

1.2.1

# Mpopphomeni murders: Inkatha 'not to blame'

by Lakela Kaunda

**INKATHA** has condemned the killing of four Mpopphomeni residents — two of whom were Mawu (Metal and Allied Workers Union) office bearers — at the weekend and denied claims that the organisation was responsible for the killings.

Former Sarmcol workers Mr Phineas Sibiya and Mr Simon Ngubane were allegedly abducted and forced into a car which was later burnt out. Miss Flora Mnikathi was abducted and also burnt to death.

Mpopphomeni Youth Congress member Alpheus Nkabinde died on his way to Edendale Hospital after he was attacked by about 100 vigilantes on Saturday morning. Twelve other people are said to have been admitted to hospital for injuries ranging from lacerations and fractures to bullet and stab wounds.

Inkatha's deputy secretary-general and KwaZulu's Minister of Works, Chief Simon Gumede said it was not Inkatha's policy to kill as the organisation believed in the peaceful settlement of differences.

"Inkatha had nothing to do with the killings. It is said that the culprits were wearing Inkatha's Amatigulu Youth Camp uniforms. These are available in shops throughout the country so the Amatigulu camp uniform should not be the criteria in determining whether a person is an Inkatha member or not."

Chief Gumede stressed that while Inkatha believed in non-violence as a strategy, the movement, like any other organisation, retained the right to defend itself when attacked.

KwaZulu MP Mr V. Ndlovu of Imbali said he strongly condemned the killing of people for any reason. "I sympathise with the bereaved families and hope the law will take its turn. I also ask everybody who used Inkatha's name after the killing at Mpopphomeni to stop pointing fingers at our organisation."

Mr Ben Jele, Inkatha's constituency chairman and central committee member, said the matter should be investigated at Government level and especially by the Bureau for Information which has linked the deaths to Inkatha.

"Where did the Bureau for Information get its information from? Inkatha is not responsible for this senseless act. We cannot condone a person killing another no matter what the cause may be."

1/10



DECEMBER 11-13, 1986

Natal & KwaZulu:  
36c + 4c G.S.T.  
All other areas: 50c  
45c + 5c G.S.T.

# ILANGA

## AbeNkatha abamqoka bafakaze kwelokudubula

GUY VEZI

**ETHEKWINI.** — Amalunga eNkatha amabili asezikhundleni eziphakeme, ethulele inkantolo yemantshi eThekwini kulelisonto, ubufakazi bokuthi avinjezelwa yisixuku sabantu abebabalwa ngaphezulu kwekhulu behlomile ngezikhali ezahlukeni ngo-April nonyaka, besho ukuwadla bawafele, aze aphokeka ukuthi akhiphe izibhamu adubule.

Lobufakazi bethulwe nguMathews Zazi Sibanda ongumxhumanisi

womphakathi nehhovisi leNkatha, kanye noNtwe Robert Mafole, emacale-ni ehlukahlukene abathweswe wona namanye amadoda namabhungu angu-7 okuthiwa bawenza ngomhla ka-26 ngo-April nonyaka KwaMashu.

Amacala abethweswe wona owokususa uthuthuva emphakathini, ukushisa, ukucekela phansi impahla, ukuzama ukubulala, ukutholakala nezibhamu nezihlamvu ngaphandle kwemvume.

USibanda noMafole,

beno-Elliot Mbhele, Abraham Makhathini, Lungisani Mtshali, Zwelisha Magwaza kanye nabanye abathathu abangenakudalulwa ngamagama ngenxa yeminyaka yabo yobudala, kuthiwa ngomhla ka-April 26 ebusuku, bahlasela imizi emibili esigcemeni sakwa-G KwaMashu, owakwaMohloti nowakwaMtshali, bayijikijela ngamabhomu kaphethiloli, badubula noPatience Thamsanqa Maphumulo emlenzeni ngenhloso yokumbulala, badlula lapho bashisa nezi-

moto ezintathu zoMnuz. Snow Alpheus Mtshali oyiphoyisa, Mnuz. Kenneth Mtshali kanye nekaMnuz. Percyval Gumede. Konke lokhu kuthiwa kwenzeka kuBhejane Road, ngezikhathi zodlame olwalubheduke KwaMashu.

Wonke lamacala ababekwe wona abamangalelwa bayawaphika. Basho nokuthi abazange nangengozi balubhade kulendawo okuthiwa bawenza khona lamacala.

Ubufakazi obethulelwe inkantolo buthi nga-

lempelasonto okukhulunywa ngayo, umbutho wentsha yeNkatha wawunezingqungquthela ezingu-18 ezindaweni ezahlukeni kulo lonke leli. Ezimbili zaziseLindelani ngaseNtuzuma, enye iseMbumbulu.

USibanda noMafole ngomGqibelo ebusuku, ngokusho kobufakazi, baya engqungqutheleni eyayiseLindelani lapho bafike babikelwa ukuthi sekusuke udlame KwaMashu, kukhona nezindlu ezishisiwe, basebenikela khona behamba ngekhumbe eluhla-

za ewuhlobo lwe-Mitsubishi.

Lekhumbe yayinanyathiselwe ngamaphepha ayememezela umhlangotho omkhulu wezisebenzi owawuzoba seKing's Park ngoMay 1, okwakuzosungulwa kuwona kugcotshwe neenyunyana yezisebenzi i-United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

Bathe nangempela bafika KwaMashu kushiswe imizi eminingi phakathi kwayo okwakukhona neyamalunga

eNkatha kanye negalaji likaMnuz. G.E. Bhengu. Elinye lamaphepha ayenanyathiselwe ngaphandle kulekhumbe, oSibanda noMafole bathe lalinesithombe sikaChief M.G. Buthelezi.

Kuze kwafika isikhathi sokugaya kusalindeleke isinqumo semantshi kulelicala. Imantshi nguMnuz. H.W. Weitz, umshushisi nguNksz. C. Thomas, abameli ngoMnuz. L.A.T.J. Botha kanye nomunye wase-nkampanini yakwa-Friedman and Friedman.



16/17.10

# Inkatha sympathisers told to quit township

by Lakela Kaunda

*echo 11/12/86*  
**MPHOMENI** "comrades" have ordered councillors and some residents to vacate the strife-torn Howick township after claims that they have Inkatha leanings following the weekend murders of four residents there.

Residents report that "comrades" have told a Sibongo L.P. School principal to leave because she sent children on a sightseeing tour to Ulundi and returned with "vigilantes". She is said to have left already.

Four former councillors were also ordered to vacate their homes because they had Inkatha leanings. Two have remained, including former mayor Benjamin Ndlovu.

The four residents who were murdered on Friday will be buried on Saturday after a service at 10 am at the Mpophomeni Catholic Church.

The Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) said the statement by Dr Oscar Dhlomo that Inkatha was not responsible for the killings was "fundamentally incorrect".

The union said Mawu and the police were investigating the incident and the "facts differed fundamentally from those alleged in the Inkatha statement".

"The cold-blooded murder of three people in itself shows the weakness in Inkatha's version that the deaths took place in clashes between two parties," said Mawu. No one was injured or killed on the Inkatha side.

Dr Dhlomo, who is acting Chief Minister as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is overseas, announced that Inkatha was planning legal action against those newspapers which had linked the organisation to the murders.



# Sanctions a step to violent action

*Gatsha Buthelezi, Zulu chief and leader of the KwaZulu homeland in South Africa, at a joint meeting of the Canadian Club and the Fraser Institute in Toronto:*

Seldom, if ever, do violent revolutionaries aspire to establish a multi-party democracy in which they have to compete with others for the right to rule the country they have liberated. Liberation movements across the world claim the right to rule as a just reward for the revolution they waged. More than this, revolutionaries across the world have a very marked tendency to use the wisdom that was shaped in revolution to rule after revolution. When the kind of wisdom shaped by revolution is used in government, people have to be coerced into doing what is right. Post-revolutionary governments continue to coerce people into doing what is right. Across the length and breadth of the world, revolution-

aries have shown a propensity to assume that they monopolize wisdom about politics and economics and to rule by prescription in post-revolutionary times. It will be no different in South Africa. . .

This is why the African National Congress says that the only negotiations they are interested in are negotiations to hand

## JUST WHAT WAS SAID

over power to the people. They are not fighting a revolution to establish a national convention where the people of South Africa will charter their own course into the future. The ANC mission in exile sees itself as a government in exile and it wants to rule as a government returned from exile: it wants to establish a one-party state and it wants to establish a Socialist-controlled economy. I make no political propaganda

when I make this statement. . .

Canadians will only pay a small price for Canadian sanctions against South Africa. The South African Government will make the internal adjustments which will result in them only paying a small price. The privileged class of whites will make further adjustments, but what adjustments are there for poor laborers to make once they lose their jobs? Sanctions will radicalize what is already a very volatile South African situation. Sanctions will work to radicalize black politics, and this is precisely why the more revolutionary a black South African the more fervently he calls for sanctions. For revolutionaries, the application of sanctions is not the last step in non-violent action. It is a first step toward violent action. Deepening poverty suits the revolutionaries. It undermines non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid.



Emhlanganweni wamakhansela elokishini laseMagabheni owabe uhlezi ngomhlaka 13-11, 1985 kwavumelana wonke amakhansela ngomgubho wonyaka wentsha naye ukhansela Mncwabe kaNkushubana wabekhona wangaphikisana nalokhu.

Futhi sasho ukuthi  
makucace-nje ukuthi  
uMncwabe kaNkushu-  
bana ubengekho nje-  
ngomuntu ongayikha-  
thaleli imihlangano yo-  
mphakathi ukuba avi-  
hambele.



# Uphawula ngenkulumo kakhansela uMncwabe

*ILANGA C.N.T.*  
*Dec. 11-13, 1986*

★ Isuka ekhasini 16 ★

Akukho lutho olunye angalusho uMncwabe kaNkushubane ngokuba imibuzo imehlulile ukuba ayiphendule emhlanganweni obubizwe yinkosi yesizwe samaThuli ngomhlaka 18-10-86 kanye no 25-10-1986.

Isigcino kulomhlangothi womhlaka 25-10-86 watshelwa ngamadoda ukuba aphindele lapho avela khona uma ezoqhubeka nodlame nendlakudla lapha.

Nenkosi yamaThuli uqobo yamtshela lokhu angazike manje ukuthi esezokhuzwa ngubani ngoba namakhosi sengathithi akawezwa kanti nabe Christian Movement ulwana nabo.

## Amakhosi

Mphakathi masikhumbule naye uMnuz. C.C. Mncwabe kaNkushubane simkhumbuzise futhi ukuthi amakhosi lawa wake waloba nga-

wo khona kuleliphephandaba ILANGA ethi akawenzeli lutho umphakathi wonkana kumkhandlu oshaya imithetho waKwaZulu alibala ukulala ubuthongo okwathi esebuzwa yiNkosi yamaThuli ngalokhokubhala kwakhe langalithize laphaya ngaseBhoddlela Sitolo yaseMagabheni, wemba wambulula ebaleka phambi kwethu njengamakhansela neziNduna eza-zihamba neNkosi yesizwe samaThuli.

## Imizamo

Nanokuba kuhloliwe eSidelile High kulonyaka kubengenxa yemizamo yeNkosi yamaThuli yena njengoSihlalo wesikole engenzi lutho.

Thina njengabazali sithumela izingane zethu esikoleni zifike laphaya zijoyiniswe izinto esingazaziyo yini kungavalwa lokhu nguSihlalo C.C. Mncwabe.

Ngicela mina abaholi

bahlanganise abantu ba-kaBhejane phuma eSiqiwini kadebekuvalele, ukuze kuthi uma kwenziwa i“referendum” okuwukuthola umqondo wabobonke abantu mayelana nodaba oluthile kanye nama“secret ballot” okungukuvota ngasese ngodaba oluthile ufunyaniswe, umqondo wabobonke abantu umunye.

Abaholi bodumo lwabo laba yibona abasibangela umshophi thina beNkatha kuze kuthi naseNyunyaneni yethu Uwusa sithole abantu behlakazeka-nje ngemiqondo kanti kungenxa yabaholi abangabonisi-si kahle.

## Imikhakha

Okokugcina ngithi kubaba uMncwabe kaNkushubane mithathu imikhakha yaloludaba. Emibili isobala kodwalo wokugcina abazana nawo baseWard 1 lapho ephethe khona futhi abazifihlanga ngomhlaka 25-10-86 phambi kwezihlwele ngakho ngabe naye udinga thina ukuba sizomvalela lomfula yini na?

Nanokuthi iWard 1 Youth Club ngabe iminzwe yilenhlangano entsha yini esehlupheka-nje na? Isikhathi sokudlalisa amahleza siphelile yekani ukudunga abantu imiqondo kodwa nixoxisane nawo Christian Movement labo ngokuba ayinuki ingosiwanga baba.

**Ndoda G. Maphumulo, UMKHOMAZI DRIFT.**



# UNICEF Aide Blames S. Africa for Child Deaths

By Blaine Harden  
Washington Post Foreign Service

NAIROBI, Kenya, Dec. 10—South African "destabilization" in Mozambique and Angola is directly responsible for creating the highest child death rates in the world, according to a senior official of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Dr. Mary Racelis, regional director for UNICEF in eastern and southern Africa, said here today that since 1980 South African-sponsored destruction of health clinics, intimidation of health workers, dislocation of families and widespread razing of crops has caused "unprecedented" death rates for children under 5 years in Angola and Mozambique.

Racelis cited recent UNICEF surveys in those two countries, both of which are battling South African-supported rebel armies, showing that

between 33 and 38 percent of children die before they reach age 5. In the Tete region of west-central Mozambique, Racelis said the child death rate was 45 percent in 1984-85.

Soviet-occupied Afghanistan, where about 33 percent of children die before age 5, previously has been cited by UNICEF as the country with the highest child mortality rate.

Child death figures for southern Africa were made available here in conjunction with the release of UNICEF's annual "State of the World's Children" report, which marks the 40th anniversary of the organization. The 1987 report, as compared to recent years marked by severe famine in Africa, draws a relatively hopeful scenario for the survival of children in poor countries.

"We have, for the first time, the knowledge and means to defeat infection and undernutrition among the world's children on a massive scale

and at an affordable cost," according to the report by James P. Grant, UNICEF's executive director.

The report said that in the past year low-cost methods, such as immunization and oral rehydration therapy for children with diarrhea, have saved the lives of an estimated 1.5 million children under 5.

If immunization and oral rehydration were universally available in developing countries, the report said, about half the 14 million annual deaths of children under 5 could be prevented.

"The real challenge is therefore no longer scientific or technical," the report said. "It is political and social. It is the challenge of generating the political will and the social organization to put today's knowledge to use on the necessary scale and at an affordable cost."

See UNICEF, A53, Col. 1

## CHILD SURVIVAL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1960 1985

### PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WHO SURVIVE TO AGE 5

Angola	65.4%	62.67%*
Mozambique	69.8	62.67*
Tanzania	75.2	81.7

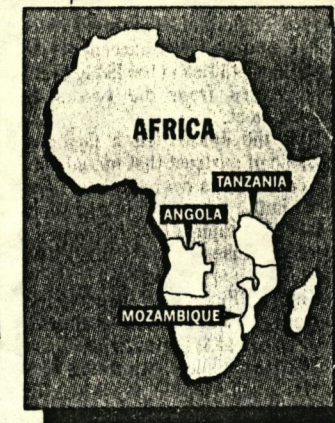
### DEATHS PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS

Angola	346	325-375*
Mozambique	302	325-375*
Tanzania	248	183

### LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH

Angola	33	43
Mozambique	40	46
Tanzania	41	52

\* 1985-86 regional UNICEF estimates.  
SOURCE: "State of the World's Children," and recent UNICEF surveys.



BY TOBEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

THE WASHINGTON POST

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1986 A53

## S. African 'Destabilization' Blamed in Angola, Mozambique Child Deaths

UNICEF, From A-11

The report, however, was not so sanguine about the capacity of developing countries, especially those in Latin America and Africa, to afford to pay for even low-cost preventive health care for children. It said that in the past five years average income in Latin America has fallen by 9 percent and in Africa by 15 percent. As a result, the report said, "deteriorating health and nutrition is widespread" among young children in Latin America and Africa.

The UNICEF report charged that economic "adjustment" policies adopted to satisfy International Monetary Fund requirements had reduced per capita spending on health and education in these Latin American and African countries. It questioned "whether it makes either human sense or economic sense to sacrifice the growing

minds and bodies of the next generation on the altar of adjustment policy."

UNICEF called on industrialized countries, which it said now contribute 0.36 percent of their total gross national product in aid to developing countries, to increase their contributions so poorer countries can afford to implement child health services that have proved cheap and effective.

The report said that, by and large, the past three decades have been a period of "spectacular progress for children: between 1950 and 1980 child death rates fell by 50 percent; average life expectancy rose by 30 percent; food production trebled and school enrollment rates doubled."

The child health crisis in war-crippled Mozambique and Angola, as described by UNICEF's Dr. Racelis, is a bleak exception to that record of progress.

Citing a preliminary southern Africa re-

port that she said will be released in more complete form by UNICEF early next year, Racelis said it is clear that child mortality

*"The real challenge is... generating the political will and the social organization to put today's knowledge to use on the necessary scale."*

— "State of the World's Children"

has increased dramatically in the past five years as a result of South African "desta-

bilization measures." The rate at which children are dying before their fifth birthday is between 10 to 15 percentage points higher now in Angola and Mozambique than it was in 1980, according to figures she quoted.

South Africa helps fund and has used its soldiers to support UNITA rebel forces in Angola under the command of Jonas Savimbi. It also has been accused of aiding antigovernment insurgents in Mozambique in violation of a 1984 nonaggression pact.

In Mozambique, according to the UNICEF report cited by Racelis, rebels have destroyed 718 health centers since 1981. Health workers, the report says, have been wounded, maimed, murdered and kidnaped in a campaign to keep them from traveling to rural areas. About 300,000 school children have been affected by the destruction of their schools, the report says.

In Angola, according to the southern Af-

rica UNICEF report, 141,000 children under 5 died in 1984-85.

To put the collapse of child-health services in Angola and Mozambique in an African context, Racelis compared the curve of child mortality figures in those two countries over the past five years with that of Tanzania, a similarly poor but peaceful country in southern Africa.

In 1980, Tanzania had a child mortality rate comparable to that of Angola and Mozambique—about 260 deaths per 1,000 live births. Last year, Tanzania's rate was 183 deaths. But the figure in Angola and Mozambique was between 325 and 375, according to UNICEF.

Special correspondent Michael J. Berlin at the United Nations contributed to this report.



## South Africa Says It Plans New Press Restrictions

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 10 — South Africa's information chief said today that the Government was planning sweeping new steps to restrict news reports about unrest in this country.

The new regulations will be promulgated in a Government gazette on Thursday, said the information chief, Stoffel van der Merwe.

The new measures, critics said, seemed designed to insure blanket censorship. "An intolerable and dangerous situation must arise," the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference said in a statement.

"The actions of the security forces

should be seen by all to be just and controlled," the bishops' statement said. "They should have nothing to hide. The present censorship already prevents full public knowledge of such actions. One is aghast to imagine what total suppression of this information will bring about."

### Reporting Already Restricted

South Africa's current press restrictions, in force since the national state of emergency was proclaimed on June 12, forbid unauthorized reporting of the actions of security forces and of statements deemed to be subversive.

The new restrictions, Mr. van der

Merwe told foreign correspondents today, would widen the definition of unrest so as to curb or silence reporting of boycotts of buses, schools or white-owned stores. "All sorts of resistance" to the Government will be covered, he said.

The Star newspaper, quoting unidentified sources, said that political utterances by public figures, including parliamentary deputies, would also be subject to restriction and that reporters would be obliged to seek clearance from Government ministries before publishing reports about security force actions, protest or dissent deemed controversial.

The burden for seeking official clearance would rest with newspapers, The Star said, indicating that the authorities' intention, as with its present system, was to encourage self-censorship.

The measures seemed part of a sustained crackdown on the press, both domestic and foreign. Last week, newspaper publishers and editors accepted Government demands for stricter supervision of the South African press. On Tuesday, the Government confirmed that a Los Angeles Times correspondent, Michael Parks, had been told to leave the country by Dec. 31.

### 'Fairly Wide' Curbs Seen

Mr. van der Merwe, the new Deputy Minister responsible for information, said today that the new press restrictions would be "fairly wide" and that their enforcement would be the respon-

sibility of Home Affairs Minister Stofel Botha.

Previously, the Bureau for Information, the Government's principle propaganda arm, has been the official arbiter of press behavior.

Mr. van der Merwe said the measures had been prompted by opposition to the Government amounting to "a calculated, well-planned revolutionary onslaught." He was apparently referring to protest actions that have prompted thousands of black students to boycott classes and others to boycott buses and white-owned stores.

The restrictions, he said, would "impose on traditional democratic processes." But he added: "The aim of the Government is not to establish a totalitarian system in South Africa. The aim is to establish free democratic processes."

Press reporting of violence, protest and boycotts, he said, "stimulated these actions."

Black protesters are now boycotting bus services in several parts of the country, while in Port Elizabeth many black consumers are again boycotting white-owned stores. Moreover, on Dec. 16 opposition groups plan to start a campaign called "Christmas Against the Emergency" which could include further consumer boycotts.

The authorities thus seemed to be trying to pre-empt protest, as they did by imposing the current emergency, the second within a year, four days before the 10th anniversary last June 16 of the Soweto uprisings.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST



WASH Post

## Georgia Regents to Divest S. Africa-Linked Holdings

Associated Press

12/11/86

ATLANTA, Dec. 10—The Georgia Board of Regents voted today to divest itself by July 1 of \$1.2 million in holdings in companies doing business with South Africa, to protest that nation's system of racial separation, or apartheid.

The board invests \$43.6 million for institutions of the University System of Georgia. The money comes from individual and corporate donors.

University System Vice Chancellor Jacob Wamsley said that \$1.2 million of the portfolio was invested in stocks and bonds of companies doing business in South Africa.

Wamsley said he will gradually sell the holdings, based on market conditions, between now and the July 1 deadline set by the board.

## 5 Arrested at Brandeis in Investment Protest

Special to The New York Times

12/11/86

WALTHAM, Mass., Dec. 10 — Five Brandeis University students who oppose their school's investments in companies that do business in South Africa were arrested today after they occupied an office in the main campus administration building for two hours.

At the time, about 15 students occupying a different office in the same building were allowed to stay because of a decision by Rod Crafts, dean of student affairs, that they were not disrupting that office's normal activities.

University policemen took the five to the Waltham police station, where they were held for arraignment on charges

of trespassing.

The demonstrations today followed a series of incidents this week in which students voiced their anger at a decision by the Brandeis Board of Trustees Thursday to retain the current investment policy towards South Africa. The demonstrators want the university to sell all of its holdings in companies that do business in South Africa in protest of that country's policy of strict racial separation.

### A Noontime Fast

Twenty students arrested in a protest Thursday were charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct. Their trial date has been set Jan. 19.

The three university chaplains are sponsoring daily noontime fasts and protest vigils, which began today in front of the Bernstein-Marcus Building, housing all administration offices. The chaplains said the fast would be expanded to a larger hunger strike if the university did not divest its holdings in the companies operating in South Africa by February.

Student protesters have staged overnight occupations of Goldfarb Library, the school's main library, every night since Sunday.

"As long as they want to protest and demonstrate within the university's regulations and the limits of the law,

that's fine," said Sallie Riggs, Brandeis's vice president for communications and public relations. She said that the student handbook designates certain campus areas, including the main administration building, as inappropriate places to protest.

In May, the board of trustees voted to move toward full divestment of holdings. In September and October, the school shed \$700,000 worth of holdings in corporations with South Africa.

Currently \$1.5 million of the school's \$120 million endowment is held in companies that do business in South Africa, and the board plans to reconsider the possibility of complete divestment when it meets in May.

But the student protesters, who say they see no reason for divestment being delayed, are calling for an emergency meeting of the board to act on the



## Tutu, in U.S., Sees Iran Crisis Helping Black African Cause

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Dec. 10 — Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu of South Africa, on his first visit to the United States since Congress imposed economic sanctions on his country, said today that the Iran arms controversy would probably help the black cause in South Africa.

"I actually think it's good, that it makes clear this is a moral universe," the Archbishop said in an interview here. "It may teach people that you have to take a stand, make a choice about good and bad. Your Government seems to have made the choice in Iran and made a bad choice."

"South Africa," he went on, "provides them with an opportunity of making yet another choice. Do they want to make a bad choice again? I think fundamentally your policies are immoral, and the good thing is that the morality of them is being shown up now."

In the interview, Bishop Tutu issued a new, harsh criticism of President Reagan.

"I don't think he understands black people," he said. "I don't think he accepts black people, well, as really human. I think he and people like Mrs. Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl think that blacks are expendable."

The Archbishop also disputed Reagan Administration arguments that the

sanctions hurt blacks more than whites.

"The onus must be on those who don't want sanctions to tell us what they would put in their place to bring about the demise of apartheid," he said.

The Archbishop, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, was in Houston to deliver the keynote address at ceremonies conferring the first Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize, a \$100,000 award co-sponsored by former President Jimmy Carter and Dominique de Menil, the Houston art patron. The award is to be shared by the Mutual Support Group, an association of families of "disappeared" persons in Guatemala, and Yuri F. Orlov, the Soviet dissident and physicist, who was recently released from internal exile.

Unlike Mr. Tutu, Mr. Carter said he thought the Iran crisis would not help the fight against apartheid. "It's going to take attention away from it," he said.

Bishop Tutu is to remain in Houston until Friday, meeting with black groups and others, and then journey to New York, where he is scheduled to meet on Tuesday with Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar of the United Nations.



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## The Globe and Mail

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1986

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The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will  
neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. JUNIUS

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# For Chief Buthelezi

The "comrades" in South Africa are the black extremists in the townships who dispense revolutionary justice by putting tires around the necks of suspected collaborators, dousing them with gasoline and then setting them ablaze.

The "comrades" in Canada are those members of the anti-apartheid lobby who this week picketed Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi during his Toronto visit and insisted that he, too, should be necklaced. One protester, in a Buthelezi mask, wore a tire around his neck to symbolize the chief's supposed collaboration with apartheid.

What has Chief Buthelezi done to merit such abuse? He outspokenly condemns apartheid and spurns Pretoria's attempts to cosmeticize it (such as independence for the bantustans and the creation of a tricameral parliament without black representation). How does that make him a collaborator?

Chief Buthelezi favors one man, one vote. He has promoted a merger of Natal province with his own KwaZulu homeland, the unified entity to have a bicameral legislature. The first chamber would be elected by universal suffrage — which would mean a black majority. The second chamber would be dominated by the nation's minorities and have veto power over laws affecting language, religion and culture.

This proposal is backed by white and black moderates in the Natal-KwaZulu area. If implemented, it could be a model for democratic power-sharing in the rest of South Africa (though Natal is no microcosm: most of its whites are English rather than Afrikaner). Unfortunately, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha's recent rebuff to the plan all but kills its chances, but how does that make Chief Buthelezi a collaborator?

His real sin in the eyes of the anti-apartheid lobby is that he competes with the African National Congress to shape the future of South Africa on behalf

of its black majority. And he defines present tactics and future outcomes in moderate terms that are anathema to the ANC and its cheerleaders abroad.

The Zulu leader, for example, wants less rather than more economic boycott. "More sanctions will not make the West's message to Pretoria any clearer," he said in Toronto. "Sanctions are realities and they are realities which will inevitably have to be paid for by black South Africa. If for no other reason at all, Western governments should hold their hand on the sanctions front for humanitarian reasons."

But Chief Buthelezi offers another reason. "Sanctions will radicalize what is already a very volatile South African situation. Sanctions will work to radicalize black politics, and this is precisely why the more revolutionary a black South African, the more fervently he calls for sanctions. . . Deepening poverty suits the revolutionaries. It undermines non-violent, democratic opposition to apartheid."

The Zulu leader minces no words about the ANC's intentions. "The ANC Mission in Exile sees itself as a government in exile and it wants to rule as a government returned from exile; it wants to establish a one-party state and it wants to establish a socialist-controlled economy. . . And in fact vast intimidation will have to take place to get black grass root opinion to reject the ideal of a multi-party democracy."

Canadians concerned about the political complexion of the post-apartheid state may ask whether Chief Buthelezi, whose disciples at times resort to intimidation themselves, would really measure up to his own self-portrait as an apostle of multi-party democracy. Yet he remains the best hope, if not the only hope, for the emergence of a moderate black leadership from the ashes of apartheid.