tribal prejudices remain submerged but latent.

point. Chief Buthelezi not too long ago made the unfortunate remark concerning Indians and the problems of 1949 — a time that blacks should try and forget.

Chief Buthelezi may have thought he was perfectly correct in making these unfortunate remarks. The trouble is that some people are remembering them now. Some people say the violence, latent as it was, could have been kept alive by very important people like Chief Buthelezi. We are not saying that is the truth, but Chief Buthelezi has only himself to blame for making such inflammatory remarks, even in the heat of the moment.

Finally, the troubles of KwaZulu and that whole region are the problems of South Africa. It is not until apartheid and all its scabrous edicts have been removed that there will be peace and calm.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 14 August 1985

AUGUST 14, 1985

ZULU LEADER SETS PRIMARY DEMANDS

Buthelezi, Visiting Israel, Says
Power-Sharing for Blacks
Is Only Road to Peace

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 13 — The leader of South Africa's six million Zulus said today that the program of change that President P. W. Botha of South Africa is expected to unveil Thursday will be of no interest to him or other black leaders unless it includes an explicit promise of power-sharing for blacks.

The Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is on a 10-day tour of Israel, also said he could not envisage any negotiations in South Africa between blacks and the Government as long as a state of emergency is in effect, as long as black leaders are in jail and as long as more militant black organizations, like the African National Congress, encourage blacks to continue the present violence.

Chief Buthelezi, 56 years old, is the chief minister of KwaZulu, the biggest of South Africa's 10 so-called homelands. He is also the leader of the Zulus, who are the largest ethnic group among South Africa's 22 million blacks. He is considered among the least militant, of South Africa's black leaders, one who is ready to work with whites for nonviolent change, so his conditions for negotiations with the Pretoria Government are viewed as significant. His nonviolent approach has earned him the enmity of the more militant black South African organizations, like the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.



Reuters

Gatsha Buthelezi, chief of the South African Zulus, taking a ride on a camel Sunday in Jerusalem at the start of his 10-day visit to Israel.

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3/14/85

Milton Coleman

Reagan Should Lead the Anti-Apartheid Fight

South Africa could be for Reagan what China was for Nixon.

President Reagan has an opportunity to make his own day—a grand day for the Grand Old Party—a great day for America and an especially great day for black Americans.

Great leadership often is not born of ideology but of action during crises, and the hot crisis now is in South Africa. Decisive, tough and substantive anti-apartheid leadership could strike a blow for freedom in a way that most of Reagan's rhetoric and action have yet to do.

It could begin to build for him the kind of mark-on-mankind presidential legacy that aides say he covets. It might begin to counter the suspicions of many black Americans that this president, bluntly put, is a racist. It could also help the Republican Party make long-sought inroads into the black vote, which many feel is essential if the GOP does become the majority party.

What would Reagan have to gain? He already has been reelected with the largest electoral landslide in American history in a campaign where he proved he didn't need black votes. He probably won't run for any other office. So why bother?

Why not? He has nothing to lose. South Africa could be for Reagan what China was for Nixon and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was for Lyndon B. Johnson.

The book Bishop Desmond Tutu reveres is the Holy Bible not *Das Kapital*. Who could accuse Reagan of being soft on communism by moving against apartheid in South Africa? Who would dare suggest that Ronald Reagan, who said he would have voted against the Civil Rights Act and who nominated William Bradford Reynolds for the No. 3 job in the Justice Department, of caving in to the civil rights lobby? A Reagan manifesto on South Africa may not equal Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Roosevelt's New Deal or Johnson's Great Society and Voting Rights Act—all measures that left indelible impressions on the lives and voting habits of black Americans—but South Africa is a central preoccupation, and the widespread opposition to apartheid makes it a pretty safe political target.

The alternative to such a mid-course correction of U.S. policy in South Africa would be to remain locked in on "constructive engagement," the approach that has earned the United States the reputation as apartheid's strongest ally.

That is a risky course for these times, however.

A generation of young blacks is emerging with

only faint memories of the last great things the Democratic Party did in the fight against segregation and deprivation of blacks. More recently, this generation has memories of what the Democratic Party did not do for them in 1984, when their votes were taken for granted. Its most vivid perceptions today are of what President Reagan—a Republican—is doing in South Africa, and these perceptions could last a long time.

The arguments that Reagan would face are mostly tangential ones. Even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher can do no better than to ponder whose ox would really be gored by economic sanctions. In fact, that has been Reagan's best argument to date.

By getting tough on apartheid, Reagan might be his own leading beneficiary. On the question of principles there is now an inconsistency in Reagan's approach to, on the one hand, South African blacks and, on the other, Jews, Cubans, Afghans, Laotians and Miskito Indians in Nicaragua and all the other "victims of totalitarianism" he cited in his Bitburg speech. South Africa's blacks were conspicuously absent from the list.

He has labeled anti-Sandinistas quarreling with the Marxist government of Nicaragua as "freedom fighters" and "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." By contrast, black South Africans shot by police in a March demonstration became the moral equivalent of dupes. They may not have provoked the police, Reagan said, but it was "significant" that some police were black and that there were those in South Africa simply opposed to a "peaceful solution."

On the question of race, however, there is a disturbing consistency to President Reagan. Beyond the budget cuts and his views on civil rights, Reagan has displayed a penchant for turning inane photo opportunity sessions into chances to brandish insensitivity to blacks as he has to perhaps no other ethnic group in this country. This is remarkably troublesome during a presidency that so highly values symbolism because in these instances all the symbols can be seen as anti-black.

In his 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter, for instance, Reagan portrayed the country of his youth as one oblivious to racial strife—an America at a time when lynchings were common. He launched his campaign that year in Philadelphia, Miss., where three civil rights workers had been brutally murdered. His offhand suggestion at a press conference that Martin Luther King may have been a communist brought grimaces from top

black aides on the White House staff and prompted a presidential apology to King's widow. So when at a later press conference he was asked about the March shooting in South Africa and allowed that there could have been some justifiable reason for the police to open fire, it was easy for the doubters of his own sincerity to say, "There you go again" and get a loud chorus of "Amen."

Some in Reagan's party are betting its future in part on bringing in more blacks, and the critical issue on which that could turn is inclusiveness. The Emancipation Proclamation, the New Deal, the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts all brought blacks into America.

For black Americans—and most blacks are very, very American—the real insult of "constructive engagement" is that their government is on the wrong side. In all the other turning points, the government was on the black side. On the plantations of the old Confederacy, on the front lines in Little Rock and Birmingham and in the poverty-riddled ghettos of the early 1960s, the federal government came time and time again to invite blacks to share in the American dream. For many black Americans, the turmoil in South Africa gives the United States its most important opportunity to stand up for rights in the old country. And instead, President Reagan and America are on the wrong side.

There is no simple solution to the crisis in South Africa. No one can just send in the Marines, blockade the ports, yank out all the investments, cut ties and assume everything else will work out fine. The modern-day history of Africa has shown that transition to independence is difficult whether that independence was granted through the stroke of a pen or won through bloodshed.

But the important thing is that something can be done. The president and his spokesmen should cease always apologizing for the apartheid government in public while insisting that any critical remarks be issued anonymously. They should at a minimum speak out.

Reagan would be the first to say the war on poverty did not end poverty. But it helped, and an entire generation of blacks is thankful for that. Now Reagan has the opportunity once again to convince black Americans that he is the president of all the people, that America can stand up for them as it has for others and that the American dream knows no color, just right and wrong.

The writer is a member of The Post's national staff.

Blacks in South Africa Shape a Strategy: Making Apartheid System Ungovernable

8/13/85
By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Vincent Maphai's 63-year-old mother, a devout Catholic, used to tell her son that the whites had given him education and civilized him. She warned him to stay away from politics.

Mr. Maphai listened to his mother. He teaches philosophy at the mixed-race University of Witwatersrand and largely leaves politics to others.

Meanwhile, however, his mother has become one of millions of blacks in South Africa participating in rent strikes to protest the policies of the white government. "If my mother can be radicalized then anyone can be radicalized," he says.

As Mrs. Maphai's sea change illustrates, with the South African state of emergency three weeks old, blacks show little sign of resuming the peaceful, obedient role they played for decades.

Even the most chaotic and disparate unrest fits into the overall black strategy: to make this country ungovernable under the current system. Even with hundreds of black leaders in prison, South African blacks are making clear that there can't be business as usual until substantive change is made.

The continuing unrest already has forced the white government to consider previously unthinkable changes in apartheid. President P.W. Botha is likely, in a speech this Thursday, to revise restrictions on where blacks can live, work, and travel, and to concede that blacks are South African citizens, rather than citizens of ethnically distinct "homelands" recognized as nations only by the white South African government. Many blacks hope he will free the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, for talks on black political participation.

Whether such changes would be enough to quiet the current unrest is unclear. That will depend in large part on how they are viewed by black leaders. Mr. Mandela has long insisted on a one-man, one-vote political system, which the government has adamantly rejected in the past.

A leader of the United Democratic Front, a major anti-apartheid group, concedes that "no revolution is going to come," but says that the ruling whites must realize that it isn't worth running the country under existing conditions or violence will spread. "It won't be contained in the black ghettos," he says.

There is a feeling of anticipation among both whites and blacks that something must change. Left unsatisfied, that anticipation is turning to impatience.

At a recent funeral for victims of a police shooting, Bishop Desmond Tutu shouted to fellow blacks: "Our cause is a noble cause, our cause is a just cause. That is why we will win. We shall be free!" The crowd echoed him: "We shall be free." The bishop led them in another

shout: "The roof must go." The crowd thundered back: "We shall be free!"

The tactics blacks are using to secure that freedom haven't changed much for 30 years: boycotts, strikes, riots, the burning of the race passes all blacks must carry, the refusal to participate in official sporting events, the boycott of elections for segregated councils and parliaments.

But the scope of these protests is far broader than ever before. "The tactics of noncollaboration and confrontation haven't changed, but conditions in South Africa have changed fundamentally," says Monty Narsoo of the Institute of Race Relations, who was arrested and tortured for organizing boycotts a couple of years ago. He notes that today's blacks are more educated, more urbanized, and more organized.

Last year, four times as many blacks took matriculation exams as did in 1976, although few of them could find jobs. The

WITH the state of emergency three weeks old, blacks show little sign of resuming the peaceful, obedient role they played for decades.

black "townships" have grown to sprawling metropolises ringing the white cities. Unions that had only 100,000 members during the 1950s now boast more than half a million members.

And after 30 years of apartheid, blacks are more angry and militant. "Whites want to eat bread and butter while we eat dry bread," says Alfred, a burly driver for a white-run company here. "They drink tea with milk while I must drink my tea black. Why? Because I'm a black man."

The change in the scale of protest shows in two ways: the recent wave of murders by blacks of black people ranging from mayors to informers suspected of collaborating with the government, and the inability of the government to quiet this outburst even with draconian emergency laws.

The first is a change in black strategy. "There is a clear pattern to make the townships ungovernable and to eliminate collaborators," says Mr. Maphai. "However cruel that is, anti-apartheid groups see it as very important because without black collaborators apartheid wouldn't be possible. The pillars of apartheid aren't only the army and police, but the black collaborators."

As to why the unrest isn't diminishing, the UDF leader, who asks not to be identified, says: "In the early 1960s, the resistance was inspired by the leadership. All the government had to do was arrest some leaders and exile others . . . to bring the whole situation under control. Now there is

so much anger in the atmosphere. Even in areas where you don't see concrete resistance, there is an anger that means things can explode in any part of the country."

In the past three weeks, unrest has sprung up outside the original areas covered by the state of emergency. Last week rioting broke out near Durban, which had been quiet throughout the past 18 months of violent protests. More than 50 people have been killed and over 200 wounded in less than a week. The violence is so widespread that it is difficult for ordinary blacks not to become involved.

Nearly every black community is in the midst of some sort of boycott. Schoolchildren started boycotting classes last week. Mineworkers are boycotting white stores in mining towns until the state of emergency is lifted. The black consumer boycott that has gripped Port Elizabeth's ailing white retailers has spread to the industrial town of East London. Residents of Sebokeng, where the government sent 10,000 troops last August, haven't paid rent since then.

The creation of the UDF two years ago brought together more than 600 local groups that had formed over local issues, such as poor schools or exorbitant rents. As a result, blacks increasingly see these protests in the context of their lack of national political rights. Demands for settling these disputes increasingly include national issues, such as lifting the state of emergency. Even with the entire UDF national leadership on trial or in hiding, these protests are widening.

A top ranking officer of the South African Defense Force concedes that things have changed. "The state of emergency alone won't take care of this," he says. "There is a deeper political dissatisfaction that the government will have to solve. The political aspirations of black people must be accommodated."

That accommodation won't come easily. Most blacks and whites still hope for a peaceful solution, but as blacks become more militant and the government remains tentative about making changes, fears of left and right-wing violence grow. Cooler heads on both sides are talking about government negotiations with black leaders, perhaps in the form of a constitutional convention. "A national convention allows the possibility of genuine negotiation instead of pushing things to the absolute conflict," says a UDF leader.

The government may go along, in form if not in substance. "Negotiations will get off the ground in the next month or two," predicts Louis Nel, deputy minister for foreign affairs. "What is really on the table is political power for black people," Mr. Nel says.

But the ambiguity of such government statements is shown by a cartoon on Mr. Nel's office wall. It depicts him declaring that apartheid is dead, standing in front of a coffin. A scrawny hand is reaching out of the coffin to tap him on the shoulder.

New York Rally Assails South Africa

By ISABEL WILKERSON

Thousands of people carrying banners and flags and chanting slogans of freedom rallied yesterday at 42d Street and Second Avenue yesterday against South Africa and its policy of racial separation and then marched toward the South African consulate.

Packed between police barricades along 42d Street between First and Second Avenues, the protesters, many of them members of trade unions that had co-sponsored the late-afternoon rally, listened to speeches and songs of protest against the racially torn nation before beginning their march up First Avenue to the consulate at 48th Street and Second Avenue.

Thousands more people joined the marchers as offices in the area closed for the day. A march spokesman said the crowd had grown to 30,000, but police officials put it at about 15,000. "When we march up First Avenue,

let the sounds of thousands of feet be the drumbeat to send our message to South Africa," Harriet Michel, president of the New York Urban League, told the crowd. She added, "This assembly could not take place in South Africa."

Holocaust Comparisons

Several speakers compared the situation of blacks in South Africa, where the Government has declared a state of emergency, to that of Jews in Nazi Germany. "There is no room for a second Holocaust," said Frank Brown, organization director of District 65 of the United Auto Workers.

The protesters had three demands: an end to the state of emergency, including freedom for the black leader Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned opponents of apartheid; stiff sanctions against South Africa by the United States, and an end to investment in

South Africa by American businesses.

About 50 trade unions and community and religious organizations joined to sponsor the demonstration, and many of their representatives and members walked along with many elected officials.

The march took on a festive air as demonstrators from all walks of life jumped and chanted to the beat of conga drums. Many protesters said they had taken time off from work to show their opposition to the South African regime. Egbert Hall, a Brooklyn pharmacist, said he had come to the demonstration because "I'm a part of the struggle, I'm an African through and through."

'One More Person'

Lynne Rosenberg, a recent college graduate from Manhattan, said she came to the demonstration "so there would be one more person here — the more people here, the more the message will get across to somebody."

Governor Cuomo, who had been invited to speak, sent his special assistant, Dr. Israel Masowitz, to read a telegram Mr. Cuomo had sent to Bishop Desmond Tutu in South Africa.

"Apartheid is an offense to every civilized human being," Mr. Masowitz read. "Yours is a just cause that must and will triumph."

Mae Ngai, a member of the Chinese Progressive Association, an organization that helps Asian immigrants, emphasized the need to support all "third world people."

"The African freedom struggle cannot and will not be destroyed — informants cannot stop it, traitors cannot stop it, nothing can stop it," said Miss Ngai.

Appeal to the Little People

David Livingston, a vice president of the U.A.W.'s District 65, said the demonstration differed from earlier ones in other cities or by other groups. "Many important people have spoken out and been arrested," he said. "It is up to us, the less important people, to say apartheid must be destroyed."

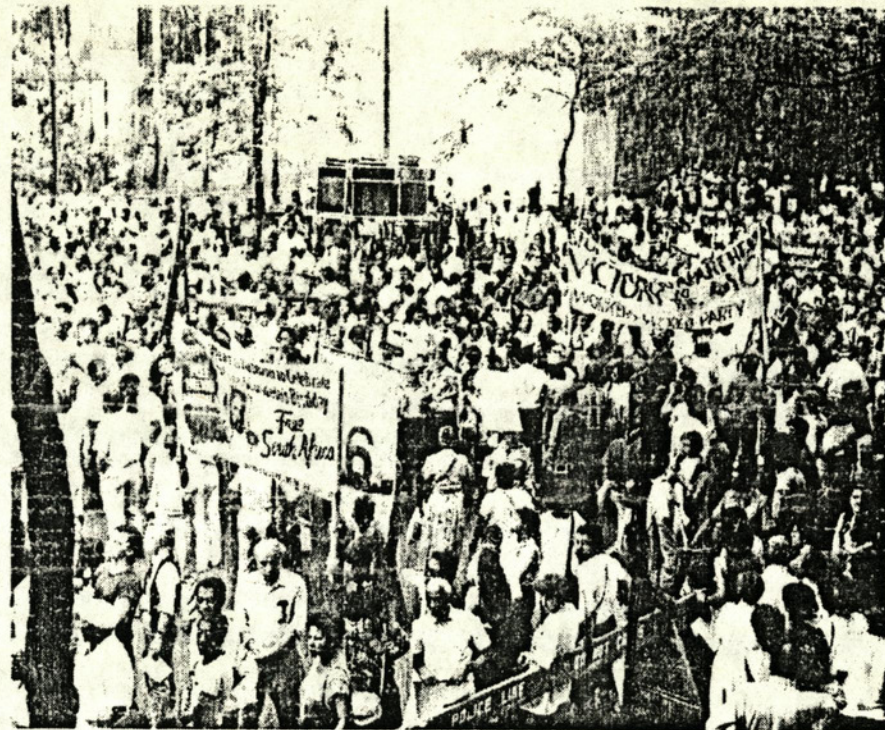
Another speaker, Harry Belafonte, said, "We're here to tell Reagan we're here to bury apartheid and racism." Mr. Belafonte added that the President "has spoken out for Polish Workers and Lech Walesa, but not for South African workers and Nelson Mandela."

The demonstration was the third in a major city in three days. On Sunday, thousands protested in Atlanta, and on Monday 5,000 demonstrators in Washington staged a mock funeral procession in protest against South Africa.

David Ndaba, spokesman for the African National Congress, a group that has been outlawed by South Africa, told the crowd, "Your efforts will never be in vain."

"Apartheid cannot be reformed," he added. "It must be totally destroyed."

THE FRESH AIR FUND:
109TH SUMMER



Some of the thousands who protested yesterday in New York City against South Africa's racial policies.

The New York Times/Jim Wilson

U.N. Pension Fund Divests Itself Of Holdings Tied to South Africa

By ELAINE SCIOFINO

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Aug. 13 — The \$4 billion United Nations pension fund has rid itself of all holdings in companies that do business in South Africa, it was announced today.

Joe Sills, a United Nations spokesman, told reporters that the fund "has no remaining interests with companies which invest in South Africa."

A week ago, the pension fund still had \$100 million invested in 14 companies that do business in South Africa, despite an 11-year policy mandated by the General Assembly to divest. That figure was down significantly from the end of May, when \$250 million of the fund's holdings were in shares of 30 companies with operations in South Africa, including I.B.M.

The final phase of the stepped-up United Nations drive came quickly, and the announcement caught United Nations officials and delegates by surprise. The United Nations controller, J. Richard Foran, said he learned only this morning of the final sell-off of shares last week.

The total sell-off of these investments was a result of the personal intervention of Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, increased press attention to investments in South Africa and favorable market conditions, according to one United Nations official.

'A Success Story'

Both United Nations officials and apartheid foes called the divestiture move a victory.

"There's a sort of mission-accomplished aspect to it," Mr. Foran said. "I look upon it as a success story because we've been able to meet objectives — adherence to the resolutions and

decisions of the General Assembly and responsibility to the beneficiaries of the fund."

He said the pension fund will not suffer as a result of the divestiture. "Our fund is healthy and will remain healthy from the investment point of view as a result of this," Mr. Foran said. "We've had a good run for our money on these equities. The successful ones have given us a good return. And let's face it, the big profits are in the emerging corporations."

The pension fund, which is operated for all employees of the United Nations headquarters and related agencies, is managed jointly by the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board consisting of a group of representatives from member states, United Nations independent agencies and the Secretariat and by a nine-member investment committee of "financial experts of international repute" appointed by the Secretary General and approved by the General Assembly.

In addition, Fiduciary Trust of New York and Citicorp are retained to provide recommendations on investment policy, and government and private sources serve as consultants, according to the 1984 pension fund report to the General Assembly.

University Sells Some Holdings

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 13 (AP) — University of Minnesota officials say they have sold 7 percent of their holdings in companies that do business in South Africa, a move that follows the adoption of a stricter policy on investments there.

South Africa Dampens Talk of Racial Change

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 13 — South African Government officials and pro-Government commentators seemed to have started a campaign today to dampen speculation that President P. W. Botha is about to announce radical racial change that will erode privileged white ways of life.

At the same time, however, the campaign seemed designed to make clear that Mr. Botha has not been deflected by the violence in black townships, the worst in the country's history, from limited changes in South Africa's political system first announced last January. These include offers of freehold and unspecified political rights for blacks living in urban areas along with a form of citizenship for blacks, but exclude a wholesale departure from apartheid.

President's Speech Awaited

The changes have been presented so far as offers to be negotiated at what is called a "new forum," which no black leader has agreed to attend. Moreover, the changes are based on the idea that segregation in critical areas will continue, whatever modifications are made to the ways in which South Africa's racial groups are governed.

Mr. Botha is to address the Natal provincial congress of his governing National Party, which has held power since 1948, on Thursday. The speech has generated suggestions inside and outside South Africa that he plans to depart from his limited plan of racial change and embark on more fundamental changes and concessions to the black majority.

In comments seemingly designed to reassure a nervous white minority, Gerrit Viljoen, the Cabinet minister with responsibility for the education and other aspects of the lives of millions of blacks, said no changes were planned to end the separation of residential areas, schools and political activities and other distinctions between South Africa's various racial groups.

'Political Realities' Cited

At a meeting in Pretoria on Monday night, Dr. Viljoen, regarded as the leading figure in the "verlig," or "enlightened," wing of Afrikaner politics and as a possible successor to Mr. Botha, said significant change could take place only "within the framework of South Africa's diversity of peoples."

The language seemed filled with the code words whereby South Africa's white leaders justify policies of com-

partmentalizing the nation's racial groups and tribes.

In a commentary this morning, the state-run radio, which often reflects Government thinking, said, "Expectations are running high that a new impetus to the reform program is in the offing."

But change, the commentary said, could not come in the form of "a series of gimmicks to appease radicals, satisfy foreign opinion or fit South Africa into some classical constitutional mold."

The commentary said there were two political realities. One was that South Africa was "a land of minority groups" — a traditional tenet of apartheid — that insisted on "managing their own affairs and maintaining their own life styles, free of interference by others."

The second reality, the commentary said, was that "cooperative structures" were needed to reflect the interdependence of various groups.

In an editorial on Monday, the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Vaderland* said: "It is better to await Thursday's announcement calmly and without high hopes. Political decisions are rarely taken on the spur of the moment."

(Ohio)
Saturday, August 10, 1985

Akron Beacon Journal A3

S. Africa considers limited rights for blacks

By Ken Fireman

Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON — South African diplomats have told U.S. officials that their government is seriously considering reforms that would grant limited citizenship and political rights to some South African blacks and ease travel restrictions on them.

The reforms could be unveiled as early as Thursday, when South African President Pieter W. Botha is scheduled to address a provincial convention of the ruling National Party in the embattled city of Durban.

Three days of rioting this week against white rule left an estimated 50

blacks dead in the Durban area.

The South Africans discussed the reforms with U.S. officials during a two-day meeting in Vienna, Austria.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes confirmed that the Vienna meeting had centered on an ongoing "policy review" by the South Africans aimed at developing ways to ease racial tension and black discontent.

"This is a time of considerable activity that is taking place in . . . the South African government in terms of a policy review," Speakes said. "To its credit, the South Africans are taking into consideration the views of the United States government and of other countries. We ex-

pect this process in South Africa to continue for a matter of days, perhaps weeks."

Speakes said the South Africans had spelled out specific details of the policy review in Vienna. He said U.S. officials were "encouraged by what we are hearing."

Speakes declined to reveal details of the reforms under consideration. But, according to congressional and South African sources, they involve granting some blacks a limited form of South African citizenship that would permit their participation in some regional elections but not in national elections.

Currently, all South African blacks

are denied citizenship rights by the Pretoria regime. The government instead considers them to be citizens of one of several independent black "homelands," even though they live elsewhere and may have never set foot inside their designated homeland.

This homelands policy would not be completely scrapped by the reform plan, the sources said. Rather, the plan would incorporate some homelands into the provinces in which they are located, create a new regional governing structure and allow blacks political representation within that structure.

The reform plan under consideration would also relax — but not eliminate —

laws restricting the travel of South African blacks and requiring them to carry an internal passport, the sources said.

Such reforms, if adopted, would begin to ameliorate two aspects of South Africa's racial system of apartheid that blacks find especially odious. But observers in both South Africa and Washington say it is unclear whether the reforms would be enough to defuse the country's current crisis, in which more than 500 people have died in the past year and more than 1,200 have been detained by authorities under an emergency decree.

The Vienna talks were requested by the South Africans, according to U.S. officials.

S. Africa tries to cool expectations for reform

Profits, more than politics, are key to whether US companies stay

By Victoria Irwin

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

9/14/85

Basing their decisions more on economics than on politics, US businessmen are quietly deciding what their future will be in embattled South Africa.

As protests over the imposition of emergency powers increase, many large companies seem prepared to stay. These include IBM, Honeywell, Fluor and S. C. Johnson & Son.

"We have expressed an intention to remain and confront apartheid on a day-to-day basis," says Mike Dutton, a spokesman for IBM.

But other businessmen are turning away from the controversial country, which practices racial separation and refuses to allow citizenship rights to its black majority.

Chase Manhattan Bank, one of the largest US banks, reportedly has stopped making loans to private

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South Africa's gold coin. US gold dealer's decision to stop selling Kruggerands should have little effect on coin's price, P. 21

Leaders debate how to placate world without alarming whites

By Patrick Laurence

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

John Vorster

The South African government is trying to dampen expectations that President Pieter W. Botha will announce major policy changes when he addresses a National Party meeting tomorrow night. Two factors appear to be at work:

• The government itself is divided over how to present any coming policy changes. Certain elements of the government are eager to convince the outside world that fundamental reform is under way. Others are more concerned with not alarming the ruling National Party's conservative white constituency.

• Pretoria is aware that its definition of reform differs greatly from what is being demanded by outsiders as well as its own black critics. What the ruling National Party regards as radical change is often rejected by critics as mere adjustments to apartheid, the

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REFORM from front page

nation's policy of strict racial segregation.

It was the government itself which was partly responsible for creating hopes that major changes were in the pipeline, including the possible release from jail of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela. But President Botha seemed to dash those hopes Monday when, in talks with Rep. Stephen Solarz (D) of New York, he compared Mr. Mandela to imprisoned Nazi war criminal Rudolf Hess.

Further elaboration of the government position came from the minister of cooperation and development, Gerrit Viljoen. He said "exaggerated expectations" about Botha's speech would result in its being rejected as a failure for not fulfilling hopes. Mr. Viljoen said reform must acknowledge South Africa's racial diversity and take place in a framework of "principles" of segregated residential areas, schools, and political institutions.

His language contrasts sharply with that of Foreign Minister Rieff Botha (not related to President Botha), who, in talks with United States officials in Europe last week, characterized pending changes as a watershed in the government's reform policy. The explanation for this may be that the Foreign Minister put a gloss on the changes which the President and Viljoen, with their gaze on the white electorate, now want to remove.

Changes in apartheid are not seen by the government as interim steps toward black majority rule, which Pretoria opposes. The National Party holds that majority rule is inappropriate since the country is made up of a number of minorities, including whites and various black tribes. Critics charge that this is just a convenient rationale for maintaining white rule.

Apartheid in its pristine form assumes that the 24 million blacks (compared to less than 5 million whites) are not citizens of South Africa but of their original "tribal homelands." Pretoria says it is committed to helping these homelands develop, though most remain backwaters of poverty.

When homelands are designated "independent," blacks who associated with the territory by language, whether or not they live there, are stripped of South African citizenship. This policy carried to its conclusion would result in South Africa not having any black South Africans. Millions of blacks remaining in white-designated South Africa would only be considered aliens or guest workers.

But President Botha has hinted at altering this basic policy of apartheid. Last April he said, "The government does not regard the loss of South African citizenship to be the inevitable result of a national state becoming independent. We are prepared to negotiate further..." The statement amounts to a repudiation of classical apartheid, as it turns away from the policy of whitening down the number of legally recognized black South Africans.

Botha is expected to expand on this apartheid policy shift and announce plans for a common South African citizenship tomorrow. For blacks though such changes mean little if they do not include greater political rights.

A corollary to the territorial separation of blacks un-



S. Africa's Botha: he may announce only modest changes

der apartheid is that blacks, as a whole, would have no political rights in white South Africa, especially in the central government.

Yet in another move, President Botha has conceded that blacks should have the right to representation at the highest level within white-designated South Africa.

Botha has turned his back on old principles once sacrosanct. He has opened the way for the granting of the franchise to blacks in designated white areas and ended the ban on interracial marriage and sexual relations. He has overturned a law that used to prohibit multiracial political parties. And has been a de facto scrap of compulsory segregation at universities and private schools.

The area in which many analysts feel Botha has introduced the most significant reforms is the economic sphere. Black unions have been legalized. Botha has also opened up the previously all-white Parliament to Coloureds (persons of mixed race descent) and Indians. Blacks, however, remain excluded and are greatly restricted in where they can live and work.

Whether Botha's speech will be hailed as a bold reform initiative or condemned as a tepid modification will depend largely on one's perspective. But indications are that it will not arouse much enthusiasm beyond the ranks of the party faithful.

PROFITS from front page

investors in the country. Chase, along with other major banks, stopped making loans to the South African government several years ago. And last week Dask-Ferris US Inc., a dealer in precious metals, suspended sales of the South Africa's gold coin, the Kruggerand, citing a likelihood that Congress will ban Kruggerand imports next month.

Some observers say that large US firms will likely stay in South Africa, while smaller companies will move out. Most cite the current economic problems that South Africa faces as the main reason for pulling out, say these observers.

"We are seeing a number of American firms selling majority interest in businesses in South Africa," says Richard Hull, a senior adviser on sub-Saharan Africa for Frost & Sullivan's political risk services division. The company analyzes economic markets around the world.

Many companies are distancing themselves through name changes, licensing agreements, and selling out to subsidiaries, says Dr. Hull.

"I don't see that many firms actually pulling out," says Hull, who visited South Africa this year. David Krack, senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, says decisions like those made by Chase Manhattan are very significant.

Chase was not releasing information on loans and may have been scaling them down for some time, he says. But since it is one of the first very large banks to curtail private loans — joining Wells Fargo and the Bank of Boston — it may have some effect on other large banks. He notes that eight years ago most banks still lent to the South African government.

"The private sector may be the only slice of salami," says Mr. Krack. He sees the mix of a shrinking South African economy, political unrest, capital flight, and a

foreign firms in South Africa, and around \$15 billion in direct investment. Britain has the largest share, followed by the U.S., West Germany, France, and Switzerland.

Although Japan does not allow direct investments in South Africa, it has a growing presence through licensing agreements.

The US had \$1.8 billion in direct investments in 1984, down from \$2.3 billion in 1983 and the historical high of \$2.5 billion in 1981, according to a spokesman at the US Department of Commerce. In terms of value, the US is South Africa's biggest partner, both in imports and exports.

At 8 a.m. yesterday morning, New York City police were busy putting up barriers in preparation for an afternoon demonstration billed as possibly the largest anti-apartheid demonstration in the city's history.

But many companies in South Africa claim they can do more for black Africans by remaining in the country. IBM, for example, has signed the so-called Sullivan principles, under which companies vow to offer more training, promotion, housing, and education for black workers. IBM employs 286 blacks as of the end of last year, or about 15 percent of its employees in South Africa.

Many observers believe the divestment movement will continue to gain momentum, particularly in light of the more than 1,500 divestments since the emergency decree was put into effect July 21 by the South African government. More than 600 deaths have been attributed to civil unrest in the last year.

Several observers complain that the current sanctions pending before Congress "don't appear very restrictive" to US businesses.

These include bans on exporting goods used in nuclear production and computers, and a ban on loans to the government. US companies with more than 25 employees would also be required to offer equal treatment of all races in employment and

Sullivan Principles founder gives deadline

Home News-Tribune Brunswick, NJ 8/12/85

CHARLESTON, W.Va. (AP) — The author of a voluntary code for American companies doing business in South Africa says he'll suggest that they pull out of the country if apartheid is not abolished within two years.

The Rev. Leon Sullivan said he'll also call for divestment of stock in American companies doing business in the country if apartheid, the policy of racial segregation against South Africa's black majority, is not abolished by 1987.

In addition, Sullivan said, he would call for an end to diplomatic relations with South Africa.

"I'll get resistance from the president and American companies," Sullivan said Saturday at a high school reunion here. "But I'm used to resistance. I was born on a mountain."

"I'll get resistance from the president and American companies. But I'm used to resistance. I was born on a mountain."

— Leon Sullivan —

Sullivan, a Charleston native who is now a pastor in Philadelphia, was a member of the board of directors of General Motors in 1971 when he proposed that GM withdraw from

South Africa to protest apartheid.

As an alternative, he proposed a voluntary code for American companies operating in South Africa that includes requiring equal pay for

blacks and whites, integrated facilities and black managers. Sullivan said about 30 percent of the companies follow the code, known as the Sullivan Principles.

A new piece of legislation that has passed the House of Representatives would mandate that all American companies employing 25 people or more follow the code. It also bans new bank loans and nuclear assistance for South Africa.

"I think it's possible the president will sign the legislation," said Sullivan. "If he vetoes it, we believe we have the votes in the House and Senate to override it."

South Brunswick considers South Africa divestment

Sad times

THERE are two things that we feel must be said about the terrible violence in Durban.

The first is the fact that the myth about a peaceful and calm region, which was presumably under the magnetic sway of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha, has effectively been blown. The second, again touching Chief Buthelezi, is that leaders need to exercise extreme care about the things they say in public. The two issues are in a way related.

A picture has been created particularly by Inkatha that it has the kind of control in that region that brooks no nonsense. We ourselves have rather naively believed, and actually mentioned, that Inkatha was the only black organisation that has control from the topdown — that it is able to direct and control events in its area.

The trouble with the scenario is that it placed the people of Natal almost outside the terrible ambit of oppression that is experienced by all blacks. It in effect said that the people there are not as gravely oppressed as blacks say in Duduza in the East Rand or Langa in Uitenhage. It also gave the detractors of black leadership sufficient ammunition for attack, as it was alleged that leadership in the urban areas could not compare with leadership say in KwaZulu.

Lastly, various spokespersons in Inkatha are always claiming that their organisation is strong, but led by the people, not the elite. When things go awry as now, the need for scapegoats becomes almost desperate. At first the word was let out that the trouble was caused by people from outside the region. When that argument fell through the blame was cast on the United Democratic Front and other black organisations.

From here, we frankly do not know whence the trouble first came or what the motivation to attack Indians came from. What we know for certain is that the people in Durban are as mad at their condition as the people of KwaThema or Duduza. And when people get into such irrational fury they do not exactly consider carefully who the target should be. It just so happens that Indians are perhaps perceived to be more well to do than most blacks, and it is also perhaps true that the relations between the two groups are not exactly sanguine.

Also, what with one thing or the other, the Zulu culture does not fit into the Asian culture, so that all manner of tribal prejudices remain submerged but latent.

point. Chief Buthelezi not too long ago made the unfortunate remark concerning Indians and the problems of 1949 — a time that blacks should try and forget.

Chief Buthelezi may have thought he was perfectly correct in making these unfortunate remarks. The trouble is that some people are remembering them now. Some people say the violence, latent as it was, could have been kept alive by very important people like Chief Buthelezi. We are not saying that is the truth, but Chief Buthelezi has only himself to blame for making such inflammatory remarks, even in the heat of the moment.

Finally, the troubles of KwaZulu and that whole region are the problems of South Africa. It is not until apartheid and all its scabrous edicts have been removed that there will be peace and calm.

Sowetan, Wednesday, 14 August 1985

AUGUST 14, 1985

ZULU LEADER SETS PRIMARY DEMANDS

Buthelezi, Visiting Israel, Says
Power-Sharing for Blacks
Is Only Road to Peace

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 13 — The leader of South Africa's six million Zulus said today that the program of change that President P. W. Botha of South Africa is expected to unveil Thursday will be of no interest to him or other black leaders unless it includes an explicit promise of power-sharing for blacks.

The Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is on a 10-day tour of Israel, also said he could not envisage any negotiations in South Africa between blacks and the Government as long as a state of emergency is in effect, as long as black leaders are in jail and as long as more militant black organizations, like the African National Congress, encourage blacks to continue the present violence.

Chief Buthelezi, 56 years old, is the chief minister of KwaZulu, the biggest of South Africa's 10 so-called homelands. He is also the leader of the Zulus, who are the largest ethnic group among South Africa's 22 million blacks. He is considered among the least militant of South Africa's black leaders, one who is ready to work with whites for nonviolent change, so his conditions for negotiations with the Pretoria Government are viewed as significant. His nonviolent approach has earned him the enmity of the more militant black South African organizations, like the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

"Sharing Power at the Center"

Chief Buthelezi, asked what President Botha would have to say in his speech to the Natal Congress of his ruling National Party on Thursday to entice blacks into negotiations with the white regime, replied, "Unless there is a clear statement of intent about sharing power at the center, I am not ready to participate."

Chief Buthelezi added that whatever President Botha "comes out with on Thursday, however positive, if a state of emergency exists it will be problematic for me and I am sure for other people to talk together with him."

In his scheduled speech in Durban, the South African President is expected to offer a variety of changes to quell the black unrest.

The Zulu leader repeated his position that if negotiations did get under way about ending apartheid, he would be prepared — for a transitional period — to accept the principle of one man, one vote, with a veto for the white majority to reassure it. Once this transition has been made, then the concept of one man, one vote without any vetos for whites can be introduced.

"One man, one vote is a cherished ideal of all black leaders," he said before a luncheon held in his honor by Abba Eban, chairman of the Defense



Gatsha Buthelezi, chief of the South African Zulus, taking a ride on a camel Sunday in Jerusalem at the start of his 10-day visit to Israel.

and Foreign Affairs Committee in the Israeli Parliament. "I am saying let's make a start where it is possible to make a start on that journey toward our ideal."

'A Different Kettle of Fish'

South Africa, Chief Buthelezi added, "is a completely different kettle of fish from other places where the armed struggle has worked, such as Zimbabwe. We don't have settlers. We have an indigenous white population which is as indigenous as Americans in America. They have got nowhere else to go and if you put them up against the wall they will scorch the earth."

Chief Buthelezi made it clear he supported the release from prison of Nelson Mandela, the 67-year-old former African National Congress leader who has been in prison for treason for 23

years, and others so they could take part in negotiations.

"The prisoners, Mr. Mandela and others," said Chief Buthelezi, "should be released. I don't think that there can be any negotiations or discussions when representatives of other political organizations or factions are not represented."

But the Zulu chief criticized the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front for urging blacks to engage in armed struggle to destroy apartheid.

"I believe that no one can negotiate while there is a state of emergency, nor

can anyone negotiate while there is violence in the country," he said.

Call for a United Front

"If you ask me, black disunity is the biggest problem," he added. "Most of the deaths happening now, the burning of people that we have seen, is not being done by the Government, but by black people to other black people. You have got an incipient civil war going on already. My brothers and sisters in the U.D.F. state that they would like to make the country 'ungovernable' and they synchronize their moves with the A.N.C. I think it is nonsensical to regard the killing of blacks by blacks as a 'liberation struggle.'"

Chief Buthelezi appealed to other black African statesmen to work together with the different black factions — as they did with Zimbabwe black groups during their struggle — to put together a united front.

120,000 Jews in South Africa

The Zulu leader saved some of his most bitter remarks for American and other foreign black and white leaders. He said they often assumed that they must side with the most militant opponents of apartheid, while painting the more nonviolent leaders like himself as "stooges" because they reject economic sanctions as a means for bringing about change in South Africa on the ground that it will harm blacks most.

The Zulu leader said that simply be-

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ZULU LEADER SETS PRIMARY DEMANDS.
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cause he was prepared to work to a degree within the system for change did not make him a tool of the white Government.

"KwaZulu gets parliamentary grants for our budget," he said referring to the funds his homeland receives from the South African Government. "So people say my salary is paid by the South African Government, merely because the grants are from the central budget. Would anyone say that Tom Bradley and Andrew Young were Reagan flunkies merely because they get Federal funds in the budgets of their cities?" Tom Bradley is the Mayor of Los Angeles, and Andrew Young is the Mayor of Atlanta.

Chief Buthelezi is being given a tour by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Israel has always walked a tightrope with South Africa, condemning its racial policies but quietly engaging in millions of dollars of economic and military trade annually.

But with 120,000 Jews in South Africa and the country in the midst of violent change, Israeli officials clearly want to maintain contact with moderate black leaders there, which is what is behind the invitation to Chief Buthelezi, first extended two years ago.

On Monday, the Zulu leader met with President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, all of whom denounced apartheid and said they appreciated Chief Buthelezi's ideas for a nonviolent solution to South Africa's problems.

New York Times
August 14, 1985

The only questions now at issue are: How long a time will be required to reach that end? What level of violence will accompany the changes? And what degree of protection, if any, will be accorded the rights of the white minority?

The South African Government has given no indication that it is prepared to negotiate with the blacks even the first steps toward political participation in national decision-making. But such action is inevitable. The longer it is delayed, the greater the violence and the greater the likelihood that, when black participation is eventually achieved, it will provide little protection to the whites.

The power of the moderate black leaders — men such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu tribe, and the Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond M. Tutu — is eroding with every passing day. Their successors will be radicals. And the targets of the violence, which until now have been largely blacks who are thought to be informers or collaborators, will shift to whites.

Opinion polls, both personal and professional, indicate that the great majority of blacks — some say as high as 80 percent — support a banned and illegal organization, the African National Congress, which the Government claims is Communist-directed and Communist-supported.

It is not unlikely that the Soviet Union and its proxies will begin to fish in these troubled waters if the violence continues and intensifies.

What should be our policy in these circumstances?

Forceful criticism is needed

Economic sanctions are not likely to exert sufficient economic pressure to lead to a fundamental change in South African policy. But, if properly framed and if supported by both the legislative and executive branches of our Government, economic sanctions can be used to convey forceful American criticism of South Africa's failure to address the foundations of racial discrimination. That is the most constructive action we can take.

We must make clear to the South African Government that both its separate and unequal treatment of blacks and its denial of political participation on the basis of race are totally unacceptable.

In sum, American policy today should be based on the recognition that the success of the black nationalist struggle in South Africa can at most only be delayed — and at immense cost — but clearly not permanently denied.

The final battle lines have not yet been drawn in South Africa. Fundamental political change, without prolonged large-scale violence, is still possible.

But time is running short, and the options are running out. □

Before It's Too Late in South Africa

By Robert S. McNamara

WASHINGTON

IF the South African Government proceeds on its present course, internal disorder will continue and violence may become so great as to lead ultimately to a confrontation with forces supported by the Soviet Union. Even in the face of such a prospect, the United States should state unequivocally that it will not find it morally or politically acceptable to support the whites against the blacks.

Let me explain how I come to these conclusions.

South Africa's policy of apartheid — separation of the races — consists of two parts. One is petty apartheid and the other grand apartheid.

Petty apartheid is the practice of segregation in the routine of daily life — in lavatories, restaurants, railway cars, buses, swimming pools and other public facilities. It is true that there has been some relaxation of this type of segregation in recent years. But "separate and unequal" treatment remains legally accepted and widely practiced.

In contrast to petty apartheid, grand apartheid is the wholly unique system of racially biased laws that limit the personal freedom of all South African blacks and prohibit them from any significant political voice in their Government — a Government that controls nearly every facet of their existence.

No other country in the world practices such a thorough degree of discrimination based solely on race, and none has sought to establish racial discrimination on such a comprehensive system of law.

Grand apartheid rests on the following legal foundations:

- The Population Registration Act of 1950 requires that every person be classified as a white, colored, Asian or black African. A person's political, civil, economic and social rights are determined by this classification.

- The ten "homelands," including the four designated as independent, make up 13 percent of South Africa's territory. The land in these areas is poor and the economy stagnant. And yet all black Africans — who represent 70 percent of the population of the country — are assigned to these areas as citizens, no matter where they may actually live. Thus, out of a total of 23 million black Africans, 11

million are residents of the homelands, and 10 million, including perhaps 2 million men who are separated from their families, are "temporary residents" in "white areas."

- The Land Laws prohibit black Africans, except in rare instances, from living outside the homelands unless they are employed by whites.

- The Influx Control Laws regulate the movement of blacks throughout South Africa by requiring that every black over the age of 16 be fingerprinted and carry a "passbook" containing the individual's identity card and employment record. A policeman may ask a black to produce his "pass" at any time, and failure to do so is a criminal offense.

The grand apartheid laws are enforced by powers granted under the Internal Security Act of 1962, which consolidates the provisions of earlier legislation. The act — through restraints on the press, civil liberties and political activity — enables the Government, without recourse to the courts, to silence anyone who poses a challenge to the regime.

The security laws were strengthened during the 1960's and 1970's by a series of tough measures allowing for pretrial and preventive detention. These laws place both whites and blacks in jeopardy of losing their personal freedom if they speak out against injustice.

It is this structure of restrictive laws and arbitrary enforcement powers that supports grand apartheid. None of these laws has been changed in recent years in any fundamental way, and they continue to deny blacks any semblance of political rights. That is what the demonstrators are demonstrating against.

The Government speaks of undertaking reform, but the weakness of its program is twofold. The pace at which it addresses the pressing social and economic needs of the blacks is far too slow, and it fails to confront the issue of political participation. Nowhere does it begin to advance toward what Edward Heath, the former British Prime Minister, has called the only ultimate solution: "The granting of full political rights to the nonwhite population of South Africa — a universal franchise at the national level."

Three years ago, speaking at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, I said: "Because the South African Government continues to refuse to make any fundamental change in its racial policies, a violent explosion appears to be inevitable. What is in doubt is precisely when the mounting racial frustration in South Africa will finally explode." I added that it would probably occur within 5 to 10 years and certainly within our lifetimes.

Having just returned from a visit to South Africa, during which I talked to scores of blacks and whites, radicals and conservatives, I am now convinced I was wrong. The process of fundamental change has already started. It is irreversible, and it will not end until the blacks share political power with the whites.

The only questions now at issue are: How long a time will be required to reach that end? What level of violence will accompany the changes? And what degree of protection, if any, will be accorded the rights of the white minority?

The South African Government has given no indication that it is prepared to negotiate with the blacks even the first steps toward political participation in national decision-making. But such action is inevitable. The longer it is delayed, the greater the violence and the greater the likelihood that, when black participation is eventually achieved, it will provide little protection to the whites.

The power of the moderate black leaders — men such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu tribe, and the Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond M. Tutu — is eroding with every passing day. Their successors will be radicals. And the targets of the violence, which until now have been largely blacks who are thought to be informers or collaborators, will shift to whites.

Opinion polls, both personal and professional, indicate that the great majority of blacks — some say as high as 80 percent — support a banned and illegal organization, the African National Congress, which the Government claims is Communist-directed and Communist-supported.

It is not unlikely that the Soviet Union and its proxies will begin to fish in these troubled waters if the violence continues and intensifies.

What should be our policy in these circumstances?

Economic sanctions are not likely to exert sufficient economic pressure to lead to a fundamental change in South African policy. But, if properly framed and if supported by both the legislative and executive branches of our Government, economic sanctions can be used to convey forceful American criticism of South Africa's failure to address the foundations of racial discrimination. That is the most constructive action we can take.

We must make clear to the South African Government that both its separate and unequal treatment of blacks and its denial of political participation on the basis of race are totally unacceptable.

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1985

The U.S. must take a stand

Robert S. McNamara was Secretary of Defense from 1961 through 1968 and president of the World Bank from 1968 to 1981.

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Let me explain how I come to these conclusions.

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