

THE CITIZEN

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Tuesday 3 June 1986

SP's office won't comment on Mandela telegram

THE State President's office last night declined to comment on a telegram sent by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela to Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi read the Mandela telegram out last night to a hushed KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. It was sent to Chief Buthelezi via Mandela's legal representative, Mr Ismael Ayoti.

The Chief indicated that Mandela wanted to meet with him after his

release from jail where he is serving a life sentence for treason.

In a special statement, Chief Buthelezi pointed out the Assembly had already approved a move for him to seek Government permission to visit Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison.

Chief Buthelezi said he

would now seek advice on Mandela's suggestion.

Chief Buthelezi, an old friend of Nelson Mandela under whom he served on the ANC before it was banned and with whom he has corresponded in prison, said: "I thank Dr Mandela for his unchanging attitude towards me despite all I have endured

from his colleagues in the external mission of ANC".

He said he started campaigning for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners more than 10 years ago.

There has been speculation in South Africa and overseas several times in the past few months that Mandela's release was imminent. The Government has repeatedly stated that he would only be freed if he renounced violence.

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Mandela seeks meeting with KwaZulu chief

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday asked KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a meeting "after his release".

He urged Buthelezi to set up talks in the meantime with the ANC in Lusaka.

According to a statement issued from Buthelezi's Ulundi office, a telegram — sent through Mandela's lawyer to the Chief Minister and read out to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night — conveyed Mandela's greetings to Buthelezi and thanked him warmly for his efforts to have him freed. — Sapa.

COMMENT

Talk of the ANC

A pamphlet published yesterday by government claims, with substantial accuracy, that the African National Congress is strongly influenced at its higher levels by members of the Communist Party, and that it is wedded to the violent overthrow of white rule.

The ANC does not dispute either claim. The extent of communist influence in the ANC executive is perhaps a matter for debate — the pamphlet identifies only four non-Marxists among them — but it surely misses the point.

Even Bishop Tutu is now saying that if sanctions fail to bring down white rule, then the church will justify the use of force. The Kairos Declaration published last year by 140 clerics says much the same thing. The ANC itself claims it was forced into violence by the failure of all peaceful methods.

That was indeed the position in 1961 when the ANC was banned, and for many years afterwards. Now the situation has, to a degree, reversed itself. Government claims it is willing to negotiate, if only the ANC will renounce the use of force; the leading ideologues within the ANC argue (the point was spelled out in some detail in its journal, *Sechaba*, more than a year ago) that acceptance of non-violent change would amount to a "betrayal of the revolution".

This brings the issue to deadlock. If the ANC will not renounce violence, and if government will not negotiate unless it

does so, then the matter is destined to be settled by force. Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel implied as much when he produced the first copies of the pamphlet yesterday.

Admirers of dumb fatalism will find no fault with the position taken by government; nor will militarists and rightwingers. But people who wish to spare this country the agony of a drawn-out race war must surely wonder whether the government of President Botha is fit to handle the challenges that face it.

Statesmanship calls not for a reaffirmation of the obstacles to negotiation, but for their removal. If the ANC leadership is overly influenced by the Communist Party, it is in large part because its members have festered in exile for 20 years, wooed and courted only by the Communists.

And if the leaders of the ANC take a much harder line than millions of ANC sympathisers within the country, then it is surely because there is no mechanism by which those sympathisers can elect their leaders.

To deal with this situation is not easy but Namibia offers a starting point. The existence of Swapo's external wing — violent, and Communist-influenced — has not required the banning of Swapo within the territory. The same dichotomy might easily be created inside South Africa, and it might open a range of new political possibilities.

In any event, it is time for the leap of imagination that distinguishes the statesman from the hack politician.

Business Day 3/6/86

Commonwealth crunch nears over SA issue

LONDON — The Commonwealth faces a moment of truth in the months ahead over what action to take to bring a political settlement in SA.

Britain, the creator and hub of the Commonwealth, risks standing alone against its former colonial subjects in its refusal to agree to full-scale economic sanctions aimed at bringing the Pretoria government to its knees.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has already threatened to withdraw

from the grouping. If London did not impose sanctions, he said in a British radio interview recently, "it is better for my conscience that I ask my country to leave".

Such statements have raised fears that the Commonwealth could fall apart if its leaders cannot agree on the next step to halt the rising violence in SA.

Unconfirmed reports say that India and Nigeria might also leave if Britain

blocks sanctions.

A committee of seven Commonwealth personalities, known as the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), meets in London this week to review six months of efforts to promote a dialogue between the SA government and blacks.

EPG members said its mission had been badly damaged when it cut short a trip to SA after Pretoria's May 19 raids on three neighbouring black states — Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe — all

Commonwealth members.

The crunch is likely to come, however, when leaders of seven Commonwealth states — Australia, Bahamas, Britain, Canada, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe — meet in London from August 2 to 4 to consider the EPG report.

"I don't think it will be a very comfortable meeting," says Charles Ganawardena, director of information at the Commonwealth Secretariat in London.

ANC's links with Moscow detailed in Govt booklet

By KEITH ASHENDROTH

THE Government has launched a campaign against the African National Congress, stressing through its own utterances its links with and manipulation by Moscow, and tying in the United Democratic Front as its pro-revolutionary front body.

The Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel, yesterday released a 42-page booklet on the threat of the ANC to South Africa detailing the communist control of the body's executive and stressing that many ANC members are clearly not communists.

Clearly, the document is aimed at capitalising on growing Black moderate concern about the escalating violence and exploiting the fact that the ANC hierarchy has to a large extent lost control of its revolutionary forces in the townships.

Mr Nel stressed at a Press conference that the Government had gone out of its way to be "fair" to the ANC, and said that it would welcome and entertain any approaches from the ANC to discuss any claims of ANC misrepresentation in the document.

The document stresses

Marxist revolutionary theory and its aim of mis-using and abusing sincere but misguided people along its revolutionary path.

He said the pawns would be eliminated in the final stages of a communist takeover of South Africa.

He stressed the presence of this "secret agenda" in the hands of the Communist Party dominated African National Congress executive—and pinpointed, chapter and verse, the direct ties or support of 23 of the 30 members of the executive.

"If there are any of them who say we are wrong, and would be willing to renounce violence and talk to us it would be music to our ears," he said.

Violence

It had been decided to hit back with the document, which contains numerous direct quotations showing the ANC's total dedication to violence and a socialistic state, because of the escalation of comment and speculation about dialogue with the ANC in recent weeks.

The Government continued to stress that it would talk to the ANC, or any body, which forswore violence. And that it saw the ANC in the light of only one of the realities in the broad spectrum of Black political expression.

He said the Government was convinced that "the Black population by and large" was "sick and tired" of the ongoing violence and unrest and wanted to end it.

The publication, he said, presented strong arguments in support of the South African Government's position on negotiations with the ANC.

Questioned, he said that 70 000 copies of the publication had been printed and would be sent to opinion formers throughout the country. It was probable that copies would find their way overseas.

Initially it was being printed in English and Afrikaans but plans to print it in Black languages were also being considered.

It had no intention, he said, of jeopardising the negotiations of the so-

called Eminent Persons Group, it was simply being published because the "issue is topical".

The document also indicated why the Government was opposed to contacts between private South African groups and the ANC, no matter how well intentioned the contacts might be.

Exploited

"The Government is concerned that the understandable desire of some South Africans for negotiations and for peace is being exploited by the ANC to divide and confuse democratic and moderate elements in South Africa," he said.

At the same time it was very important that the decision to produce the book did not accord any special importance to the ANC in the Government's eyes.

"The ANC is only one of the realities in the broad spectrum of Black political expression.

"Although it is undoubtedly involved in serious terrorist incidents and urban unrest in the Republic, it is wrong to think that the ANC has significant control over developments in the Black urban areas.

"Indeed, one of the organisation's main weaknesses is that its leadership after two decades in exile, has lost touch with developing realities in South Africa," said Mr Nel.

The Government had and continued to make it clear that it would negotiate only with those South Africans who renounced violence.

"It has insisted that negotiations must essentially be a process of give and take, aimed at satisfying reasonable demands.

"At the moment the ANC does not comply with these requirements," said Mr Nel.



LOUIS NEL ... launches booklet on the ANC.

ANC manipulating UDF says Tambo in book

Citizen Reporter
QUOTATIONS in the book, *Talking with the ANC*, set out to prove that the United Democratic Front is being manipulated directly by the ANC — itself under Communist manipulation.

It says that in his presidential address in 1984, ANC leader Oliver Tambo stated: "A special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the ANC and the most-advanced members of our broad, democratic movement to act as revolutionaries — as such to wage a revolutionary struggle; and basing themselves on the conscious and organised involvement of the masses of the movement, to build a strong and disciplined revolutionary movement."

"In this context the further mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our country assume special importance."

"Quite clearly, we have made great strides in these areas of work."

"This is evident in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow."

In an article published in "Dawn" journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the spear of the nation military wing — it was stated:

"The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF."

"These structures must skillfully give the correct guidance to the UDF and above all raise the tasks of the front."

In a broadcast on Radio Freedom on May 11 this year the ANC said of the UDF:

"Already we have filled a million-strong front like the United Democratic Front, which has been able to ensure that the tri-cameral system becomes stillborn."

"However for the United Democratic Front and

other democratic organisations to be a powerful, dynamic force, the role of the workers who consti-

tute the backbone of our revolution is indeed decisive now more than ever before."

History of ANC traced in Govt booklet

Citizen Reporter
THE DEPARTMENT of Information publication "Talking with the ANC".

Traces the history of the ANC and the creeping cancer in it of the SA Communist Party and quotes jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela extensively — his aim being to replace capitalism in South Africa with socialism.

In the historical survey it notes — possibly with the intention of pointing to similar problems growing now — that the Soweto riots in 1976 caught the ANC off guard.

"The fact that the organisation had little or nothing to do with the student rioting was an indication of the degree to which the ANC's leadership in exile had lost contact with developments in South Africa."

Nevertheless, it says, the organisation benefited from the disturbances as a result of the large number of young Black radicals who joined its ranks after fleeing from South Africa.

It backtracks to record that the first major con-

tact between the ANC and international communism took place in 1928 when the ANC's president — General J. T. Gumele — and Cape provincial secretary, L. A. Guma visited Russia.

The alliance, the book says, grew to the firm bases of July 30 1981 when Tambo was able to tell the SACP that when the ANC spoke it was "not so much as a guest invited to address a foreign organisation."

The book cites other countries in which the Marxist two-phase revolution theory has succeeded.

It stressed that the onslaught of the ANC in South Africa is not primarily aimed at the security forces — as in the case of guerrilla action.

Instead it claims that — as in the case of other terrorist organisations — ANC actions are directed at unidentifiable victims with the aim of scaring and intimidating the population.

In this way, it says, the ANC does not differ at all from the PLO, the IRA and the Red Brigade.

'Justification' for use of violence

Citizen Reporter
JUSTIFICATION for the use of violence in its most barbaric forms is claimed by the ANC in various publications, according to the Department of Information booklet "Talking With the ANC".

Examples listed
From the African Communist, Fourth Quarter 1981: "A question which is often raised is that since violence is often linked with revolution (in some people's minds at any rate) the ANC must have been a 'moderate' organisation before 1961. Nothing could be more erroneous".

On Freedom Radio: "Our people must organise themselves into groups to manufacture traditional weapons which must be used against the enemy."

"After arming themselves in this manner, our people must begin to identify collaborators and enemy agents and kill them. The puppets in the tricameral parliament and

the Bantustans must be destroyed";

Freedom Radio again:
On May 4 this year — "let us take all our weapons, both rudimentary and sophisticated, our necklaces, our grenades, our machineguns, our AK47's, our limpet mines and everything we can get — let us fight the vigilantes, the so-called 'fathers' together with the apartheid regime together with the police and the Army";

Another Radio Freedom broadcast: "Enemy property must be bombed or attacked in any possible way. Enemy agents and collaborators must also be isolated and attacked";

Earlier Radio Freedom reported: "Puppets were killed, their houses burned, many were forced to resign and are still resigning today";

Again: "The strategy of

burning sellouts of the system seems to have paid out well in the ultimate end."

During a meeting at California State University on October 10 last year ANC spokesman Alosi Moloi said: "Among us we have people who have openly collaborated with the enemy. You have to eliminate one to save hundreds of others."

'Total power' the ultimate aim

Citizen Reporter
WHILE leaving the path open for negotiations with ANC leaders who renounce violence, the publication makes it clear that the official ANC attitude to negotiation is to subvert it towards achieving total power.

It regards negotiations not as a means for achieving mutually acceptable constitutional compromises, but as a means to achieving total power.

It quotes ANC leader Oliver Tambo as saying in a 1983 Radio Freedom broadcast:

"The ANC will talk to somebody at the proper moment in the proper conditions, but will do so just because our struggle has reached a point where we believe that talking, apart from anything else we'll be doing, is the way

forward" he said in a broadcast on May 7 this year.

"On talks the ANC demands the dismantling of the apartheid government before it will consider talks, as well as the release of all detainees and the disbanding of the SA Defence Force."

Analysis of ANC-SACP link

Citizen Reporter
"TALKING with the ANC," the Department of Information's booklet, claims that the SA Communist Party and the ANC's own statements present a strong case that:

- The ANC has a formal alliance with the SACP and both are committed to the violent overthrow of the present system of government;

- There are elements in the ANC who view negotiations simply

as a tactic and who play a leading role in a two-phase process of revolution;

- The commonly applied two-phase theory of revolution has been implemented successfully in a number of countries. Ill-informed non-communists are recruited into "broad national fronts" during the first phase of the revolution;

- The SACP, although it acknowledges the ANC's role in the

first phase, will, as the "vanguard party" of the workers, seek to assume leadership during the second phase; and

- The ANC identified closely with the objectives of global socialism with the Soviet Union and its allies. It identifies itself with international terrorist organisations such as the PLO. In addition the ANC strongly opposes the United States and the West.

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Black-on-Black killings rise

Citizen Reporter

COMPREHENSIVE figures published in the book claim that 788 Blacks were killed in politically-based action between August last year and May this year.

Of them, 358 were killed in security force action, but 417 were Blacks killed by Black radicals.

Significantly, the figures show a growing gulf between the numbers killed in security force action and in Black radical action in the past few months.

For instance in March, 87 Blacks were killed by Blacks, compared with 57 by security forces in May, 58 Blacks were killed by Blacks compared with 11 by security force action. Between May 1 and 18, 35 were killed by Blacks and 12 in security force actions.

CITIZEN 3/6/86

Petrol bombs, tyres at funeral

DURBAN. — Police confiscated petrol bombs, tyres and flags at the funeral of three KwaMashu unrest victims at the weekend.

Pamphlets of the United Democratic Front, the South African Communist Party and the KwaMashu Youth League were also confiscated.

Police arrived while thousands of youths, hoisting flags, were performing a "Toti Toti dance" — a military dance done at political funerals.

Youth leaders at the funeral told police they had brought the petrol bombs and tyres to protect themselves from any possible attack. — Sapa.

W/X

South African Opposition Splits Over Divestment

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 2 — When they meet students on the campuses of American universities, white opposition figures here say, they encounter a debate that offers no easy agreement and, more often, a mutual bewilderment.

If they are opposed to apartheid, American students are said to ask them, how can they also oppose the divestment of foreign holdings in South Africa as a means of pressing this country's Government into racial change?

The automatic linkage of opposition to apartheid and support for divestment does not carry over to South Africa, where the debate on the value of withdrawing investments transcends racial lines.

Helen Suzman of the white opposition Progressive Federal Party asserted in a recent interview at her Johannesburg home that in the United States "a simplistic equation has been evolved that unless you are pro-sanctions, you are a racist."

In New York on Sunday, Miss Suzman told the graduating class of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion that "I understand the moral abhorrence and pleasure it gives you when you demonstrate. But I don't see how wrecking the economy of the country will insure a more stable and just society."

Blurred Distinctions Seen

Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said in a recent conversation that he, too, had found that support for



Reuters

Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of South Africa's Progressive Federal Party.

divestment on American college campuses seemed synonymous with opposition to apartheid. Students he had spoken to, he said, were surprised to find that he did not support their views.

For Mrs. Suzman and others from white opposition groups racked by debate over how best to oppose apartheid, the attitude on American campuses evokes irritation and bewilderment at what they perceive as ignorance, and apprehension that the activism of American college students will end up

doing more harm than good in the land it is supposed to benefit — South Africa.

Opposition to divestment is not universal in this splintered land. Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, reflected a widespread view among black opponents of apartheid by publicly advocating punitive sanctions.

Opposed by KwaZulu Chief

Such views are frequently expressed by, black labor unionists, but do not seem to have universal black support. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of KwaZulu, so-called homeland for the nation's 6 million Zulus, opposes divestment and other sanctions on the grounds that blacks would be the first to suffer from the destruction of the economy.

Mrs. Suzman, a veteran of white opposition to apartheid, has her own perspective.

Divestment, she said, was "self-defeating because it blunts the one weapon that blacks are able to use to insist that their demands be accommodated — that is if they have the power to withdraw skilled labor" in a powerful economy increasingly dependent on black skills.

The withdrawal of investments, she argued, could not be seen as a measure that could be lifted after it had achieved its effect. "Once people disinvest," she said, "they don't come back."

Disappointment in America

On American campuses, she said, "I think people were probably rather disappointed by my attitude" and, at the same time, the Government she op-

poses in Parliament seems so slow in offering tangible evidence of substantial reform that "I am not going to go on knocking my head against a stone wall" by opposing sanctions unless the Government reinforces the argument that change is coming.

That, she said, did not imply that she had dropped her opposition to sanctions, but rather that the Government was making the argument futile by offering no reformist ammunition for sanctions opponents.

From her experience in the United States, she said, divestment seemed "a wonderful moral cause and everybody feels good about it."

"But it's not going to bring down the rapid demise of the Government," she said. "The Government will plod on with its incremental changes, or, if things get really tough, you will get back into the laager attitude, close down the hatches, become self-sufficient and go into a situation approximating martial law."

The divestment campaign, she said, seemed based on the idea that change could be effected by "the short, sharp shove of sanctions."

But that conflicted with her own view that political change in this country would result from "a long process of attrition, growing repression and right-wing intransigence."

Should the withdrawal of foreign investment limit economic expansion so that budgetary planners in South Africa had to decide whether to increase spending, say, on the army or on segregated black schools, then the army would have first claim, she said.

"If white survival is in the balance," she said, "I have no doubt which priority the Government will settle for."

Discussion Has Effects

The discussion of how apartheid should be combated has affected the Progressive Federal Party. Dr. Slabbert resigned as party leader earlier this year, arguing that Parliament and its politics were not capable of effecting real reform.

His resignation angered the party faithful, including Mrs. Suzman, who argue that, since the nation's racially segregated three-chamber Parliament is the only body capable of legislating change, then change should be sought within it.

Dr. Slabbert has argued that by seeking a role outside Parliament he might be able to promote change in other ways by mediating between the nation's many rival forces.

His resignation, and the Progressive Federal Party's continued presence in Parliament as a questioner and critic of Government policies, seem to sharpen the issue about the role of white liberals toward the ambition of a restive black majority increasingly ready to seek its own route to what is termed "liberation" from white rule.

But decisions affecting South Africa's future, the Rev. Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the other day, were no longer being made in Parliament, or board rooms or synods, but on the streets of segregated black townships, by "those who are suffering."

U.S. Concerns Urge End to Apartheid

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 2 — More than 80 member companies of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa placed full-page newspaper advertisements around the country today to call for sweeping changes in apartheid and the legalization of outlawed political organizations.

The appeal for the legalization of banned political organizations, presumably including the exiled African National Congress, conflicted with the opening of a new campaign by the authorities designed to depict the rebel organization, based in Lusaka, Zambia, as a group steered by Communists and bent on seizing total power.

At a news conference in Pretoria, Louis Nel, the deputy minister responsible for Pretoria's information policies, displayed a new 42-page booklet called "Talking with the A.N.C.," the initials of the African National Congress.

'To Inform South Africans'

Mr. Nel said the African National Congress, whose statements may not be quoted in South Africa, was quoted at length in the booklet because of recurrent speculation that the Government might negotiate with the group.

"It is the right time to inform South Africans on this issue," Mr. Nel said. In the past, South Africa has ruled out negotiations with the African National Congress because of its espousal of violence as a means of overthrowing white

minority rule.

South Africa's white leaders have expressed readiness to negotiate with black leaders provided they renounce violence. "At the moment," the booklet says, "the A.N.C. does not comply with these requirements."

The booklet refers also to the outlawed South African Communist Party, which has a formal alliance with the African National Congress.

"The A.N.C. has a formal alliance with the S.A.C.P.," the booklet says, "and both are committed to the violent overthrow of the present system of government for the purpose of seizing total power for itself."

The appearance of the booklet suggested that the authorities are seeking to counter the propaganda victories scored by the African National Congress in the last 20 months of violent protest in South Africa, which has claimed more than 1,600 lives.

In that period, the African National Congress has emerged as the emblem of black resistance in the nation's segregated townships and has come to assume the mantle, in the eyes of many South African blacks and foreign political analysts, as a potential successor to Afrikaner rule — a status vehemently repudiated by the authorities.

Many Press for Legalization

Many South African business officials now say that only with the legalization of the Congress, and the release of its imprisoned leaders, notably Nel-

son Mandela, can the nation be wrested from its crisis.

The notion was echoed in the advertisement today, sponsored by such companies as I.B.M., Citibank, Coca-Cola, and Union Carbide. The advertisement appeared under a photograph of a black hand and white hand reaching out for one another. "We must get it together," the advertisement said.

It called for the removal of discriminatory legislation and said apartheid laws were "totally contrary to the idea of free enterprise."

The advertisement acknowledged that some American companies based in South Africa were under mounting pressure from the divestment lobby in the United States to justify their continued presence in South Africa.

The advertisement listed seven demands, including the freeing of political prisoners and the legalization of outlawed organizations, whose identities were not specified.

There was no immediate response from Government officials, who may view the advertisement, South African political commentators said, as an intrusion into domestic politics by companies who have, in the country's years of growth, recorded substantial profits.

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SDAY, JUNE 3, 1986

SHULTZ DENOUNCES APARTHEID, SAYING: 'IT MUST GO SOON'

He Asserts West Will Suffer if
South Africa Fails to Shift
Its System Peacefully

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — Secretary of State George P. Shultz said today that "Western interests — moral, strategic, economic and political — will suffer" if apartheid in South Africa is not soon ended peacefully.

"Apartheid is wrong," he said. "It robs the blacks of South Africa of their fundamental human rights. It drains the country of its human potential, and it threatens the security and economic prospects of an entire subcontinent."

"Our people in government have demonstrated that we oppose apartheid. Apartheid must go, and it must yield to a nonracial system based on the consent of all the governed. It must go soon."

Defends Administration Policy

In an emotionally charged speech to a conference of clergy interested in

Shultz Attacks Apartheid System, Saying It Must Be Replaced Soon

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African National Congress offices in three neighboring countries.

In addition, around the country, and particularly on college campuses, there have been renewed protests calling for institutions to divest themselves of holdings in South Africa.

Mr. Shultz said that just as it was important to reject the "immoral violence" in South Africa, "so also must we question the political and moral vision of those who advocate economic destruction as the road to South Africa's salvation."

"Some would have us believe that the true foes of apartheid are the advocates of punitive economic sanctions and disinvestment," he said. "They have failed to make a convincing case."

Says Change Is Occurring

He said that change was taking place in South Africa and that the prospect of further change was "exciting violent minorities at both ends of the political spectrum."

Citing the right-wing Afrikaner groups opposed to change and the left-wing black radicals as examples of the opposite poles, Mr. Shultz said, "None of us can permit ultimate victory in the form of a democratic society for all South Africans to be wrenched from us by extremes of left and right."

He said pressure from the United States and other nations as well as pressure from within the country were producing some "meaningful reform" in apartheid.

"The question we now face is not whether apartheid will end, but how and when it will go," he said, "and what will replace it."

"Will it end in bloody, violent kind of confrontations, strung out over some years and totally destructive?" he said, in answer to a question from a member of the audience. "Can we find a way to bring it to an end through a process of no doubt very difficult, tough negotiations and struggle? I don't know how probable it is, but I know it's possible. And as long as it's possible, we would be derelict in our duty if we didn't stay engaged and try to be constructive and try to bring something good out of the situation."

The Time to Decide

"The Bible tells us that there is a season for every change," he said. "There is a time to deliberate and a time to decide. In South Africa, now is the time to decide. Now is the time for negotiation. Negotiation alone offers the prospect of peaceful change."

The conference was sponsored by the Reagan Administration's "special working group on South and southern Africa," formed last fall. The goal of the group, which is led by the State Department, is to build public support for the Administration's policies.

The meeting at the State Department was meant to persuade members of the clergy of the Administration's sincerity in opposing apartheid and to win the backing of the clerics for the Administration's opposition to more severe measures. Mr. Shultz was well received by the group, which applauded several times.