

J OHANNESBURG ANC leader

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txmes when I think of the

â\200\234We have to stop thinking in

Intenslfy sapc w%Ã@ms says SlsuluK

Mr Walter Sisulu, in an inter-
jview after his release, said he
did not agree with the Rev Allan
Boesak, patron of the United
Democratic Front, that further
! ~sanctions should be suspended
â\200\230and that South Africa should be
~given six monthsâ\200\231 grace to im-
plement its programme of re-
- form.
~ â\200\234The pressure must be sus-
â\200\230tained...there must be no
â\200\234chance for the Government to
retreat and reorganise its strate-
gy of delay,â\200\235 said Mr Sisulu.
~ He said he was not surprised
â\200\230at Dr Boesakâ\200\231s request to the
-~ Commonwealth.
- â\200\234One must remember he is a
_churchman and they look at
things differently.â\200\235

Asked if he felt any bitterness
about his imprisonment and, if
he did, whether this would â\200\230a-
B fect his negotiations with the
. Government, Mr Sisulu said:

- â\200\234No. I feel no bitterness. After
- all, the only thing bitterness gen-
erates is a waste of en-
ergy...but I do get agitated at

y we
have been treated. :
â\200\234However if the struggle is to

succeed we must look to the fu-

ture not the past and consider
what is happening in the present.
â\200\234And things are already hap-

pening, after all we have been

released . . . that is a move in the
right dnrectxon, although perhaps

for the wrong reasons on the 5

part of the Government.

â\200\234For my own part bitterness

will not play a part in our negotiations,â\200\235 said Mr Sisulu.

Referring to the ANCâ\200\231s policy on the franchise, Mr Sisulu said:

â\200\234One man one vote is fundamental to the demands of the people, and we would not be willing to accept anything less than that.

â\200\234It is fundamental to the concept of democracy and that is what the people want â\200\224 a truly democratic South Africa.

â\200\234A South Africa in which race is not an issue, in which the president of the country can be either black or white. The people who govern South Africa can be black and white.

~ terms of race and to start thinking in terms of people,â\200\235 said Mr Sisulu.

Mr stuluâ\200\230sald that while South Africa was still being ruled by a minority, nevertheless things

- were changing, even if they were â\200\234imperceptible without a high-powered mental microscopeâ\200\235.
. â\200\234The whites are becoming sen-

- sitive to our demands, and the degree of change is increasing

~as the degree of pressure mounts. _

~ â\200\234That is why the ANC cannot let up on the pressure, that

â\200\234would be a blg mistake,â\200\235 said the ANC patriach.

â\200\234We are calhng for an intensification of economic sanctions and pressure, we are not going to tolerate delay. Ever since Mr Vorster promised change within six months we have been made endless promises...all within that magic period of six months,â\200\235 said Mr Sisulu.

Asked if the present Government of President F.W de Klerk promised the hope of anything

â\200\234This Government mus!

to us their sincere commitment
to change by beginning to meet
our demands, the first of which is

the release of all political pris- |

oners.â\200\235

He said Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s re-
lease was a priority and denied
reports in the overseas press
concerning an alleged â\200\230â\200\234dealâ\200\235
with the government over Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s release.

â\200\234He (Mr Mandela) has had dis-

â\200\230cussions, yes, but in no sense of

the word can we call these dis-
cussions negotiations, no prison-
er is in a position to negotiate his
release.â\200\235

He confirmed that Mr Man-
dela was interested in a peaceful
solution to South Africaâ\200\231s -prob-
lems and added the ANC had al-
ways been interested in a peace-
ful solution.

â\200\234It was the government that
introduced the element of vio-
lence backed by a stubborn re-
fusal to consider our demands to
be treated like ordinary citizens
or even to consider the idea of a
democracy,â\200\235 he said.â\200\224Sapa

e e

WALTE Susulu relaxes outside his Soweto home wltth two of his grand-

children after his release on Sunday.

e â\200\224

deep rift between
d Umtataâ\200\231

â\200\230this week,

Major Gener- |

al Bantu Ho-
lomisa and Dr Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi met
for talks in Durbanâ\200\231s
Royal Hotel.

Full of smiles and
quips, they called for
.good neighbourliness
and for the two admin-
istrations to work to-
gether.

The position has,
however, changed dra-
matically.

The division between
Ulundi and Umtata
stems historically from
the South African Gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s separate de-
velopment policy.

P}n September 1973,
aramount Chief Kai-
ser Matanzima denied,
in the presence of
KwaZulu leaders in
Umtata, that he would
accept independence.
Yet, within a month, he
changed his mind and

in October 1976 Trans- |

| kei became the first in-
dependent country

" under the apartheid
| policy. This left Ulundi
. feeling betrayed.
Ulundi and Umtata
had no official ties

until 1983 when Pre-

toria introduced the
Tricameral Parlia-

ment. President Ma-
tanzima was angered
â\200\234that the National Party

~ excluded blacks from
the new system.

He flew to Durban to
meet Dr Buthelezi, and
they came up with the

South African Federal

Union as part of a
common stand against
the Tricameral Parlia-
ment.

Other national states

were drawn in, but
then Transkei with-
drew. Pretoria remind-
ed Umtata that in |

terms of the indepen-
dence agreements,
Umtata could not in-
terfere in South Afri-
can politics. Ulundi

again felt let down by
Umtata.

MARTIN CHALLENGER
Polmcal Reporter ;e e

At the end of 1987,
Maj-Gen Holomisa
seized power in Trans-

! kei. At Maj-Gen Holo-

misaâ\200\231s request he and

-]

Dr Buthelezi met on |

October 19 last year in

Durban when they both |
attended the Assocom

congress.

Dr Buthelezi made it

clear he was not sorry

that the Matanzima re- |
gime had ended. He

told Maj-Gen Holomisa

that cleaning up Transkei was beneficial to all black South Afri-

- cans.

Maj-Gen Holomisa.

SNBSS

for advice and wise inputs in solving problems, given his political experience and be-

. cause he was a senior

leader in the fight

. against apartheid.

Ndamase, President of Transkei, invited leaders of the national states to a meeting in Umtata. Ulundi declined. Dr Buthelezi

asked how, given the

independence agreements, Ulundi could be involved again with Transkei, unless the agenda of the meeting was the dismantling of their independence.

. The meeting had the

| said Transkei would
| look to Dr Buthelezx

Noting that people

from KwaZulu and Transkei lived in each other's areas, Maj-Gen Holomisa said:

people have a

Our

cherished tradition of

good neighbourliness,

re-inforced by cross-

migrations and inter-marriages which, cou-

pled with our common |

ancestral origins, welded us into one people who share a common

destiny and shared dis-

abilities under the
white regimes of this

great land of southern

Africa.â\200\235

The two leaders said
that for a start, depart-

- ments from the two
. governments doing the

same work should
meet and try work
closer together.

It was never an-
nounced publicly what
became of thls inten-
tion.

Last month, Para-
mount Chief Tutor

blessing of the ANC, so
Ulundi probably felt

| their political position
was being hijacked by
. the ANC.

Transkei took the re-
fusai badly, and from
there the relationship
deteriorated quickly.
Maj-Gen Holomisa

asked whether Dr Bu-
thelezi felt talks with Â°
the ANC â\200\234should be .

conducted through him
or under his surveil-
lanceâ\200\235.

Several top figures
in the Mass Democrat-
ic Movement went to
Transkei for the re-
burial of Tembu Para-
mount Chief Sabata
Dalindyebo. They
warmly embraced
Maj-Gen Holomisa and
described him as â\200\234their

soldier of the strug- .

gle.â\200\235.

Maj-Gen Holomisa

implied independence
was a farce and raised
the possibility of

Transkei holding a referendum on independence.

Ulundi could have |

felt aggrieved that they had always refused independence, but had never received any credit for it from other anti-apartheid forces. Maj-Gen Holomisa has subsequently attacked Ulundi on a known sore point, saying that "at the end of

the day we all get ! home with the pay '

packets from the same Pretoria administration"235.

Dr Buthelezi hit back with a known sore point for Umtata. He insisted that KwaZulu was not formed by the South African government. "We were a domain in our own right when we were conquered. KwaZulu is the remnants of that domain."235

Alternatively, Ulundi sees the division of Xhosa people into Cis-

| kei and Transkei as an example of a house di-

vided against itself. Dr Buthelezi said he held his position as leader

~ by the will of the people and not through the

barrel of any gun nor |

| through Pretoria.

As the country moves towards negotiation, this is another obstacle to overcome.

Trouble between

. Ulundi and Umtata

makes it harder for
the De Klerk adminis-
tration to allow an In-
daba-type constitution-
al experiment in Natal
and KwaZulu, which
some people think is a
possibitity.

Church adds fuel

to Red flag row.

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EDITORIAL COMMENDS CHRISTIAN STANCE

HURCHMEN should

pull out of any future

protest marches if

some of the marchers

raise the Red Flag and refuse

to lower it, says the Methodist

Church newspaper, Dimension.

The newspaper was comment-

ing on the ongoing controversy

over the hoisting of the com-

munist flag in the Durban pro-
test march on September 22.

Clergymen leading the march

threatened to withdraw because

of the flagâ\200\231s presence and they

insisted it be removed.

Dimension, in an editorial, said it

commended the Christian leaders
â\200\224 including the Presiding Bishop
of the Methodist Church â\200\224 who
twice stopped the Durban march to
insist the flag be removed.

The paper said this action must
have been difficult to accomplish

in the midst of such a huge crowd

Terry McElligott

RS TR
â\200\224 and it might not be possible on
other occasions to achieve the
same.

â\200\234At such times, churchmen and
women should have no hesitation in
pulling out of such a march.

â\200\234Christians dare not associate
themselves with an ideology which,

in some parts of the world, is at

He is in Cape Town attending the church's national conference.

However, the Natal district chairman, the Rev Dr. John Borman, has said the marchers had sought to stand for the truth and to nail their colours to the mast.

It was most unfortunate that some people misinterpreted the message we tried to give because of the presence of the Red Flag.

Dr Borman came under criticism from some members of the Durban North congregation for

having participated in the march, and open and frank views were expressed at a meeting of members with him afterwards.

Dr Mogoba, in an address to the current Methodists' national conference, said the new South Africa would call for a wholesale reconstruction of the country. He suggested the country needed a strong central government with federal features to accommodate regional peculiarities and the plural nature of its society.

Instead of four provinces, the country could have as many as eight to 10 regions.

The so-called homelands should be re-integrated into one state. There should be one official language, English, with other beautiful languages becoming regional, or district, languages.

The neighbouring southern African states should form one economic community.

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Blacks

WHAT is happening to-day in South Africa is surely evidence enough to those gullible people who voted on September 6 to â\200\234give FW a chanceâ\200\235 that they were deceived by the Madison Avenue hype masquerading as a political policy and offered up as a â\200\230â\200\234futureâ\200\235 to South Africaâ\200\231s White voters.

In a recent Black newspaper editorial, the concept of â\200\234nation-buildingâ\200\235 â\200\224 hailed in the White Press as something noble

\C-

and courageous â\200\224 is revealed as having two perspectives: that of the White liberal which is paternalistic and patronising, and that of the revolutionary.

According to the editorial, the revolutionary approach goes far beyond equipping some Blacks to

be able to hold senior

- N

posts and to earn better salaries. It means break-

ing down the structures which the Black has used as a pro-tem instrument to attain power (the churches, the educational systems, the courts), and replacing them with new ones. Other structures will be taken over, transformed and used in pursuing liberatory goals.

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â\200\234Nation-building,â\200\235
says the editorial, â\200\234is the

search for and the acquisition and control of the structures of power. The masses will seek to transform the system by defying racial, legal, cultural, religious, social and other traditional norms and methods of doing things so as to usher in a new set

of norms and values which will help restore the pride, dignity and confidence of the oppressed masses.

The editorial continues: What we are

after is our country. We are not asking for equal rights or equal opportunities. The return of our land must therefore be our ultimate goal.

Nothing could be clearer than this and I wonder if an election were held now how many seats would the NP win. But it is always the same in South Africa. Thousands of our White voters seem to have no sense of prescience, of foresight. Everything is what it appears to be, not what it is. This of course could be attributed to a controlled Press and television.

The Blacks want South Africa, not power-sharing. Whites will never be protected by clauses in a constitution or by courts subservient to a Black government. When will White South Africa wake up? Will they have to stand at their front doors with a shotgun before they realise that their government is acting in the interests of foreign powers, not White nationalism?

Those who voted N: on September 6 should ask Mr De Klerk: where will you draw the line And will you be able to draw a line?

MRS G DERBY LE
Krugers.

Mercury Correspondent
JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224Newl released former

ANC leaders said yester ay the question of negotiations with the South African Govern-ment would be decided by the ANC leader-ship in Lusaka.

In the first interview to be granted to a South Af-rican daily newspaper former ANC secretary-gen-eral, Walter Sisulu, said the question of neg-otiations was a vital one and had to be addressed to the official ANC leadership in the Zambian capital.

Mr Sisulu, 77, who has spent more than 20 years in jail, was joined by fellow Rivonia trialist â\200\230Ahmed Kathrada, now aged 60. Both men looked fit and healthy as they sat side by side in the modest lounge of Mr Sisuluâ\200\231s home in Orlando West.

They reiterated that a climate for negotiations could only be created once ANC demands had been met, The same applied to the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

Vital question

Asked if the ANC was prepared to talk to the Government about preconditions for negotiations before the ANC demand_s were met, Mr Sifulu said the question was not as simple as it seemed.

â\200\230It is a highly politicised issue. It is a very vital question and it is better that it should be directed to the official leadership of the ANC, that is handling the affairs.

â\200\230The official leadership of the ANC is in Lusaka and even with our presence here it continues to be in Lusaka on matters of policy, especially this one,

â\200\230Anything that creates a cli-mate for negotiation would be welcome, but we have more or less implied what we mean by the creation of a cli-mate for negotiation,â\200\231

He said demands were that the ANC and other -organis-

ations be unbanned, the stateâ\200\231

of emergency lifted, indi-vld_uas unbanned, laws re-stricting freedom repealed

And political exiles returned. .
The reported demand for

return to true negotiations
was not listed by the released
ANC leaders, Mr Sisulu said.

The time for sanctions to be
lifted against South Africa
would be ripe only once cer-
tain of their demands had
been met, he added.

When there is the creation
of a climate and people are
beginning to talk, then people
will be in a position to say
Government is doing some-

ing.

They will only then be able
to determine the situation
when Government has met
the demands.

Asked to comment on the
fact that ANC attacks in
South Africa appeared to
have diminished recently, Mr
Sisulu said: This may not be
a question of strategy but one

of practicality,

He pointed out there had
been, bombings during the
elections: However, if it is
a question of strategy. I don't
think so. It could be that peo-

ple don't see their pos-

Mr Sisulu said the leaders
wanted to go to Lusaka, but it
depended on whether they
were given Passports.

Asked to comment on de-
velopments in Angola and
Mozambique, he said changes
in these countries were in
keeping with the internation-

al situation,

The approach is one of the
greatest things happening
this century. It is a question
of world peace and part of
the move to democratise the
whole socialist system,

L EALTYE Y

Lack of black unity greatest stumbling block

Nothing less than

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one man,

- Chief B

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W F DEEDES, former Editor of the Daily Telegraph, asked Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi when he was in London why he believed State President F W de Klerk should be given a chance. Here the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, a man reviled by radicals, puts his case.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chiel Minister

of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, an irreverent thought entered my mind: What a pity it is that the world hears so much from Archbishop Tutu, and so little from Chief Buthelezi.

The thought arose after our talk, not because Buthelezi is widely recognised as a force for moderation in South Africa â\200\224 for which he is mistrusted and frequently reviled by the militants; but because he strikes one as having a far clearer vision of the true difficulties that lie ahead in South Africa than Archbishop Tutu and his friends â\200\224 or indeed than most people in the West.

â\200\230Perhaps, â\200\231 says Buthelezi sadly, â\200\230the West in the end will prove to be more efficient at protesting about apartheid than actually doing something to assist in the process of ensuring that apartheid will be followed by something multi-party, multi-racial democracy that will last.

That final word goes to the core of his anxiety about the future. Repeatedly in our talk, Buthelezi referred to the bloodshed in Angola and Mozambique.

His nightmare is the fratricide among blacks which might so easily persist after a settlement in South Africa. â\200\230By far the greatest stumbling block to success is now the lack of black unity. Tragically it is the very fluidity of the South African situation and the promise of success that is so divisive.â\200\231 We came back to that later.

In one sense Chief Buthelezi is an optimist â\200\224 it is hard to see how he could have survived all these years unless he was. He believes that F W de Klerk is ready to make a deal with the blacks in a way which his predecessors in office were not.

â\200\230I met the man, and the thing that struck me very strongly was the sense in which he was so different in his approach from two of his predecessors Presidents Vorster and Botha ... there was a note of penitence in it, you know.â\200\231

â\200\230Last chance?â\200\231 I suggested. â\200\230It is the last chance,â\200\231 said Buthelezi slowly. â\200\230Mr de Klerk has not got as much time as Mr Botha ... who had a lot of time to fool around. He got himself immobilised by the appearance of the Right.â\200\231

Is the Right a diminishing factor? â\200\230I donâ\200\231t think they can go any further.â\200\231

I drew Butheleziâ\200\231s attention to reports of Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s recent statement in which she said, â\200\230I believe in one person, one vote. Any solution has to be based on universal adult suffrage.â\200\231

â\200\230Well,;â\200\235 said Buthelezi,, â\200\230there is no way we can settle for less than one man, one vote; but how we negotiate that is a separate matter altogether. It does not necessarily have to be the British or the American system.â\200\231

We came to relations between Buthelezi's Inkatha and the African National Congress (ANC). Have the prospects of reconciliation improved? â\200\230Let me say this: for some time at least the ANC has been committed to making the country ungovernable.

â\200\230Whether they shoot their way to power or whether they are going to buy their way

i AFTER AN hourâ\200\231s talk with Dr

&

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

to power because they are so awash with the resources that they get internationally - these are things that bother me very much.â\200\231 He goes on: â\200\230Both sides have to change. That is why earlier this year I sent a letter to Nelson Mandela saying that whatever policies we have are going to be completely ignored unless we get the act together ... thatâ\200\231s the crucial thing, because the obstacle is not only the intransigence of the Government, but also the terrifying strife.â\200\231

Mandela

Â£ | ASKED if he had an understanding
with Mandela. â\200\230We get on very well.
He has written to me. His message

;was that he regarded me as a freedom

fighter in my own right. There couldnâ\200\231t be
any settlement without a role for me and
Inkatha. Also in the letter he wrote to me
he accommodates the idea that the ANC
and Inkatha have the right to separate
organisations.â\200\231

Is it important for them to get together?
â\200\230It is crucial.â\200\231

We had referred to the fact that in Natal
there had been cruel casualties arising out
of feuding between Inkatha and the ANC. â\200\230I
took the initiative. I went to the places

â\200\230where the violence was taking place. And
everywhere I appealed for peace.

â\200\230I read this Mandela letter. And just
about that time the Anglican Church was
meeting in Durban, and I sent a message to
Archbishop Tutu and said that I was very
concerned that the Church did not seem to
involve themselves in African reconcili-
ation, which I regarded as their job.

â\200\230T also wrote to Mr Tambo, suggesting a
date for a meeting, but I have not received

any acknowledgement. Yet I regard such a
meeting as crucial. It is essential we blacks
get our act together.â\200\231

He had already made it clear, he added,
that he could not be drawn into negotia-
tions until Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s release.

That would be one symbol. Another
would be a declaration that the tricameral
parliamentary system was going â\200\224 â\200\230It can-
not cater for legitimate black demands.â\200\231
Another would be the repeal of the Group
Areas Act, and the Act under which people
of different races have to be registered.

The longer we talked, the clearer became
Butheleziâ\200\231s belief that the West will also
have to do some fundamental rethinking. I
mentioned that on my last visit to Johan-
nesburg it had seemed to me that American
disinvestment had made some white South
Africans very rich indeed, and many blacks
much poorer.

â\200\230It is quite true. The West should really
look at this policy of isolation. If they want
to see negotiations getting off the ground, it
is absolutely crucial that Mr de Klerk
should be given a chance.â\200\231

He uttered a warning: â\200\230Those who have insisted that violence is the primary means of bringing about radical reform in South Africa now more than ever want to monopolise violence as a factor of success. Those who thought that reform was not possible unless South Africa was made ungovernable through the politics of confrontation now more than ever want to monopolise confrontational tactics.â\200\231

Then we came to a matter which clearly rankles deeply with Buthelezi. â\200\230If we were to declare a South African moratorium on all in-flowing funds for the purposes of electioneering and party political machinery maintenance, Inkatha would be streets ahead of all its rivals. We have danced to nobodyâ\200\231s tune.â\200\231 %

By contrast, Buthelezi declares with feeling, organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and even the South African Council of Churches (SACC) spend millions of rand between them, which they receive from abroad.

â\200\230The Soviet Union and its allies have annually provided revolutionaries with multi-million-dollar backing. Scandinavian countries in particular have annually provided the ANC with millions for its organisational programmes. Whenever it comes to funding for a group like Inkatha, Western governments become all coy and say they cannot interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa.â\200\231

So the West must recognise that there will be more than one party to agreement with the Nationalist Government? â\200\230Absolutely true.â\200\231

There was a pause and Buthelezi drew his chair back a little. â\200\230I donâ\200\231t know if you have ever paused to think what would happen if the white minority in South Africa established guerilla warfare. Given the strength and mobility they have, it could destroy everything in Africa. So it is vital there should be negotiations.

â\200\230They have nowhere else to go... It would be terrible...â\200\231

Big changes â\200\230unavoidableâ\200\231

ULUNDI--There were ao
prospects of apartheid heia
resuscitated to its former
Verwoedian strength, Kwa-
Zulu leader Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was speaking at a meet-
ing between himsell and
Times Media Limited manaz-
ing director Stephen
Mulholland, as well as Mr R
Rautzow and Mr D Anderson

of the United States.

â\200\234The reforms that have tak-
en place are not some kind of
timid advance into a new fu-
ture. They have been WEILNE
out of the Governmeat by po-
litical opposition to apart-
heid and by economic
realifies.â\200\235

Nadical change was tolaily
unavoidable.

The hest that National Par-

ty and Afrtkaner brains conld
do to bring aboul permanent
white control of 87% of the
surface area of the country
and of the public service,
Defence Force, ltransporta-
tion, electricily, water sup-
plies and â\200\230everything which
gives whites a total monopoly
in the authorship of domestic
and foreign policyâ\200\231 had failed,
Dr Buthelezi said. â\200\224 {Sapa)

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