

# Indaba is a *ZULULAND OBSERVER* *11 April 1986* 'challenge' J

THE Kwazulu/Natal Indaba would have to be seen by whites as a challenge to themselves, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief Minister of Kwazulu, said in the Legislative Assembly this week.

Responding to negative reaction to the Indaba, Chief Buthelezi said he had come to the conclusion that, if white, black, Indian and coloureds did not want the Indaba, and its opportunities were no more than 'pearls cast before swine', then it would be rank foolishness for him to campaign for it and attempt to prop it up.

He would now have to regard the endeavour as something launched to fend for itself.

Chief Buthelezi said 'nonsense' had been written about the outcome of the Indaba being prejudiced because the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress and the Azalean People's Organisation were not participants.

The Indaba would not be catastrophic because the forces in violent politics did not support it.

'The Kwazulu/Natal Indaba will only be catastrophic if those who are committed to democracy and decency are shown not to have the guts to succeed in the face of hostility', he said.

If white South Africans spurned him and he suffered for them and if they did not want him to strive for them as much as he strove for black South Africans then they should say so simply, Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he was getting very tired of blazing new trails and fighting one 'horrendous' political battle after another for the sake of his fellow whites, Indians and coloured South Africans.

Chief Buthelezi said the Indaba had been structured to take it right out of party political arenas.

It was not his pet project and he could not manipulate it.



16/1/11

FOCUS: JUST HOW POWERFUL IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

# The spectre of the red funeral flags

WM 11 to 17 April 1986.

**There is at least one matter on which the South African government and its deadliest foe, the South African Communist Party, are altogether in agreement: that the SACP has become increasingly influential and increasingly dangerous to the status quo. The question for the rest of us is whether they're right. PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

THE hoisting of the red flag at funerals of black people killed in the township rebellion poses the question once again of the influence of the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union over the African National Congress.

When the flags of the SACP and the Soviet Union were raised at the funeral in Cradock last July of Matthew Goniwe and his three slain comrades, they were seen in some quarters as proof of the government view that communism is the driving force behind both the ANC and the rebellion sweeping across the country.

Not long afterwards President PW Botha spoke of the ANC's "enslavement to the South African Communist Party and its economic objectives". At about the same time his Law and Order Minister, Louis Le Grange, talked of a "communist assault" orchestrated by the SACP-ANC alliance, adding: "The head office of the alliance is in London under direct instructions from Moscow."

So neatly did the spectre of the red flags fit the official assertion that communists are behind black discontent that some observers even speculated that the flags had been planted at the funeral by Security Police or their agents in a bid to discredit radical black leaders.

But eight young men were subsequently charged under the Internal Security Act for raising the flags at Cradock. Since then red flags have appeared at several subsequent funerals.

The appearance of the red flags alongside ANC flags and banners is *prima facie* evidence of some support for communism in the black population. But whether that support is pervasive is another



Sometimes it's the SA Communist Party flag, sometimes it's the Soviet Union flag. Either way, the red banner has — since July last year — become a commonplace sight at political funerals across the country.



Pictures by Gill de Villeg (Afrapix), Bruce Gillespie and Trevor Samson (AFP)

symbol of rebellion ... an eloquent expression of defiance."

Just as the ANC flag has been hoisted at funerals as visible testimony of the people's appreciation of its premier role in the struggle against apartheid, so the SACP flag has been raised as a reminder that the SACP — and, with it, the Soviet Union — is part of the alliance seeking the overthrow of the existing order in South Africa.

A top Security Police officer, however, took a different view. He agreed that the red flag was raised to show that the SACP is part of the ANC alliance but he doubted whether it was a spontaneous action. "Very little happens that is spontaneous," he said.

But whatever the precise details of the motivation for raising the red flag, there is little doubt that the SACP is an influential, though not necessarily dominant, force in the "liberation struggle".

The SACP is, however, largely a secret organisation, whose leadership, let alone rank-

and-file members, is largely unknown. It is thus difficult and even hazardous to appraise its role, except in the most general terms.

It helped to forge Umkhonto we Sizwe in the early 1960s when the decision to launch "armed struggle" was first taken. Since then it has endured in exile and, perhaps clandestinely in South Africa, to become a dynamic component of the ANC-centred alliance.

Of the 30 members elected to the ANC national executive in Kabwe, Zambia, last year, Lodge estimated that nearly half are SACP members. The Security Police officer calculated that nearly two-thirds were communists.

One of the communist members of the executive is Joe Slovo, who is thought to have been recently elected chairman of the CP central committee.

Even if Lodge's figure is too high — he details his reasoning meticulously — the SACP is undoubtedly a major factor in the ANC alliance. The revolts by Africanists against "leftist domination" of the ANC — the first led by Robert

Sobukwe in 1958-59 and the second by Tennyson Makiwane in 1975 — is indirect evidence of the important role of communists in the ANC alliance.

Lodge, however, warned against equating the SACP influence with the number of its representatives on the ANC national executive.

Many communists are members of both the SACP and the ANC, meaning, presumably, that they would have to take account of ANC views and sentiments *per se*, even where these are in conflict with SACP policy. Further, some of the key positions in the national executive are held by non-communists. The ANC president, Oliver Tambo, is the pre-eminent example. Tambo, who was once a candidate for the Anglican ministry, was acknowledged as a non-communist by the Security Police officer interviewed by Weekly Mail.

Craig Williamson, the former Security Police officer who penetrated the ANC while purporting to be a radical, spoke with respect for the political skills of the SACP. He labelled its strategic thinking "most sophisticated" and "years

ahead" of that of the established parties. Its power within the ANC-alliance was demonstrated by its ability to recruit men from Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control over the most successful of the MK units, the Special Operations unit, Williamson said.

Its "game plan" was not to assert itself against the non-communists but to support the ANC in the quest for a nonracial South Africa based on the Freedom Charter while building up a talented elite of dedicated communists ready to press on to the second stage of the revolution — the creation of a socialist society.

The jailed Nelson Mandela could, of course, tip the ideological balance one way or another. Mandela declared himself forthrightly on the matter at his trial more than 20 years ago.

"It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party," he said.

"But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of white

supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

"The history of the world is full of similar examples. Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the co-operation between Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in the fight against Hitler."

Mandela went on to express admiration for "bourgeois" democracy, including specifically the British parliament and the American congress.

There is no evidence that Mandela has radically changed his stance and his influence appears to be consistent with that of Tambo's, whom Lodge described as a "man of consensus rather than extremes".

Against that, however, it must be conceded that the popular political culture of the townships abounds with strong socialist sentiments, manifest by condemnations of US imperialism and the chanting "vivas" for Slovo.

It is interesting to recall that before the old legal Communist Party of South Africa was banned in

1950, it resolved to relate the "struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profit".

Today the equation between apartheid and capitalism is an axiom in the ideology of radical organisations from the United Democratic Front to the rival Azanian People's Organisation.

But the antipathy to capitalism in the townships is not so much the result of SACP propaganda as the product of South Africa's policy of "racial capitalism", in which nearly all the benefits of capitalism accrued to white capitalists and in which, until recently, aspirant black capitalists were largely hamstrung (except in the "homelands").

But the large and growing socialist constituency provides a potentially fertile area for SACP recruitment, should the SACP abandon its elite vanguard role and seek to become a mass-based party.



## SLOVO: PRETORIA'S FAVOURITE BOGEYMAN

By HOWARD BARRELL

JOE SLOVO, it is said, is quaintly upset at being accused by South African government supporters of being a KGB colonel with his own country dacha somewhere out in the wilds of the Soviet Union.

He is said to feel his accusers should have done him the justice of taking the absurdity further by charging he is at least a KGB general.

An affable and humorous man, Slovo is, in real life, the very antithesis of the mammoth political ghoul striding the shadows of South African politics that government propaganda portrays him as.

He is popular within the ANC external mission and, to judge from the chants in his honour at black political meetings inside the country, he has similar popularity as a symbol among many other black people.

Although government estimates of his importance in the alliance between the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions appear excessive, there is no doubt he carries some weight.

At the last congress of the South African Communist Party — held in London in late 1984 — he is widely believed finally to have achieved the position that government officials have so incorrectly and for so long said he occupied. That is, chairman of the Communist Party — the successor to Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

His colleagues in the ANC say he takes a very dim view of the Stalin era, with its personality cults and bloody purges, believing it seriously set back the socialist cause. They add that, although he is a senior official in a party whose organisational pillar is discipline, he has a horror of "apparatchiks" and aggressively conformist

political behaviour.

He is also said to be a strong supporter of Soviet Communist Party general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to modernise and regenerate socialism in that country.

Slovo, whose father was a van driver, managed to get to university because as a World War II ex-serviceman he could get a bursary. He then studied law at Wits University and, after qualifying, was involved in the defence teams in a number of political trials.

A founder member of the Congress of Democrats, he represented it on the national consultative committee of the Congress Alliance. After being banned in 1954, Slovo continued his political work clandestinely. He was subsequently one of the accused in the marathon Treason Trial which started in 1956.

During the State of Emergency in 1960, he was detained for four months and, in 1963, he was instructed to join the external missions of the African National Congress and SACP.

He became one of the key figures in the ANC operational machinery, the Revolutionary Council, set up after the 1969 ANC national consultative conference in Morogoro, Tanzania.

His wife, Ruth First, was assassinated in a parcel bomb explosion in Maputo, for which the ANC blamed South African agents, in 1982.

As far as can be ascertained, Slovo is currently chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. This makes him number three in the ANC military hierarchy, below Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and deputy commander/political commissar Chris Hani.

At the ANC national consultative conference held in Kabwe in Zambia in June last year, Slovo became the first and only white to be elected to the ANC national executive committee.

16/1/11



# Mandela today: 'I am ready'

BY TONY BURMAN

Mr. Burman co-produced a documentary profile of Nelson and Winnie Mandela shown this week on CBC's The Journal.

**L**ITTLE BY LITTLE, as the stories accumulate, a shadowy picture forms of South Africa's Nelson Mandela today, a man whom few people have seen in the past 24 years:

□ The imprisoned black leader was recently allowed a rare visit with his lawyers. To everyone's surprise, he cut the meeting off early because the white Afrikaner nurses taking care of him following a minor operation had reached the end of their shift. He explained that he didn't want to inconvenience them.

□ His last meeting with foreigners occurred last month when he saw a group representing the Commonwealth. He came to the meeting wearing a black, green and gold leather belt: the colors of the banned African National Congress. When told that they had already seen his wife, Winnie, he grinned and said, "I'm jealous."

□ U.S. law professor Samuel Dash, describing his three-hour meeting with Mr. Mandela, said, "I felt like I was in the presence of a head of state. He opened the discussion not by talking about South Africa, but asking me about the arms talks in Geneva and about what nuclear warfare might mean to his people in South Africa."

□ Lord Bethell of Britain, who also met him for several hours but on a different occasion, said that Mr. Mandela "was friendly, welcoming, giving me the impression that he was welcoming me to his home and treating the prison staff as if they were there to look after him. The way he spoke of them was almost affectionate, perhaps a little condescending."

□ Editors of the crusading black newspaper, The Sowetan, were startled when they received a Christmas card from Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town. It read: "Best wishes. Keep up the good work." It was signed "Mandela."

What does one make of all of this? What is Nelson Mandela like now? Where does reality end and legend begin?

These are not easy questions to answer. Few people have been allowed to see Mr. Mandela in prison. Most accounts of him come from sympathetic family and friends. No photograph of him has been released in 20 years. He is an important political symbol in the fight between whites and blacks in South Africa, and it serves the interests of each side to denigrate or to praise him.

Yet it is remarkable how much unanimity exists about the personality and political views of Mr. Mandela today. The portraits drawn by his supporters are reinforced by the impressions of more detached people, such as Lord Bethell, Prof. Dash and others, who admit to little prior knowledge of Mr. Mandela.

**M**R. MANDELA, as leader of South Africa's armed resistance in the early 1960s, has been in jail for 24 years. In 1962, he was convicted of organizing a strike. Two years later, while in jail, he was convicted on a far more serious charge of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

But this early Mandela doesn't quite live up to the menacing, terrorist image the South African Government has tried to attach to him. A lawyer by profession and a religious Christian, Mr. Mandela argued for years against the use of violence. By any

standard, he appeared to be a reluctant guerrilla fighter.

The sabotage campaign he led was short and limited in its scope. Its aim was government property, not people. Even the judge at Mr. Mandela's trial conceded this.

The sabotage campaign started in December, 1961. A month later, he left the country on a trip and he was arrested a few weeks after his return to South Africa. So Mr. Mandela's direct involvement in the sabotage acts — beyond their inspiration — could only have been minimal.

**IT** IS IMPORTANT to remember this when sifting through the various stories about the personality, appearance and views of Nelson Mandela today.

What comes through is a picture strikingly consistent with his image and reputation before he was sent to prison. Rather than being a fire-breathing revolutionary, Mr. Mandela appears to visitors as a middle-of-the-road, moderate African nationalist.

By all accounts, including those of his critics, he is a man of unusual personal presence and charm. A South African government official privately told a group of foreign visitors last month that officials "have always been astonished at his ability to impress the prison staff," often to the annoyance of cabinet ministers.

Mr. Mandela is known to be very self-confident in his relationship with prison officials. Some friends suggest that as an accomplished lawyer and the son of a tribal chief, he has never displayed the kind of defensiveness in his dealing with whites so common among older South African blacks.

Prof. Dash, who was chief prosecutor in the Watergate hearings in Washington in 1974, said he got the impression from his meeting that Mr. Mandela "was not only at ease, but seemed in control."

Mr. Mandela has been in Pollsmoor Prison since 1982. Before that he was in the notorious penal colony on Robben Island, off Cape Town. Robben Island has been described as being worse than Alcatraz but not as bad as Devil's Island.

The Government has never explained why it moved Mr. Mandela from Robben Island four years ago. But it is generally assumed that it was due to his impact on the younger prisoners.

Helen Suzman, a prominent opposition MP in South Africa's Parliament, was one of the few people ever to visit Mr. Mandela on Robben Island. It was in 1967 as part of an inquiry into prison conditions.

"His status there was extraordinary," she said. "When I arrived, I was taken to the so-called single cell area where there were about 30 prisoners. The impression I immediately got was that Mandela was the recognized leader. I said 'good morning' to the first prisoner I saw. But he quickly said, 'Look, don't waste time on me. Go straight to the end, and talk with Mandela,' which I did."

Mrs. Suzman saw Mr. Mandela again two years ago in Pollsmoor Prison, where conditions were far better. She said that he appeared in good shape.

"He looked older, of course. The hair is grey, or greyer. Very tall. He's got a very good way of carrying himself. He's an impressive man to look at. I must say the first impact is one of a man who is self-possessed. He's totally in command of the situation." Visitors who have seen Mr. Mandela



Mandela (1961 photo): 'Bottom line is political power . . . not trivialities.'

even more recently draw this physical portrait: He is tall, about 6 feet 3. He weighs about 180 pounds, which makes him considerably thinner than he was before he went to prison. When Mr. Mandela was younger, he used to be an amateur boxer and was quite muscular. At the time of his trial in 1964, he weighed about 230 pounds.

His hair is now silvery. He no longer wears a mustache or beard. He has been described by several who have seen him as vigorous and charismatic. At 67, he strikes people as looking considerably younger.

Dr. Nhatato Motlana, the Mandelas' family doctor, who performed a prostate operation on him a few months ago, said that "his mind is as sharp as ever. He has a physique of a 45-year-old. He should live until the year 2000."

**I**N DISCUSSIONS with foreign visitors, Mr. Mandela has remained consistent in his views on South Africa's crisis. From several of those sessions, where notes were taken, it is possible to quote him directly:

□ On white fears: "I want to impress this on the whites of South Africa. Although we will be the majority, that doesn't mean the minority will lose their power, their participation, their economic life. I believe that the whites here, unlike anywhere else in Africa, belong here. This is their home. We

want to share that home, and share power with them."

□ On recent reforms: "The Government has only been talking about pin-pricks. It's not my ambition to marry a white woman or swim in a white pool. The bottom line is political power. That's the only thing we're talking about. Not these trivialities."

□ On restraining the young: "We will be able to contain the situation in the townships. In the African National Congress, we have strong discipline. We, the leaders, having set the goals and the program, can control the others because of this discipline. Unless, of course, the whites don't negotiate in good faith. Then all bets are off."

□ On the transition period: "We will move carefully. For example, the apartheid laws keep separate where black and whites can live. When we take power, we will end this, of course. But we don't want to turn major white cities like Johannesburg into giant slums. We will insist that separate living continues for a short while until we can get enough jobs and homes built. So that blacks can move in with the same dignity and quality of life whites have now in South Africa."

Above all, Mr. Mandela appears to be confident that his wait for freedom is coming to an end.

"When that day comes," he told one visitor, "I will be ready. My people will be ready. But will the Government be ready?"



## Crowd Expected for Buthelezi Meeting

THE Ladysmith Town Hall is expected to be packed for an address by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Thursday night.



**Chief Buthelezi**

Chief Buthelezi is guest speaker at the local Chamber of

•Continued on page 2

•Continued from front page

## Buthelezi Meeting

Commerce's annual meeting which is usually held at the Royal Hotel Buttery.

However, the Chamber feels that it is such a coup getting the KwaZulu leader here that they have booked the Town Hall in anticipation of the many people wanting to listen to him speak at such a crucial stage in Natal's history. Representatives from the major newspapers as well as television are also expected to attend.

Chief Buthelezi is one of the key men in the current KwaNatal indaba in Durban and many at the Ladysmith meeting will undoubtedly be looking for some hint about the province's political future.

Local feelings for the indaba are generally favourable but there is a powerful element against, as was evident at a recent Andries Treurnicht meeting.

About 300 people listened to Dr Treurnicht speak from the same platform where Chief Buthelezi will stand next Thursday.

The majority of the people made it quite clear they supported the CP stand against any form of mixed government in Natal or anywhere else in South Africa.

The meeting was also told of an 'action group' formed to fight the KwaNatal proposals and there is a good chance we will see evidence of this next Thursday.

The meeting starts at 7 p.m.



## **'Indaba will save this region'**

WITH the KwaZulu/Natal negotiations approaching their second week, the Gazette interviewed several local people to get their opinions.

Mr. Otto Kunene, the regional chairman of the Inkatha youth brigade, said the Indaba was no more than the coming together of people in a democratic way and taking the significant step towards normalising the first and second tier governments.

"I believe a Joint Legislation Authority in KwaZulu/Natal will save this region millions of rands which could be channelled into endeavours not only to raise the standard of living among the poorest, but to increase the prosperity of the region," he said.

Asked whether the outcome of Indaba could lead to the separation of Natal from the rest of South

Africa, Mr. Kunene said it was unlikely as this was not the intention of the Indaba delegates.

An educationist who did not want to be named said: "The Indaba proposals will be more successful in a federal state, where different regions are governed by their own laws with little interference from other regions."

The Mayor of eZakheni, Mr. Dumisani Nkabinde, also cheered the Indaba saying it can "save the whole of South Africa from the disaster."

Mr. Nkabinde said the Indaba was giving KwaZulu a chance to decide its future with South Africa in the same way as the independent state chose their options.

The Indaba is a follow-up to the findings of the Buthe-Isi Commission

• Continued from front page

## **Kwa/Natal Indaba**

which was conducted in 1982. The Commission found that the social and economic life of Natal and KwaZulu cannot be separated.

The Indaba opened last Thursday with representatives of 34 political parties, business, professional and trade union groups taking part.

The National Party and the Trade Union Council of South Africa are there as observers. Organisations from the far right like Conservative Party, AWB and HNP and from the far left like the ANC, UDF and NIC have declined to attend.

• Continued on Page 2



APR 11 '86 09:33 KWAZULU GOVT. GRIFFIN JHB.

P.5

CHIEF M G BUTHELEZI  
MR W. FELGATE  
EX GRIFFIN

## 'Inkatha keeps order in Natal'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Moderate Blacks should be put in a position to protect themselves, and should be encouraged to exert discipline over the small proportion of their fellows who were fanning unrest, Mr Joris Mantz (NP, Vryheid) said.

Speaking in the Second Reading Debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said he had never seen discipline better than that exerted by the Zulus in Natal, where he came from.

The calm in the province at the moment was largely due to the fact that Inkatha was willing to control its own people in the interests of maintaining peace.

The movement was under attack by radicals who wanted to weaken it, he said.

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11/4/86



10/ CHIEF M. G. BUTHELEZI  
MR W. FELGATE

B/Day 11/4/86

## Eglin says masses have unbanned the ANC

PATRICK CULL  
Political Correspondent

ABOUT 25 years after government banned the African National Congress the people of the townships "have, for all practical purposes, unbanned it," opposition leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

He added that, viewed in historical perspective, SA had already entered a "revolutionary phase" and the revolt of the masses of people against the system, statutory authorities and the structures underpinning them had started.

Speaking during the Second Reading debate on the Budget in the House of Assembly yesterday, Eglin said a deeply divided South Africa was facing more life-and-death decisions than ever before.

Government, he said, had lost its grip on the civil administration of important areas of the country. Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis had given the impression that there was all the time in the world for SA to solve its problems, but this was not so — and one should not be deluded by the relative peace and quiet in white SA. Rather, he said, government

should look at the indicators:

- ☐ The collapse of local government and civil administration in many areas;
- ☐ The emergence of informal structures and organisations getting their legitimacy and power from the people;
- ☐ A school system which operated at the behest of pupils and the community, not of the State;
- ☐ The inability of the civil authorities in many townships to protect citizens from crime or intimidation;
- ☐ The fact that many townships were no-go areas for State officials except when operating under the protection of Casspirs, and;
- ☐ The massive disregard and defiance of laws and regulations and decrees made under them.

Eglin said government should realise it was not dealing with a situation in which the police or other security forces could simply enter and impose the will or the structures of State on the people.

The revolt could not be put down "nor the revolution turned back by the police or security forces, no matter how well-armed and equipped they may be".

There were three areas in which the battle for the future of SA was going to be lost or won:

- ☐ Apartheid, and whether government would scrap it;
- ☐ Basic living conditions, and whether government had the imagination and skill to embark on a socio-economic restructuring programme;
- ☐ Political power, and whether government had the courage to negotiate a new democratic and non-racial constitution.

"We have to accept that in the South Africa of tomorrow no South African can demand any more rights or privileges than another," he said.

"If government allows South Africa to continue as it is, we South Africans — black or white — will be left with no options; only the gloomy prospect of being under one or other form of tyranny, decided not by ourselves but by other people."



CHIEF M & BUTHELEZI  
MR W. FELGATE

Business Day

11/4/86

P.2

## Action by PW urged

VIOLENCE in South Africa would only be stemmed when President P W Botha "sentenced the tricameral Parliament to death" and announced his willingness to scrap the Population Registration Act as a preparatory step to the restructuring of SA's constitution.

This was said by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi when he met former KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council chairman Dr Louis Rive at Ulundi yesterday.

Buthelezi said it was becoming increasingly clear to him that Botha's inability to act boldly in

Own Correspondent

addressing kernel issues — which generated the politics of violence — was costing SA dearly.

He said he could not believe his ears when he heard the President was talking about a time-span of a whole generation within which his ideas could be worked out.

South Africa did not have that kind of time, Buthelezi said.

He invited Rive to serve on the KwaZulu Planning Committee and Advisory Council.



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# UCT students disrupt educational meeting

By CLARE HARPER

ABOUT 50 University of Cape Town students yesterday disrupted an educational meeting on campus because they believed a KwaZulu educationist who was to address students was an Inkatha member.

The Students' Action Committee (SAC) — an umbrella body including students from the Azanian Students' Organization, the Azanian Students' Movement, and Students' of Young Azania — yesterday issued a statement saying that "no Inkatha member would be allowed to speak on the campus".

A spokesperson said the SAC would not allow "collaborators of the system to legitimize the kind of criminal activities that they (Inkatha) embark upon".

The students had demanded that the educationist "denounce the atrocities of Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi".

The spokesperson said the educationist had done as the students requested; but that the students were still dissatisfied with his answers.

The acting head of the department of education at UCT, Professor Doug Young, yesterday said the educationist had been invited to answer any questions students may have had on education in KwaZulu, as small groups of students annually visited KwaZulu schools as part of their

teaching practice.

"To my knowledge he is not a member of Inkatha — he is here to be interviewed in regard to his PhD application and to clarify matters about KwaZulu," Professor Young said.

"If he was a member of Inkatha, I would never have invited him. I would in no way support the presence of Inkatha people on campus and I abhor the methods employed by Inkatha — and especially their alleged violent involvement in the recent NECC (National Education Conference Crisis) meeting in Durban."

He said, however, that visitors to the UCT campus had a right to be heard fully.

"They should not be judged in advance of speaking. I stand by the university's commitment to academic freedom."

Professor Young said a lot of pressure had been put on the educationist by the student group.

The SAC spokesperson admitted to a heavy-handed questioning of the educationist "because students regard Inkatha very seriously, especially in the light of the attack on the Durban education conference".

Another meeting to discuss education in KwaZulu is scheduled for today.

The SAC spokesperson said the committee would seek more information on the educationist before taking further action.



# Reina Steenwijk: Boykott trifft nur die Schwarzen

Holländerin lehnt Gewalt gegen Apartheid ab



Reina Steenwijk

*Bremen original  
Newspaper 4/4/86*

hpb. Ein Wirtschaftsboykott durch die Europäische Gemeinschaft (EG) ist nach Einschätzung von Reina Steenwijk kein geeignetes Mittel, um die Regierung des südafrikanischen Staatspräsidenten Pieter Willem Botha zur Änderung ihrer Haltung in der Apartheids-Frage zu bewegen. Die westeuropäischen Länder sollten lieber auf ihre Industriemanager einwirken, damit diese für eine Gleichbehandlung von weißen und schwarzen Beschäftigten in ihren südafrikanischen Tochterfirmen sorgen. Wirtschaftliche Sanktionen würden dagegen in erster Linie die ohnehin sozial benachteiligte schwarze Bevölkerungsmehr-

heit treffen, meinte sie gestern vor der Landespressekonferenz.

Reina Steenwijk leitet seit 1983 als Direktorin das „Informationszentrum über das südliche Afrika“ in Amsterdam. Außerdem ist sie Europa-Repräsentantin von „Chief“ Mangosuthu Buthelezi, dem Präsidenten der schwarzen südafrikanischen Massenbewegung „Inkatha“ und Chefminister des sogenannten Homelands Kwa-Zulu. Buthelezi gilt als einer der einflussreichsten und schärfsten Kritiker von Staatspräsident Botha und seiner Apartheids-Politik.

„Inkatha will den friedlichen Wandel in der südafrika-

nischen Republik, die Anwendung von Gewalt lehnen- wir zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt kategorisch ab“, sagte Reina Steenwijk. Die Regierung in Pretoria sei darüber hinaus gegenwärtig militärisch viel zu stark, als daß ein „Guerillakrieg“ Sinn hätte. Die „Inkatha“-Bewegung zählt augenblicklich weit über zwei Millionen Mitglieder, darunter sehr viele Frauen. Sie ist nach Darstellung von Frau Steenwijk westlich orientiert. Die Bewegung will neben der Gleichberechtigung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen die pluralistische Demokratie und die Marktwirtschaft in der neuen Verfassung verankern.

## „Sanktionen treffen arme Bevölkerung“

Gegen Boykott Südafrikas

mat Bremen. Gegen den wiederholt geforderten Wirtschaftsboykott der südafrikanischen Republik durch die Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft (EG) hat sich gestern die Direktorin des „Informationszentrums über das südliche Afrika“ in Europa, Reina Steenwijk, ausgesprochen. Vor der Landespressekonferenz im Bremer Rathaus begründete sie diesen Standpunkt mit dem Hinweis darauf, daß durch Sanktionen vor allem die arme schwarze Bevölkerung getroffen würde. Gleichzeitig forderte sie gestern das Bundeskabinett und die anderen EG-Regierungen dazu auf, energisch auf ihre Unternehmen und Manager einzuwirken, damit endlich eine Gleichbehandlung von weißen und schwarzen Beschäftigten in den südafrikanischen Tochterfirmen von westeuropäischen Konzernen erreicht werden könne. Reina Steenwijk: „Trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen ist eine solche Gleichstellung nämlich noch lange nicht in Sicht.“

Die in den Niederlanden geborene Reina Steenwijk (37) ist seit 1983 Direktorin des in Amsterdam ansässigen „Informationszentrums über das südliche Afrika“. Zugleich ist sie Europa-Vertreterin von „Chief“ Mangosuthu Buthelezi, dem Präsidenten der schwarzen südafrikanischen Massenbewegung „Inkatha“ und Chefminister des sogenannten Homelands Kwa-Zulu. Buthelezi gilt als einer der schärfsten Kritiker und Gegner des südafrikanischen Staatspräsidenten Botha.

Die weit über zwei Millionen Mitglieder starke „Inkatha“-Bewegung strebt auf friedlichem Weg die Aufhebung der Apartheid an. Sie ist nach den Worten von Reina Steenwijk westlich

orientiert und will in einer neuen Landesverfassung neben der Gleichberechtigung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen die Demokratie und die Marktwirtschaft festschreiben. Die Bezeichnung „Inkatha“ ist keine Abkürzung, sondern stammt vielmehr aus der Landessprache und bezeichnet den Kopfschutz aus Stoff, den die Frauen traditionell beim Tragen schwerer Lasten benutzen. „Im übertragenen Sinne wollen wir damit sagen, daß die Last der Apartheid für Südafrika und seine Bevölkerungsmehrheit ganz einfach zu schwer ist“, betonte Reina Steenwijk gestern.

Die Massenbewegung, die gerade unter Frauen in den vergangenen Jahren einen sehr starken Zulauf hatte, setzt sich vorbehaltlos für die Gleichberechtigung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen in der südafrikanischen Republik und freie Wahlen ein. Das gegenwärtige Dreikammer-Parlamentssystem in Pretoria wird von ihr deshalb auch nicht anerkannt. „Wir verfolgen dabei das Prinzip“, so Reina Steenwijk, „ein Mann muß auch eine Stimme haben.“ Die Ausgrenzung der Schwarzen und ihre Zwangsumsiedlung in sogenannte Homelands lehne man ebenfalls kategorisch ab. Diese „Homelands“ sind scheinbar unabhängig von Südafrika, weil sie eine eigene politische Ordnung haben. Reina Steenwijk: „Faktisch können sie aber gar nicht allein existieren, da ihnen die finanzielle Grundlage vollständig fehlt. Ihr Budget wird allein von Pretoria aus finanziert.“

Diese „Staaten“ bleiben also auf Südafrika angewiesen. Ihre Bewohner gelten für die südafrikanische Republik als Ausländer. Allerdings ist die Unab-



Einen Wirtschaftsboykott dürfe es gegen Südafrika nicht geben, forderte gestern Reina Steenwijk, (Bild) die Direktorin des Amsterdamer „Informationszentrums für das südliche Afrika“. Zusammen mit dem CDU-Politiker Dr. Ernst Müller-Hermann erläuterte sie einen umfassenden Forderungskatalog zur dauerhaften Befriedigung Südafrikas.

Bilder (2): Woltemath

hängigkeit der „Homelands“ von den Vereinten Nationen als ungültig erklärt worden.

„Wir wollen keinen gewaltsamen Umsturz in der südafrikanischen Republik“, erklärte gestern die Europa-Repräsentantin von „Chief“ Buthelezi weiter. Die Regierung in Pretoria sei militärisch auch viel zu stark. Die augenblicklichen publizitätsträchtigen Ausschreitungen in einigen Großstädten des Landes könnten nicht als organisierter „Guerillakampf“ bezeichnet werden. Allerdings schloß Reina Steenwijk gestern nicht aus, daß es eine Situation gebe könnte, in der auch Buthelezi seine Anhänger zu den Waffen rufen würde. „In einer solchen Situation sind wir aber noch lange nicht.“ Deshalb suche man nach wie vor das Gespräch mit der Regierung in Pretoria, um auf diese friedliche Weise den Wandel doch noch herbeizuführen. Reina Steenwijk: „Unter den militanten schwarzen Führern gilt „Chief“ Buthelezi deshalb als Verräter.“ Trotz zahlreicher Morddrohungen lasse er sich aber nicht von seinem Weg abbringen.



## Zulu-Partei will Apartheid mit eigenen Mitteln bekämpfen

*Von unserem Redaktionsmitglied Volker Kaiser*

**Bremen.** Ein Wirtschaftsboykott durch die Bundesrepublik und der Abzug des in Südafrika investierten Kapitals sind keine adäquaten Schritte, um das Apartheid-Regime in Pretoria unter Druck zu setzen. Solche Maßnahmen träfen vor allem die schwarze Bevölkerung des Landes, sagte Reina Steenwijk gestern vor der Bremer Landespressekonzferenz. Die Holländerin, die als Europabeauftragte des Chefministers von KwaZulu-Land, Mangusuthu Buthelezi, fungiert, beschingelte der Bundesregierung dagegen „verantwortliches“ Handeln, weil Bonn gleiche Rahmenbedingungen für weiße und schwarze Arbeitnehmer befürworte.

Entsprechend dem Beschluß der EG-Länder müsse nach Ansicht von Frau Steenwijk aber

sehr wohl kontrolliert werden, wie das Kapital verwendet wird, das deutsche Firmen in Südafrika investieren. Wirkungsvoller als ein Boykott von außen, der wieder nur eine Bevormundung darstelle, seien Sanktionen durch die schwarze Bevölkerung, die inzwischen rund 52 Prozent aller Konsumgüter kauften. Auch deshalb sei es das Anliegen der Inkatha, der von Buthelezi geführten gemäßigten Zulu-Partei, die „schwarze Macht“ im Lande lokal und regional aufzubauen.

Die gerade aus Südafrika zurückgekehrte Europabeauftragte Buthelezi äußerte sich gestern „nicht sehr optimistisch“, daß die Regierung von Präsident Botha bereit ist, „einen Schritt weiter zu gehen“ als bis zur relativ unbedeutenden Aufhebung einzelner Apartheid-Gesetze. Am vergangenen Montag habe der Führer der kapitalistisch orientierten und im Rassenstreit auf Dialog setzenden Inkatha in Frage gestellt, ob er weiterhin die „Rolle des Brückenbauers“ spielen könne. Frau Steenwijk zitierte Buthelezi mit den Worten: „Ich bin es fast satt.“ Ein Dialog zwischen Schwarzen und Weißen finde nicht statt, „eigentlich hört die Regierung nicht zu.“ Die Situation im Land sei derzeit sehr gefährlich.

Zur Eskalation von Gewalt in der Kap-Republik sagte Frau Steenwijk: „Eine wirkliche Bedrohung sind diese Unruhen nicht. Die Gewalt ist nicht strategisch und nicht effektiv.“ Zudem habe das Apartheid-Regime erst einen „Bruchteil seiner militärischen Macht“ ausgeschöpft. Allerdings hätten die punktuellen Aktionen des Afrikanischen Nationalkongresses (ANC) für einige Publizität gesorgt. Das Verhältnis zwischen ANC, der unter anderem vom Simbabwe aus operiert, und der Inkatha-Partei sei allerdings mehr und mehr von Rivalität geprägt.

Als Erfolg der von Buthelezi Inkatha-Partei verfolgten Politik wertete die Europabeauftragte die in der Hafenstadt Durban angelaufenen Verhandlungen über eine gemischt rassische Regierung für die Provinz Natal und das Homeland Kwazulu. Dabei treffen schwarze Vertreter des Homelands mit den weißen Abordnungen der Provinzverwaltung von Natal zusammen. Frau Steenwijk ist der Auffassung, daß Pretoria die Pläne für eine gemeinsame Verfassung nicht stoppen kann, auch wenn der Wunsch nach integrierter Legislativ- und Exekutivgewalt den Vorstellungen der Botha-Regierung diametral gegenüberstehe. Die rund 1,2 Millionen Mitglieder zählende Inkatha, die ihre Anhänger vor allem in Natal und Transvaal hat, sei auf dem Weg, Südafrika zu einem gemischt-rassischen Land zu machen.

# Werbung für eine Regierung aus Weißen und Schwarzen

## Beauftragte berichtet aus Kwazulu in Südafrika

**Von unserem Redaktionsmitglied Peter Voith**

men. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ministerpräsident des schwarzen Homelands Kwazulu-Natal, ist bei nicht allen Kämpfern gegen die Apartheid ein geliebter Mann. Denn anders als etwa die verbotene Widerstandsorganisation ANC (African National Congress) setzt er nicht auf den bewaffneten Kampf, sondern auf den Dialog mit der weißen Minderheitsregierung in Pretoria. Buthelezi selbst versteht sich als Brückenbauer. Daß seine Politik auch im entfernten Europa diskutiert wird, dafür sorgt jetzt auch die 36jährige Holänderin Dr. Reina Steenwijk, seine Europabeauftragte, die am Donnerstag vor der Bremer Pressekonferenz über die Problematik in Südafrika referierte.

athlezis Homeland Kwazulu ist eng mit der weißen Provinz Natal verwoben. Gerade diese Woche ist es her, da machte der umstrittene Schwarzen-Führer Schlagzeilen. Der Grund: Auf seine Initiative hin haben Gespräche über eine rassistisch gemischte Regierung für Natal/Kwazulu begonnen. An den Gesprächen, die für Südafrika Neuland bedeuten, nehmen Vertreter politischer Gruppen und Wirtschaftsvereinigungen der Weißen sowie Vertreter der Schwarzen teil. Frau Steenwijk zuversichtlich: „Dies ist ein erster großer Schritt, um das gesamte Homeland-Prinzip der weißen Regierung undurchführbar zu machen.“ Denn, so glaubt sie, die Regierung könne diese Pläne nicht mehr aufhalten. Eine Vereinbarung zur Bildung einer „multirassistischen“ Regierung für Natal/Kwazulu, werde die Minderheitsregierung unter Pieter Willem Botha „bestimmt nicht sofort ja sagen, sondern sie wird die weitere Entwicklung im gesamten Land abwarten. Aber ich sagen kann sie letztlich auch nicht“.

Veheement verwahrte sich Frau Steenwijk

Veheement verwahrte sich Frau Steenwijk

gegen die unter anderem von dem ANC erhobene Forderung an die westlichen Industrieländer, den Warenaustausch mit Südafrika zu boykottieren. Begründung: Ein solcher Boykott träfe nicht in erster Linie die Apartheidsregierung, sondern die schwarze Bevölkerung. Sie würde keine Arbeit mehr finden, ihre soziale Notlage würde sich extrem verschlechtern. Nur wenn große Teile der schwarzen Bevölkerung durch ihr Einkommen sozial abgesichert seien, sei es möglich, „schwarze Macht auf regionaler Ebene, angefangen in den Betrieben, aufzubauen“.

Ebensowenig wie ein Boykott westlicher Industrieländer führt nach Ansicht der Europa-Beauftragten ein bewaffneter Kampf zur Aufhebung der Rassentrennung. Wenn von den (fast täglichen) Unruhen in Kapstadt, Johannesburg oder Pretoria berichtet werde, so handle es sich dabei immer um eine „uneffektive Gewalt“, die strategisch keinen Wert habe und nur viele Opfer — hauptsächlich unter den Schwarzen — fordere.

Außerdem, so Frau Steenwijk, müsse sich die Öffentlichkeit immer vor Augen führen, daß der Regierungsapparat bei der Zerschlagung solcher Unruhen nur einen sehr kleinen Teil seiner Polizeikräfte einsetze: „Viele Schwarze haben furchtbare Angst davor, daß die gesamte Polizei aufgeboten werden könnte.“ Bei der militärischen Überlegenheit der Weißen sei ein Kampf aussichtslos sei.

Allerdings: Wie Frau Steenwijk einräumte, schließt Buthelezi Gewalt als Mittel der politischen Auseinandersetzung nicht generell aus. Buthelezi werde „nur solange den Brückenbauer spielen, wie auch Fortschritte erkennbar seien“. Wenn er diese Aufgabe nicht mehr wahrnehme, „kann man nur für Südafrika beten“.



## An Apologist for Botha?

President Reagan has jumped to the defense of a fellow president: "It's just like me, dealing with the Hill up here," he said in his news conference last week. "Sometimes he can't get all that he seeks. I can tell you that he agrees with us and finds the past system repugnant and is trying to get changes as quickly as possible." To describe all this understanding for Pieter W. Botha of South Africa as wishful is too kind. It verges on insult to those in South Africa whom Mr. Botha has misled — including his foreign minister and the least militant black leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

At a press briefing in February, R.F. Botha, the foreign minister, unwisely expressed what he thought was his government's policy: "As long as we can agree in a suitable way on the protection of minority rights without a racial sting . . . then it would possibly become unavoidable that in future you might have a black president of this country." But even this minimal statement was instantly rejected by Mr. Botha, who forced his colleague to recant.

Is it true, as Mr. Reagan says, that Mr. Botha "agrees with us"? He has made it plain he wants to discard "apartheid" in name only, while preserving white and Afrikaner domination. Far from engaging in give-and-take with his opponents — as Mr. Reagan does on Capitol Hill — Mr. Botha refuses to bargain with leaders of a rebellious black majority. The best measure of Mr. Botha's failure to reach out is

the bitter disillusionment of Mr. Buthelezi, the only black leader with a mass following who has been courted by Pretoria.

Speaking last week to his KwaZulu "homeland" parliament, the chief remarked tartly of Mr. Botha: "This man has got his head so deeply buried in the sand that you will have to recognize him by the shape of his toes." Mr. Buthelezi said that Mr. Botha has so lost touch with reality that he believes that real reforms can be fended off for a generation. Coming from a black long willing to work within Mr. Botha's system, that is a devastating judgment.

There are other signs of hardening attitudes. Bishop Desmond Tutu, a moderate, saying he now has "no hope" of change from Mr. Botha, now supports sanctions and has come close to endorsing the radical African National Congress. Better-off blacks are taking to the streets: The wife of the chairman of the African Chamber of Commerce was among 2,000 arrested at a recent demonstration.

Mr. Reagan asks blacks to believe that Mr. Botha is a misunderstood reformer. Granted, Mr. Reagan has always insisted that "private diplomacy" works better in promoting changes in Pretoria. But it is one thing to retain Mr. Botha's confidence, and another to act as his apologist. Why should an administration that crusades for freedom everywhere else make excuses for South Africa?

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.



# Idea for Black-White Regional Legislature Stirs Emotions in South Africa

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG—A conference to thrash out a proposal for merging the whites-only provincial council of Natal and the all-black legislative assembly of the KwaZulu tribal "homeland" is being held in the province's principal city of Durban.

Although ostensibly a purely regional option, the idea of the merged regions run by a single, multiracial legislature that would have to reach decisions by consensus is being floated here as a possible model for the country as a whole. It would steer a middle course between the modified apartheid system President Pieter W. Botha is trying to establish and the black majority rule that the African nationalists want.

The key figure behind the idea is the moderate Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelesi, who is chief minister of the homeland administration and likely head of the multiracial legislature if it is formed.

The proposition is finding strong support among opposition whites, particularly businessmen, in a province which is the heart-

land of the British-descended community that numbers 40 percent of South Africa's whites. While not actively supporting it, the predominantly Afrikaner government appears to be watching the development with cautious interest.

African nationalists, who favor black majority rule, strongly oppose the plan, which they describe as a "Muzorewa option"—reminiscent of the deal that made Bishop Abel Muzorewa the token black prime minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia in the last days of white rule in that country.

The nationalists see the plan as a device to use Buthelesi to defuse the intensifying political conflict, while leaving the existing, unequal distribution of political and economic power between whites and blacks largely intact.

The conference also has been condemned by white groups of the far right, which see it as the thin end of a wedge that will lead to black majority rule.

Emotions are running high among opponents on both sides, and the office of a scholar closely connected with Buthelesi and the merger plan, Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer, was destroyed in a gasoline-

bomb fire at Durban's Natal University two weeks ago.

In his keynote address to the conference, Buthelesi warned of the likelihood of further violence, claiming that extremists were intent on sabotaging an initiative by moderates to find a solution to the country's problems.

Buthelesi's speech also struck a hopeful, almost apocalyptic, note. He described the conference as a "tryst with destiny" and an opportunity to "banish violence from our political scene."

The "KwaNatal option," as the plan is being called, was first suggested four years ago by a commission of academicians and other specialists appointed by Buthelesi. It was given a cool reception by the Botha government at the time.

It has been revived now jointly by Buthelesi and Frank Martin, the leader of the majority New Republic Party in the provincial council, as Pretoria begins restructuring the second-tier level of government as part of its constitutional reform program.

The restructuring includes the abolition of provincial councils at the end of June, a move that has spurred Martin and his party to seek a new role for themselves.

Thirty-one business, farming, community and political organizations are attending the conference. The plan is expected to be formulated through a painstaking process of seeking consensus among the groups taking part in the conference over a period of about six months.

If agreement is reached, the plan's proponents will ask the Botha government to implement it.

The government's response is uncertain. On the face of it, the plan presents problems for Pretoria. The government is in the process of replacing the elected white provincial councils with a complicated structure of multiracial "regional services councils" and appointed provincial committees. There is no room in this for a regional legislature.

A multiracial legislature, moreover, would cut across the Botha government's careful preservation of structures giving whites, blacks and coloreds power to decide separately certain of their "own affairs," and leaving "general affairs" to the group as a whole in the modified apartheid system it is trying to construct.

On the other hand, some observers believe the government is becoming desper-

ate. They point out that with township councils collapsing in the face of continuing insurrection by activist groups, the government is having trouble finding blacks willing to participate in the new regional services councils.

These observers believe the government also badly needs to get a black leader like Buthelesi, who has considerable following, on its side to give its disintegrating reform initiative some legitimacy.

Some provincial leaders also suggest, a little wryly, that the government regards the English province of Natal as being something of a maverick, and could be disposed to let it go its own way in what could be regarded as a regional experiment involving few Afrikaners.

As one delegate put it, "If the experiment succeeds, it may become possible to introduce similar 'local options' elsewhere and gradually move toward a federation of different regional systems."

"If it fails, it can be passed off as something the foolish *Engels* [Afrikaners for the English] asked for that once again demonstrates the soundness of Afrikaner judgment in matters of race."

7  
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