

6/3/2

Indaba was a non-starter

SIR — The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's blueprint for power-sharing was a non-starter from the word go.

How does one share power? Who makes the final all-important decision on any particular matter? Can anyone give one example of an African leader who shares power?

Power-sharing does not exist. What is meant is that the white government should surrender power to others and whatever the expensive advertisements may say, the Indaba proposals are designed to set in motion a series of events that will lead to the domination of Natal and, ultimately, South Africa by those least qualified to rule!

Not very long ago the NRP-dominated Provincial Council turned down the proposals of the Buthelezi Commission, but now we find that Mr D Watterson, the Natal leader, and Mr Frank Martin, ex-MEC, are hell-bent on accepting almost identical proposals under another name.

Does this mean that the party has changed its mind? Do these representatives have a mandate to accept the surrender of Natal to a Zulu majority? Most NRP members I have spoken to are totally against the Indaba proposals so far publicised, particularly the useless Bill of Rights.

Not alone

Let no one imagine that whites are alone in their opposition to this scheme as we have received many calls from Indians also expressing deep concern. Even the ardent liberal outpouring of our evening newspaper includes the words: 'There is no doubt that the proposals would result in the black majority dominating government in the region but all groups would have a say in government' (Daily News, December 2).

The security and future welfare of all South Africa's people can only be guaranteed with a strong and stable white government holding, not sharing, power. This is a lesson of history in Africa.

We agree with Prof Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, who said: 'I believe that my fellow South Africans of all races have a deep yearning for peace.' We are sure that this is true of the majority. We are equally sure, however, that this does not mean 'peace at any price'.

The veiled threats that constantly emanate from Chief Buthelezi and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, regularly echoed by Mr Ray Swart, are

not conducive to peaceful and friendly progress.

We refer, of course, to statements such as 'this is the last chance'. 'There will be no more Indabas', 'I can make the city of Durban the graveyard of white dreams', 'If these proposals are not accepted the chances of a peaceful solution disappear', all designed to compromise people into meek acceptance of Zulu demands.

The people of Natal need to realise the truth of what is happening at this important time in our history and hold fast to those things which we hold in trust for our children and future generations.

A G MORRIS

Chairman
Civic Action League

176.

16/3/82

Cetshwayo: another view

Book review by
Deanne Lawrance

Paulina Dlamini —
Servant Of Two
Kings, compiled by
H. Filter, translated
and edited by S.
Bourquin.
(Killie Campbell
Africana Library and
University of Natal
Press R18,95.)

THE story of Nomquqo Dlamini during her years as a servant of King Cetshwayo at Ondini and her subsequent experiences as a servant of God, were carefully recorded by R. H. Filter, one of her missionary colleagues. Filter prepared his narrative in German, but after his death his wife made the manuscripts available to S. Bourquin who, realising their great interest to a wider public, undertook their translation into English. His extensive knowledge of Zulu custom and language have led to a publication which preserves the original names, expressions, sayings etc wherever appropriate.

This collection of anecdotes and comments will thus be of interest to both the serious student of Zulu history and the wider public, many of whom are becoming aware of the

Senator Edward



Paulina Dlamini — servant to
Cetshwayo and God

reliable witness will shed new light on these and other areas of interest, making up a colourful tapestry of life at the time.

With equally ingenuous facility her conversion to Christianity and subsequent evangelical work is recorded. She discusses the conflicts, which continue today, between Christians and the traditionalists, ending with her delight at the conversion of King Solomon, who asked the Government to prohibit medicine men

from dabbling in fufunyane practices.

Her account of the second kingship may also arouse an appreciation of the close bonds that existed at the time between blacks and Boer farmers on the missionary front.

It is perhaps such gently explored perspectives that provide the real strength of the work, binding the anecdotes together, while revealing them for the analysis of historians and others.

Sanctions aren't working

THE PROVINCE 9 DEC. 1986



Chief Buthelezi addressing the Fraser Institute

Prince Dr. Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi seemed tired. His three-week blitz of North America was nearing its end.

In the past 22 hours alone he'd made a long speech, done a full-scale press conference and given three intensive TV interviews.

Buthelezi, 58, is the elected Chief Minister of the so-called tribal homeland of KwaZulu in South Africa and president of the Zulu-based party Inkatha. He is hereditary leader of the seven million Zulus, South Africa's largest ethnic group.

Buthelezi rejects violence as the way to solve South Africa's racial problems. He opposes western economic sanctions against South Africa, saying they worsen conditions for blacks. And that in pulling out of South Africa, the West loses the only leverage it has.

In an interview in his Hotel Vancouver suite, Buthelezi would not condemn his black political opponents or the South African government. He refers to the government in tones of quiet despair rather than outrage.

Only last week Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha rejected a proposal for regional power-sharing in "KwaNatal" — which would be created through merging KwaZulu with the province of Natal. If accepted, it could be a model for racial co-operation for all of South Africa.

The proposal envisages a bicameral (two chamber)

regional parliament based on universal franchise. If it came about, Buthelezi would probably head the first multiracial government in South Africa.

The country's white minority government refuses to share power with the black majority and denies them the right to vote. In rejecting the KwaNatal proposal, Stoffel Botha said it "will lead to domination" — presumably by blacks.

"We were hoping that they would see reason and find that a

thing imposed either by blacks or whites is much worse than a thing which is reached by people on their own," said Buthelezi.

The government can no longer "pretend that they can now any more do what they like."

The field "is there for negotiation and horse-trading" on South Africa's constitution, said Buthelezi. But until people such as African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela are released, "there's no way in which we can participate in it," he said.

The government "cannot do any more what they like. The veto power which black people have over what happens in South Africa is underestimated in Canada and in countries in the West.

Buthelezi said he had not come to North America to ask anyone to withdraw sanctions.

"I don't believe anyone could be so naive as to believe that they can be reversed," he said. "All I have said is that the message that sanctions were supposed to convey to Pretoria has in fact been conveyed. To go the whole hog would not make that message stronger."

Has Prime Minister P.W. Botha understood the message? "Mr. Botha has reacted exactly as I predicted. He is sulking, he's belligerent. I believe that when the elections are held (in April, observers suggest) he will do so to tell the world to go to hell."

Buthelezi said the "struggle for liberation in South Africa will be solved by South Africans. We blacks are disadvantaged in that we don't have facilities for health, for education; we are behind everywhere. It is absolutely imperative that we get help" through foreign aid agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency and church groups, he said.

Buthelezi said the argument that one-man, one-vote in South Africa would lead to a bloodbath is a "bogeyman."



And it is not possible for Zimbabwe-type intertribal strife to occur in South Africa, he said. "The government likes to exaggerate it merely because it wants to justify their fragmentation of black people on the basis of ethnicity."

Buthelezi flared up when asked who was paying for the trip for his group — himself, his wife, an aide and three bodyguards. He said the question was "silly ... bullshit ... very insulting"

He said it implied that "I'm flunking for anybody ... To believe that in fact because I'm a black person I can only be a front, fronting for some white, is part and parcel of the race game."

Inkatha and KwaZulu were paying for the trip, he said, and the Fraser Institute had invited him to Vancouver.

Buthelezi said he doesn't expect a shift to the far right in the next South African elections. "So personally, in the foreseeable future, I cannot see them ousting Mr. Botha or the National Party government. I can't see any significant forays into Afrikanerdom."

Buthe would not make any further prediction on what might happen in South Africa in the next year or so. "I am not a prophet," said Buthelezi. With that, he got ready to go for a harbor cruise.

The UDF's Murphy Morobe airs his views

The 'dead-end' Nats

By Hugh Robertson, reporting
from Cape Town

THE STAR

Dec 9, 1986

The National Party has reached a dead-end in its search for workable political solutions and has decided to retreat into its laager and cling to power with increasing repression and harassment of its opponents.

This is the assessment of Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, who last week visited the Western Cape for meetings with UDF affiliates.

"The NP retreat into the laager is exactly what we expected. As the struggle intensifies and the legitimacy of the Government becomes more eroded in the eyes of the majority, it will behave like regimes in South America — and even in Africa — when they were faced by the same sort of crisis.

"The Nats will become more and more desperate and will resort to greater repression and force. Their main concern will be to perpetuate their power."

"Reform" and "repression" in South Africa had become "two sides of the same coin". The Joint Management Centres, which Mr Morobe said were linked to the security apparatus and to "disinformation" strategies, were part of the pattern of repression and of the NP's attempts to perpetuate its power.

"The JMCs are tackling the wrong end of the problem. They are trying to win favour with the people by improving local conditions, repairing roads, and improving services when, in fact, the people's feelings have gone way beyond potholes and street lights. The main objective of the black community is to exercise political power," Mr Morobe said.

Political power

"The Government's new national economic strategy, which aims to divert funds from infrastructure development to social services, is part of the same pattern. Even the new elite black suburbs and the fenced off townships have not been beyond the reach of the UDF because the main objective of blacks is for political power and any "improvements" in their living standards are quite rightly interpreted as being the results of their own efforts, as victories after a long struggle."

These are extracts of what Mr Morobe had to say on other current issues:

- On the detention of UDF leaders, the banning of UDF meetings and the declaring of the UDF as an "affected organisation":

"All this harassment and repression have meant that we have had to devote a lot of our energy and time to developing new methods of operation. We are confident they are working, that effective contact is being made among the people and that we are getting our message out.

"I think, also, that as the Government tries to stifle us, so it becomes more isolated internally and internationally. We expect things to get worse and do not rule out the possibility of the UDF being banned altogether."

- On the Natal-kwaZulu indaba:

"Insofar as the indaba proposals have been rejected by the NP in Natal, I believe this has vindicated our position — which we warned of when the indaba began — that there is no way negotiations can succeed in existing circumstances.

Separate structures

"It isn't as if the indaba produced any really radical changes. In fact the proposals show a willingness to accommodate separate racial structures. Yet even this has been rejected by the NP.

"I think all the indications from the indaba are that negotiations with the Government should not be foremost on the UDF's agenda. Rather, our purpose is to develop organisations at the mass level and concentrate on building up the resolve of the community to continue the struggle.

"We are aware that even the ANC is under pressure from imperialist countries to talk to the NP. But to do so they would need a mandate from the people. Like them, we are bound in this regard."

- On negotiations:

"We have set various well-known preconditions — unbanning the ANC and other political movements, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act — in short, the creation of conditions of free speech, free association, of normal political activity.

"We are not too keen on talking about the distribution of political power; we would talk about the transfer of political power from a minority to the majority. That is what it is all about."

- On detention without trial:

"The numbers of our leaders being detained are increasing, which is a phenomenon we fully expected and which has been seen in many other

09/12/86

countries, including Zimbabwe when it was still Rhodesia, where people like Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo were removed from the scene for years at a stretch.

"The same sort of thing is being done in Namibia, with the detention camps there, and this and the fencing in of townships are all part of the desperate siege mentality we are witnessing."

● **On UDF differences with Azapo:**

"We believe this should not happen and we have made strides in trying to resolve the problem. There are elements in some organisations that have laid themselves open to abuse."

"But I think the problem is far less serious than it has been made out to be and, of course, the Government and its agents seek to derail our organisations by accentuating internal contradictions and putting out disinformation."

"Disinformation is part and parcel of the strategy of any regime under siege. The challenge to us is to come up with effective counter-strategies. Fortunately, we do not depend on pamphlets and posters to communicate with our people. We do so at the street committee level, person-to-person, which makes this disinformation strategy a huge waste of taxpayers' money."

● **On the Conor Cruise O'Brien affair:**

"We have a very flexible approach to the question of the academic boycott and whether or not a particular academic is acceptable to us depends on where that person stands with regard to the struggle of the people and the role of the university in that struggle."

Provocative way

"We are not against academic interaction in a blanket sort of way. There are exceptions. But in the case of Dr O'Brien we felt that he invited trouble, that he set about trying to defy the isolation which the international community had placed upon the country and that he did so in a provocative way."

"While we feel that universities like UCT and Wits have played a useful role in the cause of liberation, much more is needed from them and they remain fairly elitist in their outlook and in their linking of the university with the establishment."

"We would like to see much more movement towards genuine people's universities and it is in this light that we would judge the merit of foreign academics and the extent to which they can contribute to that process."

● **On education:**

"We have become extremely concerned by the intransigence of the Department of Education and Training in its treatment of the National Education Crisis Committee, which is one of the very few channels of communication which the DET has with the black community."

Back to school

"With the other organisations involved, we stand by our commitment to have all students at school when the new academic year starts in black schools on January 10. What happens after that will depend upon the DET and the Government."

● **On the role of whites:**

"We are committed to genuine non-racialism. To us this is not just a dream about the future, but something we put into practice even under the present state of apartheid. It is important for whites to know that the future envisaged for South Africa by the UDF has got nothing to do with driving whites into the sea."

"White South Africans seem to be transfixed by fear, but this is more imaginary than real. Our acceptance of the role of whites in a democratic South Africa is not a ruse. Our own present experience with Jodac in Johannesburg, and area committees of the UDF in Claremont and Observatory demonstrates this."

"White South Africans are just as much in need of liberation as are blacks. They need to realise that they should free themselves of many years of SABC propaganda and white sectarian education, which have been largely instrumental in the proliferation of the white supremacist ideology."

09/12/88

Black leader sees the light

It was a study in contrasts. Peaceful negotiation versus bloody terrorist warfare. Reason versus emotional hatred. Democratic free enterprise versus totalitarian communism.

Inside the Hilton Harbour Castle convention centre yesterday was a determined but calm black South African leader preaching peaceful negotiation to solve South Africa's apartheid problems.

Outside were about 15 chanting black leftist demonstrators condemning the man and urging violence and terrorism to end apartheid. Some said they were students from the Caribbean. One even wore a mask of the inside speaker's face and draped a car tire around his neck — suggesting a fiery "necklacing" death for the speaker.

And that speaker was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a longtime advocate of peaceful dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system. He is both the elected and hereditary chief of South Africa's six million Zulus — the largest single population group in that country of 24 million. He is chief minister of the Kwa-Zulu national homeland and president of the Inkatha movement. He is also chairman of the South African Black Alliance.

Yesterday, the dynamic 57-year-old Buthelezi told a Canadian luncheon audience of 650 that economic sanctions are only worsening the plight of South African blacks. The sanctions imposed by Canada and other countries, plus the recent pullouts of foreign firms, are really causing unemployment for blacks. This feeds hardship and starvation — resulting in increased violence.

REASON VERSUS HATE IN SOUTH AFRICA

He warned that all this is doing is helping the terrorist African National Congress (ANC). Based in Zambia, the Soviet-backed and supplied ANC aims to establish a communist state in South Africa. As Buthelezi warned:

"It (the ANC) wants to establish a one-party state and it wants to establish a socialist-controlled economy."

"South African revolutionaries have the full moral, political and material backing of the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Without that backing, and without the backing of members of the Organization of African Unity, revolution would be a non-starter in South Africa."

He said the present economic sanctions pushed strongly by such Western governments as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's only help the Soviets and their pro-violence supporters in South Africa. And that includes white extremists as well as blacks, he emphasized.

Buthelezi urged Canadian aid to help South Africa instead of undermining it with even stronger sanctions. A negotiated elimination of apartheid and replacement with a majority-rule, free-enterprise democracy can help it survive and prosper, he contended. "It is because I believe so vehemently in the need for a multi-party democracy that I oppose sanctions as a weapon," he said.

All the present sanctions do is fan the fires of bloody violence, he said.

Buthelezi also said it was "unchristian" and "quite evil" of the Canadian government to suspend South African visas for travel.

While Chief Buthelezi spoke inside for a peaceful and negotiated settlement, the frost-bitten clutch of demonstrators outside carried signs declaring: "To Get Our Freedom Back, We Got to Kick Some Ass," "Buthelezi's a Puppet," and chanted: "Down With Capitalism!"

Yes, the contrast was there for all to see. Apparently External Affairs Minister Joe Clark even met with Buthelezi on this trip — instead of the snub he and Mulroney gave him on a similar visit last year. But the word I had was that Buthelezi was shocked by the way Clark seemed to have been sucked in by all the leftist propaganda used against the South African government.

Of course, we who live in Canada are not at all surprised. Mulroney and Clark have long fallen for the anti-South African campaign generated by our left-leaning external affairs department. And they support the views of Mulroney's UN Ambassador Stephen Lewis, a former Ontario NDP socialist party leader, who calls South Africa the "most heinous regime on earth." Forget the Soviet Union.

Yes, Chief Buthelezi, Canada has more than its fair share of "useful idiots."

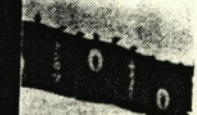
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ZULU LEADER WARNS OF POVERTY, VIOLENCE

Black blasts sanctions

By STEFFANIE WANG
Staff Writer

Continued economic sanctions leave South Africa at the mercy of violent Soviet-backed revolutionaries, a prominent black leader said yesterday.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland and leader of six million South African Zulus, said sanctions have doomed "hundreds of thousands" of blacks to unemployment and poverty.

"Deepening poverty suits the revolutionaries. It undermines non-violent, democratic opposition to apartheid," Buthelezi said at a lunch sponsored by the Fraser Institute and Canadian Club of Toronto.

Buthelezi, a moderate who has consistently opposed the use of violence in ending apartheid, said sanctions are "the first step toward violent action" for revolutionary groups such as the African National Congress.

And "right now there is a race against time to see whether apartheid will be eradicated by violent means or by non-violent means."

Buthelezi recently negotiated a non-racist bill of rights between KwaZulu and the province of Natal.

Peaceful negotiations are the only way to establish a multi-party democracy in a free-enterprise system which he and his followers are striving for, he said.

"The ANC mission in exile sees itself as a government in exile . . . it wants to establish a one-party state and it wants to establish a socialist-controlled economy," Buthelezi said.

He said 74% of blacks want a peaceful end to apartheid but the ANC has the moral, political and financial backing of the Soviet government.

At a press conference at the Hilton Harbour Castle, Buthelezi said he has pressed External Affairs Minister Joe Clark for "humanitarian aid" to alleviate blacks' suffering because of sanctions.

He said if the economy were growing, blacks could use their bargaining power as consumers to force Botha to the bargaining table.

Buthelezi also insisted that unless ANC leader Nelson Mandela is released, "there is absolutely no negotiating."

Meanwhile, about 15 chanting protesters outside the hotel called Buthelezi a traitor for opposing sanctions and accused him of profiting from businesses in South Africa.

One protester wore a mask of Buthelezi's face and carried a rubber tire around his neck. In South Africa, militants set suspected collaborators with the government on fire with "necklaces" of burning tires.

A noisy shoving match erupted when Alexander Pruszyński, Toronto publisher of the *Polish Express* newspaper, challenged the protesters' views.

● Bob MacDonald: Page 20



BLACK PROTESTERS argue with Alexander Pruszyński outside the Hilton Harbour Castle, where moderate

Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, inset, lashed out at sanctions against South Africa yesterday.

- michael peake, sun

U.S. flyers scour border

TEGUCIGALPA (AP) — U.S. helicopters yesterday flew Honduran troops on a border sweep for alleged Nicaraguan insurgents, military sources said.

And a Honduran military source said retreating Nicaraguan government forces were bombed and strafed in attacks by 20 Honduran air force planes. He said the Nicaraguan stragglers were pursued by three Honduran infantry battalions.

The helicopter search came after Honduran charges that Nicaraguan troops crossed their borders during the weekend and burned three

deserted villages.

Nicaragua's leftist government denied going into Honduras and said planes from the Honduran side of the border bombed two villages inside Nicaragua. It said seven soldiers were killed and 11 people were wounded.

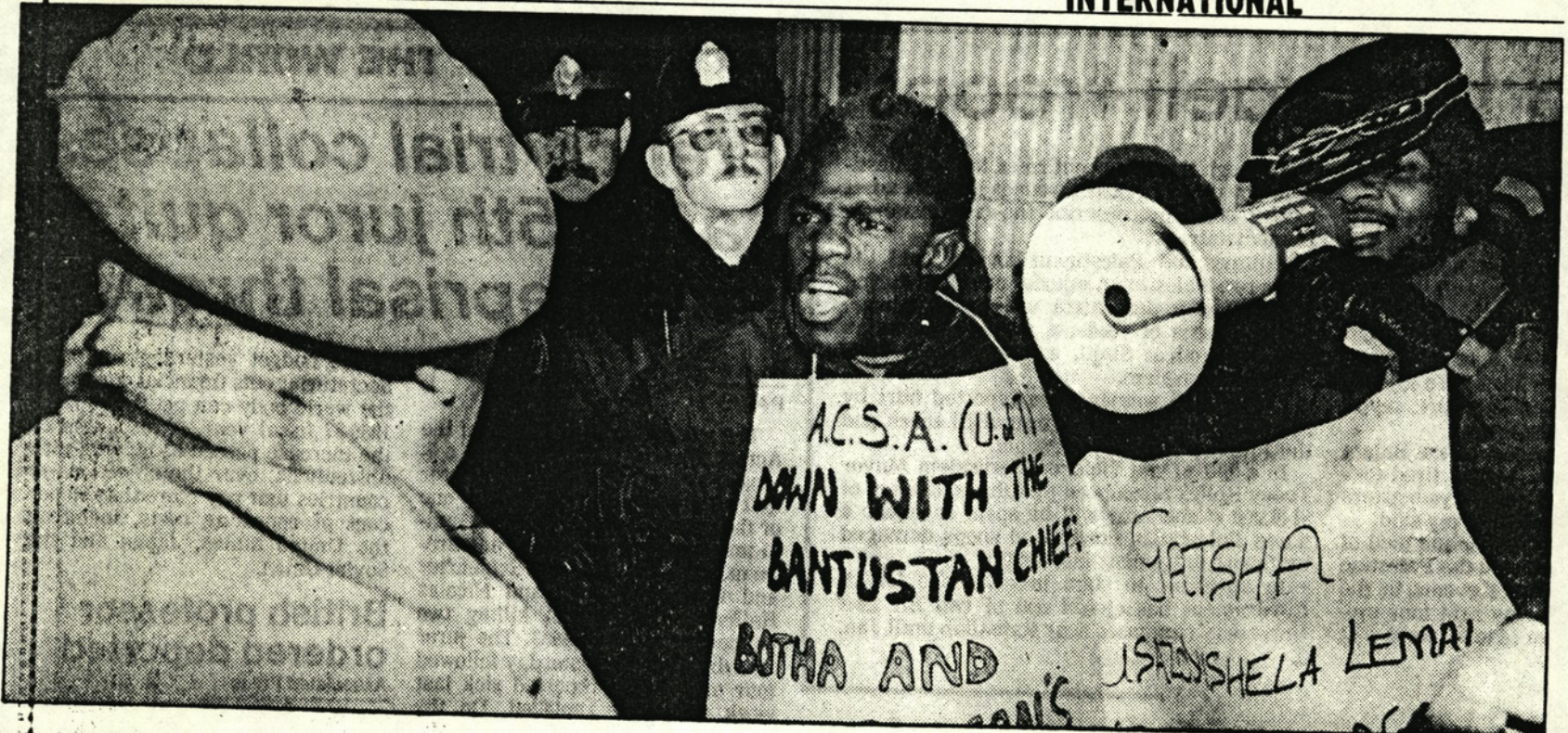
Honduras said 18 of its soldiers were wounded in intense fighting in weekend border skirmishes. It also claimed its troops inflicted undisclosed "heavy" casualties on a force of 700 Nicaraguan raiders.

U.S. Embassy and Honduran military sources said 14 U.S. helicopters ferried hundreds of Honduran troops

to the border site Sunday after the Nicaraguan force crossed into Honduras the day before.

They said all 14 helicopters were unarmed. No U.S. casualties were reported.

Last weekend marked the second time this year Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo asked U.S. President Ronald Reagan for military help to fend off purported Nicaraguan incursions along the border, where U.S.-backed Nicaraguan Contra rebels maintain base camps in their fight against the Nicaraguan government.



Publisher of the Polish Express, Alexander Pruszyński, scuffles with demonstrators before the Gatsha Buthelezi speech. THOMAS SZLUKOVENYI/The Globe and Mail

No more sanctions, Zulu chief pleads

9.12.86
BY SUSAN DELACOURT
The Globe and Mail

South Africa will never be a democracy if sanctions and violence continue to be advocated as the means to end apartheid, says Gatsha Buthelezi, Zulu chief and leader of the KwaZulu homeland in the white-ruled country.

Chief Buthelezi, who says he speaks for the majority of South Africa's blacks, was in Toronto yesterday to elaborate on his proposals for a negotiated solution to apartheid and on his opposition to economic sanctions.

"Right now, there is a race against time to see whether apartheid will be eradicated by violent means or by non-violent means," he said in an address to a joint meeting of the Canadian Club and the Fraser Institute, a right-wing Vancouver think-tank.

A violent solution would bring about only new forms of repression through a one-party, socialist dictatorship, he said, and sanctions are only the first step in escalating violence.

He said he urged External Affairs Minister Joe Clark in a meeting on Sunday to avoid more sanctions, in the interest of preserving the livelihood of blacks and to further the evolution of a multi-party, multi-racial government.

He said he is asking Western governments at least to offset the



Gatsha Buthelezi

damage of sanctions by redirecting the funds to the victims of apartheid.

"I plead with the West now to accept that the sanctions that have been imposed against South Africa are sanctions which have already proclaimed the West's repugnance of apartheid and have already sent very strong signals," he said.

"Sanctions are realities . . .

which will inevitably have to be paid for by black South Africa."

The audience of about 500 greeted his warnings about Marxism and socialism with cheers and applause and appeared to welcome his call for a halt to further sanctions.

Outside the Harbour Castle Hilton where he was speaking, about 15 angry protesters denounced the visit, calling the Zulu chief a "black puppet" and a traitor.

One protester, in a Buthelezi mask, wore a tire around his neck to symbolize the chief's alleged "collaboration" with the white Government.

(In South Africa, black militants have often killed blacks viewed as collaborators by putting tires around their necks, dousing them with gasoline and then setting them on fire in a practice called "neck-lacing.")

"That's what Buthelezi deserves," said Akwatu Khenti, a member of the African-Caribbean Students Association.

"Our position is that Buthelezi should receive one," said Mitchell Holden, leader of the Biko-Rodney-Malcolm Coalition, an anti-apartheid group in Toronto.

The protest turned into a heated confrontation at one point when Alexander Pruszyński, publisher of the Polish Express newspaper in Toronto, asked the demonstrators why they were opposed to the Bu-

thelezi visit.

One demonstrator, who refused to disclose his name, started shouting: "You are the devil incarnate," and others soon joined in, shoving and jostling Mr. Pruszyński. The incident ended when Mr. Pruszyński went in to hear the address.

As a way to promote multi-racial rule in his country, Chief Buthelezi has advocated a proposal called the Indaba Plan, which he regards as a blueprint for democracy in South Africa.

Under that plan, the regions of Natal and KwaZulu would be ruled by one bicameral legislature, based on one man, one vote.

Zulu chief seeks more Canadian aid

Money, not sanctions, will help South Africa's blacks, he says

By Gordon Barthos Toronto Star

Canada should "double, triple or (further) multiply" the \$7 million aid it now provides to black communities in South Africa, controversial Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says.

Ottawa and other Western governments should also "hold their hand" on further sanctions because they will only hurt blacks in the strife-torn country, Buthelezi urged yesterday.

His comments came in an interview conducted just before he spoke to more than 600 people at a lunch sponsored by the Fraser Institute, a conservative think tank, and by the Canadian Club.

Outside the Harbour Castle Hilton where he was speaking, about 20 protesters shouted "Buthelezi — Botha's puppet" and "Buthelezi is a murderer."

Security guards surrounded the Zulu chief because of death threats made against him by foes who consider him to be too closely aligned to South African President P.W. Botha.

Strong signals

"The sanctions that have been imposed . . . have already proclaimed the West's repugnance of apartheid and have already sent very strong signals to Pretoria," he said.

"More sanctions will not produce more Western morality. More sanctions will not make the West's message to Pretoria any clearer."

Buthelezi's appeal for moderation comes against a rising tide of anti-apartheid violence in South Africa, where more than 2,300 people have been killed in the past two years. It also follows the pullout of major U.S., British and Canadian firms.

Arguing that South Africa's only hope is negotiation, not violence, Buthelezi says the current international drive to influence Pretoria by imposing sanctions, has failed.

He said white South Africans "couldn't care two hoots in hell," because sanctions hurt only blacks, he added.

For a country like Canada to impose further sanctions or sever diplomatic links entirely with Pretoria, as Ottawa has threatened to do if there is no movement toward dismantling apartheid, would be counter-productive in every way, he said.

Sanctions would strip Ottawa of any influence in dealing with Pretoria, aggravate black poverty by throwing more people out of work, doom a generation of young people to economic misery, and increase the friction between black communities, he said.

In his speech, Buthelezi repeatedly stressed that South Africa is entering "a post-sanctions era" in which he urged the West to "strengthen the politics of negotiation, and not to merely strengthen protest."

Buthelezi, 58, is on a 21-day tour of the United States and Canada to argue that Western countries must now look beyond sanctions and begin to forge a strategy designed to prevent South Africa from becoming an economic basket case prior to moving toward democratic rule.

Buthelezi is Chief Minister for KwaZulu, a so-called "tribal homeland," and speaks for many, but not all, of South Africa's 6 million Zulus.

He also hopes to drum up Western support for his constitutional plan for the KwaZulu-Natal region, which he says could serve as a model for democracy in the country.

Model rule

The model, proposed by an *Indaba* or conference of more than 30 racial and political groups — but rejected by the government — would have a regional parliament elected by majority vote, with a system of checks and balances to ensure that minorities are protected.

The system has been denounced by other black South Africans, including the outlawed African National Congress, as playing into the hands of the Botha government.

They say it wants to define South Africa as a splintered "country of minorities" based on tribal and regional lines, in which the whites would hold effective economic and political control indefinitely.

Yusuf Saloojee, ANC representative in Toronto, said the South African political "mainstream" — including the United Democratic Front, the Council of South African Trade Unions, and people like jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Bishop Desmond Tutu



TONY BOCK/TORONTO STAR

Forget sanctions: Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tells 600 people at a Toronto luncheon yesterday that Canada should not impose further sanctions against strife-torn South Africa.

and Rev. Allan Boesak — all reject Buthelezi's arguments.

"As long as the South African economy remains buoyant, (white authorities) will have the capacity to maintain apartheid. Weakening the economy will weaken the government politically," Saloojee said.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government has helped marshal support for tougher sanctions within the Commonwealth in the past year, and now

provides some help for black communities, mostly for education and training.

Sanctions Canada has championed include: banning new bank loans to South Africa; banning new investment; stopping the importing of agricultural goods; paring down consular services; banning the import of coal, steel, uranium and iron; and ruling out air links between the two countries.

Rosholt urges end to racial zoning

Political Reporter

The chairman of Barlow Rand, Mr Mike Rosholt, has called on the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act and the Lands Act.

In Barlow Rand's annual report for 1986, he said these laws seriously affected the everyday lives and actions of black people.

He rejected the "local option" which would bring about "piecemeal relaxation" of the laws.

Such a strategy would discredit the reform process and bring benefit only to relatively few and, in the main, more privileged, black people, he said.

"South Africa cannot afford to avoid the challenge of fundamental change in racial zoning."

Mr Rosholt said the laws could "only be re-

moved from the Statute Book".

He said credit was due to the Government for progress in the field of socio-political reform — the most significant being the abolition of influx control.

South Africa faced many problems — suitable economic growth was urgently needed to "make significant inroads into present unemployment and to cope with the growing problem of future young work-seekers".

"But what is very clear is that economic action alone will not produce that growth and employment and that it will have to be accompanied by the rapid implementation of further socio-economic reforms."

Mr Rosholt said business people were finding greater opportunities to play a

part in the process of change.

"As a consequence, they have a more hopeful vision of the ultimate future than could generally have been expected in the past few years."

He said the Government was clearly disappointed with the reception given to its reform initiatives. Reforms would never be accepted unless accompanied by a process aimed at meaningful power-sharing with blacks.

S. African Official Derides U.S. Policy

Foreign Minister Sees Further Clampdown

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 8—Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha said today that South Africa will reluctantly have to distance itself from any attempts by the Reagan administration to play a constructive role in this region's affairs because U.S. foreign policy has been discredited.

Botha said that by allowing its foreign policy to be co-opted by Congress with the passage of the antiapartheid sanctions bill, the White House had made negotiations between South Africa's white government and the black majority impossible, thereby guaranteeing a continuation of violence.

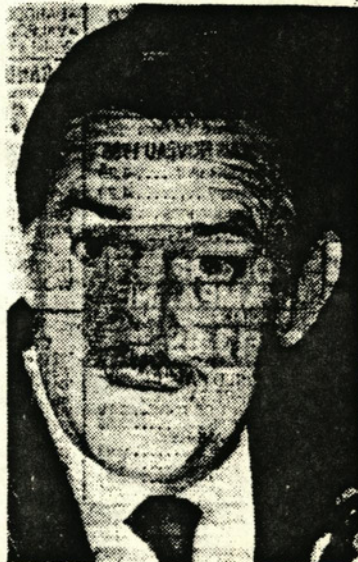
"It's an historic tragedy that a country like the United States cannot see this," Botha said in an hour-long interview in which the depth of the bitterness of the ruling National Party government toward Washington repeatedly came to the surface.

The United States, he said, will have to bear the responsibility for a prolongation of the current state of emergency in South Africa.

Botha also said in the wide-ranging interview that his government is about to clamp down on dissent that it believes leads to violence, and he signaled an imminent tightening of press restrictions.

Responding to an offer last week by Chester A. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, to make available his offices for negotiations between South African blacks and whites, Botha said, "We are against that kind of interference. But even if we were not, how reliable is it? What would Congress do with any deal I made with your government?"

When asked whether Pretoria would shy away from any U.S. initiatives to resolve the conflict, the foreign minister replied, "I have no choice. Where does it land me? If I decide that your Congress is a for-



ROELOF F. (PIK) BOTHA
... "It's an historic tragedy."

eign policy institution, what do I do then?"

Botha said he was "lamenting a dilemma" more than irrevocably "writing off" the United States from South Africa's foreign policy perspective. But, Botha said, he found little encouragement in the fact that next month a Democratic majority will take over a Republican-controlled Senate which overrode Reagan's veto of punitive sanctions. "Look what we got under a Republican majority. It could get worse. Anything could get worse. But I don't see how," he said.

In any case, Botha said, the Reagan administration's defunct policy of constructive engagement was not much better for South Africa.

"From our point of view, constructive engagement in effect meant that pressure was being exerted on the South African government. Although the U.S. government stated that it would not attempt to prescribe a particular political solution for South Africa, you have reported in your newspaper that the United States must insist

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INTERNATIONAL

Mozambique Rebels Aid Pretoria's Cause

By ROGER THURLOW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
From Casa Banana, his headquarters deep in the Mozambique bush, guerrilla leader Afonso Dhlakama has become one of the key players in the international sanctions war against South Africa.

Mr. Dhlakama, the 33-year-old leader of the Mozambique National Resistance, or Renamo, is a chubby, bespectacled man who gave up his accounting studies for guerrilla warfare more than a decade ago. He and his 22,000 rebels are fighting to overthrow Mozambique's tottering Marxist government, which has been further weakened by the recent death of its first president, Samora Machel.

But Renamo also is engaged in a broader struggle against all of black southern Africa that is interfering with international sanctions meant to seal off South Africa.

Claims Don't Ring True

Claiming that it is a black nationalist movement that has no sympathy for the white minority government in Pretoria, Renamo denies that it receives military aid from South Africa. But the fact that Renamo's actions play into Pretoria's hands, as well as a history of South African contacts with the guerrillas, have much of the world believing otherwise.

Renamo controls most of the Mozambique countryside, and has been able almost at will to attack the oil pipeline, railway, roads and Indian Ocean port that make up the Beira Corridor. Were it free from guerrilla attack, the Beira Corridor could provide black southern African countries with an alternative to the present practice of moving the bulk of their trade through South Africa. So important is this route in isolating South Africa that the U.S. and several European countries have considered coupling their own sanctions against Pretoria with an aid package to upgrade the carrying capacity of the corridor and keep Beira open.

A stable and upgraded Beira Corridor would enable the so-called frontline states, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Malawi and Botswana, to reduce their dependence on South Africa and impose economic sanctions on Pretoria. But if Renamo continues to blow up the pipeline and railway and hijack trucks, South Africa will retain its intimidating position.

"Renamo can render the Beira Corridor so insecure that it won't function," says Andre Thomashausen, a law professor and Renamo analyst at the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

Black States Trapped

And without a functioning Beira Corridor, the black states of southern Africa are trapped. Zimbabwe, which has been making the loudest noises about imposing sanctions against Pretoria and would be the hardest hit by any countersanctions, has recently been forced to turn to South Africa for tons of fuel because of supply disruptions in the Beira Corridor. About 90% of Zimbabwe's foreign trade passes through South Africa; it is about 50% for Zambia, Zaire and Malawi.

Despite the advantages for South Africa of continued Renamo successes, Pretoria stridently denies that it aids the rebels. Indeed, it says it wants to improve economic ties with the Mozambique government, now headed by Joaquim Chissano. Besides, says a Foreign Ministry official, "Renamo isn't hard up for financial help. It has a hard time using up what it has."

The Mozambique National Resistance initially was nurtured by security forces in neighboring white-ruled Rhodesia. But when black rule came to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), South Africa became the main supplier of arms and training, Western diplomats say. On occasion, South Africa's deputy foreign minister flew to the Mozambique bush to meet with the rebels.

In early 1984, South Africa signed an accord with Mozambique promising to halt its support to the rebels. While Renamo offices in South Africa were closed, the suspicion of continued aid to the rebels hasn't diminished. President Chissano last week accused South Africa of airdropping supplies to Renamo.

Today, diplomats and analysts of the Mozambique war say, Renamo is so strong, compared with the ragged government troops, that it could continue its fight without outside aid. In recent months, the rebels have captured several cities in the north and made occasional forays into Maputo, the capital. Last year one siege of Maputo was so tight that President Machel slept at night on a yacht several miles offshore, according to press reports.



Because of Mozambique's economic crisis, government soldiers are poorly clothed and fed and, despite the assistance of Soviet bloc advisers, badly trained.

The Renamo guerrillas are also badly clothed, but they feed off the land, which they control, and they claim to have captured big reserves of Soviet-made arms from government troops.

Mr. Dhlakama, who was educated in a Roman Catholic missionary school, says he wants free elections in Mozambique and respect for human rights. But, despite such talk, and the stories about Renamo soldiers carrying Bibles, the rebels have a reputation for banditry. The government says Renamo's tactics include random attacks on civilian buses, kidnapping and cutting off the noses and ears of peasants who cooperate with the government or resist joining the rebels.

West Faces Unattractive Choices
As Mozambique's Marxists Totter

By LEE LESCAZE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
The widely expected collapse of Mozambique confronts Washington and other Western capitals with an array of unattractive choices.

If Mozambique, whose Marxist government has in recent years sought aid from the West, doesn't receive new assistance, it is likely to turn back to the Soviet bloc in a desperate effort to prevent total disintegration in the face of military pressure from the Mozambique National Resistance, or Renamo, and the economic catastrophe that has been growing since Mozambique won independence from Portugal in 1975.

Yet, while food aid can help ward off starvation, any development aid is likely to be futile. Renamo has proved it can blow up whatever the government builds.

And a prostrate Mozambique insures that South Africa will continue its stranglehold on the black nations of southern Africa because it controls the major transportation routes.

"The only people who benefit from the current situation are the South Africans and the Soviets," says Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, the outgoing chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Africa.

Zimbabwe already stations troops in Mozambique in an effort to keep Renamo from completely closing the rail and road routes to the port of Beira, and Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has discussed internationalizing the anti-Renamo forces. The Commonwealth Secretariat has been promoting discussions of the feasibility of forming a United Nations peacekeeping force for Mozambique.

At the recent funeral of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, representatives of Mozambique's neighbors and members of the Commonwealth discussed a peacekeeping force. "It may just be that we can get some momentum because what is going on doesn't suit anyone other than South Africa," says one participant.

But the obstacles are enormous. "Do you think that's really a starter?" asks a Republican Senate aide. "I don't think so. American conservative groups would go up to the ceiling, not just up the wall over that one." He points out that Congress has banned military aid to Mozambique and adds: "I don't see anyone getting enthusiastic about economic aid either."

A U.S. businessman with close ties to Mozambique thinks the mere discussion of an international force would have a positive effect by turning a spotlight on Mozambique's problems. In Irangate Washington these problems don't capture much attention. Four Democratic members of Congress who play major foreign policy

Renamo charges the government with religious persecution and with imprisoning opponents in "reeducation camps." One way Renamo built up its support initially was by running a radio service that informed people about government prisoners.

Strategy for Day After

Mr. Dhlakama, the son of a tribal chief, talks about victory within two years. "Militarily, Renamo could win the war. It could storm the presidential palace," says Mr. Thomashausen. "But it won't unless it has a strategy for the day after."

So far, such a strategy hasn't emerged. Mr. Dhlakama is said to be interested in pushing for a reconciliation with the government because he realizes there isn't enough expertise within Renamo to run a government by itself. And without a reconciliation, the government troops might take to the bush and continue the war.

Sources say Mr. Dhlakama also realizes that governing the country would be nearly impossible without international support, which has so far been denied because of his group's ties to South Africa and because the international community recognizes the government.

Mr. Dhlakama is said to be jealous of Jonas Savimbi, the high-profile leader of the anticommunist guerrillas in Angola who is received by leaders around the world. As a result, Mr. Dhlakama is trying to spruce up his image: his eyeglasses, worn to make him look older, are said to be only window glass, and he is studying English and listening to the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp.

roles were asked through aides to comment on what could be done in Mozambique. None replied over a two-week period.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to forming a peacekeeping force would be its cost. "There aren't a lot of potential underwriters for that idea," says the sympathetic businessman.

A further hurdle would be potential vetoes by the Soviet Union or the U.S. Advocates of a peacekeeping force argue that the Soviets might refrain to avoid a desperation plea by Mozambique for military support. While U.S. conservatives would be loath to back any support for a Marxist regime, at the same time they might prefer international action if the alternative were unilateral action by Moscow.

"I personally think it's kind of an intriguing idea," says Sen. Kassebaum, but she quickly adds that she detects little congressional interest in aiding Mozambique.