



-~ Gatsha Buthelezi's vision of a polit-

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flos Angeles Bimes

i â\200\230!â\200\231Il&â\200\230 Time Has Lâ\200\230o(he to Talkâ\200\231 â\200\230  
- Zulu Leaderâ\200\231s S. Africa |  
- Solution: Compromise

By MICHAEL PARKS, Times Staff Writer

- JOHANNESBURG, South Afri-  
- caâ\200\224Amid South Africaâ\200\231s unrelent-  
ing violence and growing polariza-  
- tion, Zulu -Chief Mangosuthu

- dcal system, that assures both

~ blacks and whites equal roles in |

government would seem to offer

. the nation its most realistic hop\_g

. forracial harmony. :  
. Buthelezi is willing to compro-

mise on the demand of South

Africaâ\200\231s 25 million black majori-  
- tyâ\200\224a quarter of them Zulusâ\200\224for a  
' one-man, one-vote system by giv-

\* ing the minority five million whites

a veto. He advocates a strong bill of  
| rights to protect the individual. He  
| wants South Africaâ\200\231s free enter-

prise system to continue, although

many of his fellow blacks want a

socialist state. i P

And he favors a federal political

system that would allow the coun-

tryâ\200\231s different regions to work out  
their own local accommodations  
â\200\230and that would further protect the  
~white, Colored (mixed-race) and  
- Indian minorities.

Buthelezi calls for ."â\200\234 national

conVention, attended by represen-  
tatives of all races and all political

- groups, to write a new constitution

embodying this live-and-let-live philosophy. He strongly opposes the armed struggle of the outlawed African National Congress, both because of a professed commitment to nonviolence and negotiation and

- because he believes it will fail and

cost many black lives.

â\200\234We must recognize that a solution to our problems, a political

system for the future, must be

based on compromise,â\200\235 Buthelezi said in an interview. â\200\234We tell that

to whites all the time. They cannot |

maintain their monopoly on political power and expect to live in peace, but blacks should be prepared to compromise, too.

â\200\234One man, one vote is not worth |  
destroying ourselves and our coun- |  
try for when we can work out a |

compromise,â\200\235 he added. â\200\234I am not abandoning that ideal and all that it

means, but I donâ\200\231t want to see our |

liberation postponed and the country torn apart to attain it. No, the  
: Please see ZULU, Page 10

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â\200\230Continued from Page 1

â\200\230o compromise, to reconcile.â\200\235

â\200\234â\200\234As moderate as this position is,  
-However, it has met with wide-  
Spread suspicion and even open  
'hqstility. Few political leaders here  
4dre as controversial as Buthelezi,  
â\200\234-While he ranks high in opinion  
Surveys among whites, often out-

- polling President Pieter W. Botha

as â\200\234a good leader,â\200\235 he is viewed by  
â\200\230conservatives as even more dangerous than black radicals because

his moderation could make majori- -

by rule acceptable to whites.

But many liberal whites, partic- |

ularly businessmen and politicians,  
now see Buthelezi as perhaps the  
only man, black or white, able to  
bring a peaceful '

and they mention

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[ime has come to talk, to negotiate,

end to apartheid, â\200\230  
him frequently |

as t1.le;countryâ\200\231s first black Cabinet |  
minister or provincial governor or |

â\202-Ven as prime ' minister in the  
federal system that he envisions.  
Among blacks, Butheleziâ\200\231s power  
base is unrivaled, He is leader of  
the nearly seven million Zuluys,

- South Africaâ\200\231s largest ethnic group.

He is chief minister of the Zulu |  
tribal homeland, Kwazuly, and the |

president of the 1.3 million-mem-  
ber Inkatha movement, the largest  
black political organization in the  
country. As a result, he is likely to  
play a pivotal role in the countryâ\200\231s

ugï¬\202e.

uthelezi is criticized by many  
black militants, \_however, as an  
opportunist and even a govern-  
ment puppet for his willingness to

- work Within the present 'politicalâ\200\230

system. His stated willingness to  
accept less than the one-man,  
one-vote system and his refusal to  
support the armed struggle against

â\200\230apartheid bring even sharper critj-  
\ cm- 2! : Â£ 748 .

iâ\200\234eud Grows Bitter

â\200\234 An increasingly bitter feud be- |  
tween Buthelezi and the African -

National Congressâ\200\231 exiled leaders  
has led to dozens of deaths over the  
past year in fighting between Inka-  
tha members and congress sup-  
porters in the black townships

around Durban and in Soweto qut- ;

side Johannesburg, heightening

fears of a black civil war. Buthelezi

says the congress has now ordered  
- his assassination.

Despite these controversies,  
Buthelezi presses on, strengthen-  
ing Inkatha and his Kwazulu gov-  
ernment, entreating Botha to ac-  
cept a national convention, wooing  
whites into a multiracial alliance,  
offering the African National Con-  
gress a truce, soliciting support  
abroad. He is determined to enlarge

the middle ground for the politics of

moderation  
South Africa,

Lawrence -Schlemmer, director  
of the University of Natal's Center  
for Applied Social Sciences in Dur-  
ban, says that "few politicians have  
the capacity of Chief. Buthelezi to  
operate across a spectrum from  
traditional (black) politics, in the  
huge industrial townships of Dur-  
ban, the Witwatersrand (around  
Johannesburg) and elsewhere, at  
forums with white industrialists, to  
international affairs,"

and negotiation in

Buthelezi, every inch the son of a

proud line of Zulu warriors, is one  
of South Africa's most accom-  
plished politicians, with a personal  
magnetism that few can match and  
many envy,

He seems equally able to com-  
mand the attention of mass rallies  
of more than 50,000, to deal with  
the day-to-day problems of farm-

- ers and shopkeepers in the Buthe-

lezi clan, to discuss the historical  
and international context of South  
Africa's problems with world lead-

ers such as President Reagan,  
British Prime Minister Margaret -  
Thatcher and Pope John Paul Iher  
whom he has met in the past year,  
persuade many whites here  
,he is their best hope for a  
peaceful resolution of those prob-  
lems,

Dapper, - polished, charming,

A .

Buthlezi has the grace and mannersâ\200\224and the Saville Row wardrobeâ\200\224of a true aristocrat. Yet, he still- readily dons a Zulu chiefâ\200\231s leopard skins and necklace of lionâ\200\231s claws on ceremonial occasions and, with a cowhide shield, leads his warriors in tribal dances.

Flashes of anger interrupt â\200\230his - smooth conversation when he is challenged, his word doubted, his political integrity questioned, but the courtesy and charm return once his point is accepted.

â\200\234For someone in whose veins courses the blood of warriors who fought the English and the Afrikans, whose people staged the last-armed struggle against white rule in this country, it is not easy to preach nonviolence and negotia-

| tion,â\200\235 Buthlezi said. â\200\234But I recognize that Mr. Bothaâ\200\231s defense forces  
| cannot now be challenged. . . and

that most of the casualties of an armed struggle today would be black: i . ;

â\200\234Besidesâ\200\231. . . I am now at last convinced that there is a ground-swell of white demand for the normalization of South Africa as a modern, Western-style industrialâ\200\231 democracy. I do not fear my white compatriots. They are Africans, too, and have a God-given right to remain here.â\200\235 i

Buthlezi, who will be 58 on Aug.

27, is chief of the largest clan, the

Buthelezis, of the more than 50 tribes within the Zulu nation. As such, he assumed the traditional positions of prime minister to the Zulu king and commander of his regiments. But the government,

judging him a radical, refused to recognize his chieftaincy for five

years in the 1950s. Growing up in the royal household of his uncle, the Zulu king, after his father's death, Buthelezi not only heard tales of his great ancestors, King Shaka and King Cetshwayo, but witnessed a rebirth of black nationalism and culture. An uncle, Dr. Pixley ka-Isaka Se-

me, founded the African National

Congress. Another uncle, Bishop Alphaeus H. Zulu, was one of the first black Anglican bishops in South Africa. His mother, Princess Constance Magogo Zulu, who died a year ago, was a leading historian

of the Zulus and a well known

musician and composer.

Buthelezi studied history and administration at Fort Hare University in what is now the inde-

pendent tribal homeland of Ciskei. The school has produced many of southern Africa's black leaders, but it expelled Buthelezi for his political activities. He later finished his studies at the University of Natal in Durban. History remains, along

with classical music, among his

strongest interests.

faith has been another major factor in shaping his views. He grew up in a religious household, attended schools founded by missionaries and is now a deacon in his church.

He wanted to be a lawyer and :

became a clerk in the Durban law offices of Rowley Arenstein, a Communist then fighting the first

aws enforcing apartheid and helping to establish black labor unions. ~ Arenstein was subsequently banned by the government and forbidden from taking part in political or union activities and eventually practicing law. He broke with the South African Communist Party but remained a Marxist, and he is still its political confidant of the Zulu chief: as of 1981

on his long trips through Kwazulu and leads prayer breakfasts in Durban.

At the insistence of his family and also at the urging of Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the African National Congress and the 1960 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Buthelezi was brought back from his legal apprenticeship in Durban to assume the leadership of his clan and resolved to use the position to fight apartheid.

| He keeps a Bible in his car to read

- . United Press International by Chief Buthelezi during a U.S. appearance, and carrying a copy

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" Buthelezi says that his Anglican |

Kwazulu. In taking over schools despite its meager financial resources, the Kwazulu government has tried to raise the low level of black education and train skilled personnel that the country will need later. And Buthelezi has successfully recruited a significant number of experienced white civil servants to work in the Kwazulu government as an example of what a nonracial administration might be for the country as a whole. : . - Critics charge, however, that Buthelezi runs Kwazulu virtually as one-party state. Membership in Inkatha, they say, is required for everything, from business licenses to government employment to university admission. ; A Inkatha has established a new black labor union, rivaling those in the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and reportedly in



telling Zulu workers to switch to its:  
~ Those who oppose Buthelezi}  
. according to these critics, are often  
brutally dealt with by Zulu impis,

Press International

His chieftaincy brought Buthelezi into the Kwazulu government in the 1970s, but when Pretoria began pushing the tribal homelands to accept independence, he organized his Inkatha movement to remain part of South Africa and won every seat in the legislative elections there.

Involvement Criticized  
\_ His involvement with the existing system has been widely criticized by black militants, but Buthelezi justifies his leadership of Kwazulu on grounds that it thwarted Pretoria's plans to force all the tribal homelands into nominal independence and thus give South Africa a white majority. Inkatha also helped defeat the government's attempt to cede a large tract of territory to neighboring Swaziland, a move that would have expatriated hundreds of thousands of white people while leading a tribal dance.

the traditional regiments of warriors. And Inkatha has been blamed by many in the United Democratic Front, a coalition of anti-apartheid groups close to the African National Congress, for the many clashes between its members and the rival organizations during the past years. Buthelezi, angry and hurt by these allegations, rejects them with point-by-point refutations and then asks what his critics have achieved, particularly those who support the African National Congress's guerrilla campaign. This government is not going to be brought down by a bomb here and a bomb there. . . but only through the education, the mobilization:

. Please see ZULU, Page 11

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Associated Press .,

- sandsofblacks.

Buthelezi also contends that he  
has been able to use Kwazulu's  
autonomy to undercut apartheid in  
some ways. , : /

â\200\230Any black can obtain Kwazulu  
citizenshipâ\200\224thousands of non-Zu-  
' lus haveâ\200\224and thus be sure of  
| retaining South African nationali-  
| ty. Many apartheid laws and regu-  
â\200\230 lations, such as those enforcing  
- racial segregation, have been re-  
pealed or are not enforced in

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Continued from Page 10 ;

zation and the unity of our people,â\200\235

.5? said. â\200\234Black disunity, in fact, is  
e greatest obstacle to black liber-

â\200\230ation.

Â» Butheleziâ\200\231's latest project is aâ\200\231

ristoric conference between blacks  
d whites in Natal, his home  
gâ\200\230rovince, to discuss creation of the  
ceountryâ\200\231s first completely multira-  
gal government thereâ\200\224a model,  
e believes, for other regions and  
?::'haps the first step toward the  
ederal constitution he sees as a  
Solution for the current turmoil.  
Â« â\200\234The fact that they are sitting  
wn and working out a political  
modus vivendi for the future is  
i-\201s\_elf a breakthrough,â\200\235 he said.  
Â®

The Natal-Kwazulu Indaba, as  
the conference is called, using the  
Zulu word for meeting, has already  
produced a bill of rights intended as  
the foundation for further negotia-  
tions on sharing political power.  
The next step is expected to be a  
multiracial provincial assembly,  
which would be the countryâ\200\231s first  
genuinely integrated legislative  
body, to accompany the joint Na-  
tal-Kwazulu provincial adminis-  
tration already agreed upon.

Parliament, where Bothaâ\200\231s rul-  
ing National Party has effective  
control, would have to approve the  
Indabaâ\200\231s agreements before they  
could take effect.

Buthelezi, although convinced

;ZULU: Compromise on One-Man, One-Vote Urged

that â\200\234apartheid cannot last another  
decade,â\200\235 is similarly cautious on  
Bothaâ\200\231s proposal for a new â\200\234nation-

al council,â\200\235 which is at the center of

the presidentâ\200\231s reform program. \_  
Botha says the council under his  
chairmanship, with wide black par-

ticipation and with legal standing,

would start as a forum for discus-  
sion of all legislation affecting

blacks, who unlike Coloreds, persons of mixed race, and Indians are excluded from the white-dominated Parliament. But it would later undertake the task of drafting a new power-sharing constitution for the country. b  
â\200\234This could be almost the national convention that we have

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wanted for years,â\200\235 Buthelezi said, expressing his own interest in taking part if the council will actually

be writing a new constitution.

Yet last week, while assessing the governmentâ\200\231s hard-line rejection of British- Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howeâ\200\231s recent peace mis-

. sion to southern Africa, Buthelezi

saw little scope for his own moder-

aterole.

â\200\234There must come a time when I

~ say enough is enough,â\200\235 he told a ' Natal province businessmenâ\200\231s con-

ference. â\200\234There must come a time when the South African govern-

' mentâ\200\231s actions and attitudes demand that I revise my position before I become an outdated,

has-been politician.â\200\235

thaâ\200\231s proposed national council have a clear ultimate goal of drafting a new constitution, Buthelezi has set several other tough conditions for his participation. The present state of emergency, imposed June 12, must be lifted. Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the African National Congressâ\200\231 military arm who has been in prison since 1962, must be released and offered the same opportunity to participate.

And â\200\234serious deficienciesâ\200\231â\200\231 in the legislation establishing the council must be corrected so that its members, not President Botha, will control its deliberations.

â\200\234If these problems are not

cured,â\200\235 Buthelezi said, â\200\234this will be manipulated by the state president. . . . Again, this will be something that he has imposed on black people, and again it will cause violence, more violence, and not endit.â\200\235

Without Buthelezi, the national council cannot succeed, most political analysts believe, and the governmentâ\200\231s plans for step-by-step reforms will be jeopardized even further. Only two or three other black leaders have expressed even limited interest in the council. .-

â\200\234I am prepared to negotiate the future with P. W. Botha when he says he wants to share power,â\200\235 Buthelezi said. â\200\234But these must be true negotiations among equals, not whites imposing a solution on blacks. . . .â\200\235! !

In addition to insisting that Bo-  
a puppet body with its members

KING Goodwtlf â\200\230Zwelithinj - am prominent  
rus farmey. rAbert Schmtdt

MR Jurie Mentz (Nat MP  
Â« Suku,â\200\235 who fi¬\201frheÃ©ded the laboqr pact  
b 6 8.0 L 2 { & RN o i ;

) and â\200\230Mr. David Ma-

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â\200\230| supports sÃ@bme 1000 whites. But

Uubty dorp where Elackâ\200\230 and Whl e h%â\200\230ge agree

GRAHAM SPENCE -

LOUWSBURGâ\200\231s dusty main street  
boasts two cafes, two garages, a  
general store and a derelict white  
building that was once a hotel. â\200\230  
1 The bottle store is the the only  
building-with burglar guards, and  
one suspects, despite itâ\200\231s modest  
exterior, it does a roaring trade.  
There are few other diversions in  
|| this tiny: dorp. To cross {rom one  
J,side to the other takes perhaps five  
minutes dn horseback. ,

Yet this weekend humble Louwsâ\200\224 B  
burg was suddenly, and perhaps  
unwittingly, thrust into world at-  
tention. For her people, arch-con-  
servative Afrikaner farmers and  
Zulu peasants have agreed on an  
historic indaba-type accord in an  
ageâ\200\231'when the rest of South Africa  
is only talking about â\200\234negotiationâ\200\235.

It's not just words; the farmers  
have agreed to sign a goodwill pact .  
with their labourers that could  
have far reaching eifects in the  
agricultural community. All mutu- -  
al problems in the area will be  
thrashed out over a negotwtlng  
table, and it is the first time in " \*  
the country black and white have -  
agreed on the actualâ\200\231nuts and bolis  
of working as partners in resolving -  
differences. Â»

Â»>And just as Louwsburg is an un-  
likely â\200\234capitalâ\200\235 for such an historic  
treaty, the conservative white v  
community are equahy unlikely  
candidates.

The town is the centre of the  
Ngotshe district, a stretch of rich  
farmlands which span nearly 100  
â\200\230kilometres north from Louswburg  
almost to the Swazi border, and

lation of about 40 000 blacks.  
in spite of the inbalanced po  
. lation ratio â\200\224 or perhaps because  
of it â\200\224 this is hardcore rightwin,  
territory. The Nats hwoid the seat-

(Umfolozx) but the Lonserva'we;

area as their Boerestaat, -

..Indeed, geographically Ngqtshe  
!s in Natal but there is noâ\200\231last out:  
post of the empire here. This is'Af- "

' teous, deeply-religious people, un:  
yieldmg in their beliefs, and rooted

cuy Fressmen does not slide easily  
off the tongue, as the foreign media

; ndusty dorp:to witness the Ngotshe

Co-operation Agreement at a mas-

% sive launch attended by 10600 peo-  
~/ple on Friday,

blacks as an integral and cultural  
\_part of the community. Which may  
â\200\234.sound no big â\200\230deal, but one has'to  
â\200\230understand Louwsburg and t  
" Ngotshe farmers to really appree

# hlacks here were regarded as noth-

. force.with no rights to the land.

. Their -home, said the whlte farm-  
ers, was KwaZulu., ... .

Of course legally the land be-  
"longs to the farmers and they haye

. the power to evict whom they  
7 choose. That power was exercised

- 'white farms their peasant families  
" had lived on for generations.  
cheek by jowl on their lands there

also lives a teeming peasant popu- i hostilitv. -

. and even Afrikaner Weerstand-'\*  
beweging have much sympathy. In  
" fact the AWB claim sections of thls !  
\_, rikaner country, with tough;:cour+

.in the land. Speaking English to \*

rfound when they converged on the:

The pact basxcally recognises

ate the significance. For too. long  
ing but 2 dispensable, alien labour:

. frequently during labour disputes - 53  
with blacks being ordered from ' }i.  
â\200\234â\200\230ment has five main objectives;  
'@ The recognition of the needâ\200\231 for ! 1



This obviously gave rise to a much .

context firing a man is not only de- .

. priving him of a job but also his -  
. home, and this has had serious so-  
- cial effects on the entire Structure .

- of the traditional community. ;  
\_ Basically, the Ngotshe agree-

group inter-relations; .\  
The guaranteeing of security for

: ;al' in the area Wi | \ 38

{'cation of the importance - -attached

5 R50 000 was. being

As prominent citrus farmer Mr

Albel Schmidt says. in the meanwhile it is also interpreted  
as a

:black community will be a con-

The improvement of labour ;  
ations. including a form of free-

on the farmlands = and safe:

Mwul Zwe- |

huge: gathe  
ng at the launch is seen as an indi-

the KwaZulu government.  
nificantly on the same day.  
deputy Minister of Educati

Mr Sam de Beer announced that.

rade Lousburg's black p  
school's sporting facilities This

erted effort to upgrade their way.  
f )}Ie â\200\230both economically. and so-'  
ally,.

â\200\234PartyNatal leader, Mr Ray Swart '  
points out this is partxcularly true:

6ld rights for the black workforce y

the pact certainly contains  
â\200\230umany advantages for the whites as \*  
â\200\230well: As the Progressive Federal '

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aa\200\230si parti- \202el' \$

ontext, as.

â\200\234â\200\230'workers, the only two groups of |

w employees not protected by lawi:

While not suggesting that all :  
armers have, been neglectful in  
his regard, if they can pre-empt Â¢  
ny legislative measures by estab-  
ishing harmonious â\200\230labour rela-.

ertainly be to their benefi

own: ANC infiitration route, and  
lthough blacks there are over-

" â\200\230Wwhelmingly' pro-lnkatha, it is still a  
, ause ot concem to the Â©ommuni- 3

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Bas:cally sÃ©curlty to us â\200\230means  
preserving our traditional way of :  
<life,â\200\235 says Mr, Tjaart van Rens-.  
l burg, head of the Louwsburg  
. Farmers Association and one of  
. the instigators of the Ngotshe Co-  
'operation Agreement, â\200\234None of us  
;herÃ© have to lock our doors at

â\200\234As iar as commumty rnoral& in

#tHe arÃ©a is concerned ~â\200\224 another

riority of the pact â\200\224 the biggest  
problem facing the farmers is  
black unemployment. In accor-

"body who believes he has been uniâ\200\231

operation Committeg, which con-;

tions at grass roots: levelâ\200\234lt.yvlll

ance with the agreement, any- &

. sists of representatives of both la-~ 1  
â\200\234â\200\231- { bourers and farmers. {

labour grâ\200\230::ul-Â«  
f L tâ\200\231lural unionlsaiï~\201on is seen 4s being  
â\200\234inevitabie,. Both the. Government '  
, -and major trade unionl are looking A  
qante some form- bl Teglslation for -  
â\200\234farm lahourers and domestic A

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Also, there is the sensitive ques- 4  
n of. secnrtty Ngotshe is a

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Â« fairly treated in a work related::  
Lcontext can take his case to the Co- :

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Of course, there could beÃ© diffi- |

= â\200\230culties in lplement|ng committee  
' rulings, as they have no lÃ©gislative

authoritity. But' Mr van Rensburg ;

says he does not bÃ©lieve this wiit

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s RPN

former . |

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â\200\231Monday ~11 August 1986 e s et rn <V HE. CHIZEN

Church leader

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B anu/Natal indaba and the examples  
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| ly to.criticism of the church cont,  
{ e Rt e  
| elled at the charch\* â\200\234Zulu King Good-â\200\231  
will Zwelithird and KwaZulu Chief Min-

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ia and ever 't

; ;\bei"s\_. â\200\230Meantime those saimet â\200\230eritics

~donâ\200\231t WOrry, about the fact that the -  
~Government of South Africa iy stil]l a  
â\200\230| member of the: Uni

| 'Ã@ome to make pesitive statements.  
| rabout what vre dg believe s  
|.be put off by this wrangling,â\200\235

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he World Council of  
asklpgâ\200\234whyafensï¬\201lzmein-

criticises apai-theid and South Africaâ\200\235 - â\200\234Our two  
..-Mr Greenham said the time had . -

nd disinvestment. is added misery, |



g It dificult to lead-the dio- Âf  
e