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

Responding to negative reaction to the Indaba, Chief Buthelezi said he had come to the conclusion that, if white, black, Indian and coloureds did not want the Indaba, and its opportunities were no more than pearls cast before swineâ\200\231, then it would be rank foolishness for him to campaign for it and attempt to prop it up.

He would now have to regard the endeavour as something launched to

fend for itself.

Chief Buthelezi said â\200\230nonsenseâ\200\231 had been written about the outcome of the Indaba being prejudiced because the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress and the Azalean Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation were not participants. :

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

â\200\230The Kwazulu/Natal Indaba will only be catastrophic if those who are committed to democracy and decency are shown not to have the guts to suc-

ceed in the face of hostilityâ\200\231, he said.

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

He said he was getting very tired of blazing new trails and fighting oneâ\200\230horrendousâ\200\231 political battle after another for the sake of his fellow

whites, Indians and coloured South

~Africans.

Chief Buthelezi said the Indaba  
been structured to take it right  
out of party political arenas.  
It was not his lpet project and he  
could not manipulate e

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

LAURENCE reports

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

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

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

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

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

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

question. :

Nor is it per se proof that the SACP is the dominant party in the tripartite-alliance between it, the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

There is no evidence that the flags were raised at the behest of the underground and, as far as is known, largely exiled SACP, rather than a spontaneous action by young black men acting on their own initiative. The pending trial of the eight Cradock men may provide more information.

Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand, who. is working on a study of the

- SACP, thought it more likely to be a spontaneous decision. The SACP is 2 small vanguard party which is not committed to mass recruitment in South Africa, he said in an interview. It tends rather to select its recruits from the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the fighting arm- of the ANC, he added.

â\200\234I suspect it was local enthusiasm,â\200\235 Lodge said of the Cradock incident. â\200\234The red flag is a potent

Sometimes it's the SA Communist Party flag, s

OCUS: JUST HOW POWERFUL IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

the red fu

neral flags

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/ ily  
Pictures by Gill de Viieg (Atrapix),

proof of a complete 1950, it resolved to relate the â\200\234struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profitâ\200\235. ' ; .

Today the equation between apartheid and capitalism is an axiom in the ideology of radical organisations from the United Democratic Front to the rival Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation.

But the antipathy to capitalism in the townships is not so much the result of SACP propaganda as the product of South Africaâ\200\231s policy of â\200\234racial capitalismâ\200\235, in which nearly all the benefits of capitalism accrued to white capitalists and in which, until recently, aspirant black capitalists were largely hamstrung (except in the â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235).

But the large and growing socialist constituency provides a potentially fertile area for SACP recruitment, should the SACP abandon its elite vanguard role and seek to become 2 mass-based party.

olitical funerals across the country. Bruce Gillespie and Trevor Samson (AFP)

supremacy â\200\224 and is not community of interests. â\200\234The history of the world is full of similar r â\200\224 become a commonplace sight at p

aheadâ\200\235 of that of the established parties.

Its power within the ANC-alliance was demonstrated by its ability to recruit men from Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control over the most examples. Perhaps the most striking illustration is successful of the MK units, the Special Operations 10 be found in the co-operation between Great unit, Williamson said. IR ~~,\_,â\200\230Brita.in, the United States and the Soviet Union in

Its â\200\234game planâ\200\235 was not to assert itself against the fight against Hitler.â\200\235 the non-communists but to support the ANC in the Mandela went on to express admiration for quest for a nonracial South Africa based on the â\200\234bourgeoisâ\200\235 democracy, including specifically the Freedom Charter while building up a talented elite British parliament and the American Cong

ress.  
of dedicated communists ready to press on to the There is no evidence that Mandela has radi-  
cally  
second stage of the revolution - the creation of a changed his stance and his influ-  
ence appears to be  
socialist society. : consistent with that of Tambo's, whom Lodge

The jailed Nelson Mandela could, of course, tip described as a -man of consensus ra-  
ther than  
the ideological balance one way or another. extremes -.

Mandela declared himself forthrightly on the Against that, however, it must be conceded tha-  
t-  
matter at his trial more than 20 years ago. the popular political culture of the townships

-It is true that there has often been close co- abounds with strong socialist senti-  
ments, manifest  
operation between the ANC and the Communist by condemnations of US imperialism and the  
Party, - he said. ; chanting -vivas- for Slovo. \_

-But co-operation is merely proof of a common It is interesting to recall that befo-  
re the old legal  
goal - in this case the removal of white Communist Party of South Africa was banned  
in

as - since July last yea

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

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

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

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

ometimes it's the Soviet Union flag. Either way, the red banner h  
and-file members, is largely unknown. It is thus  
dous to appraise its role,

symbol of rebellion ... an eloquent expression of  
defiance. - 1

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

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

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

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

difficult and even hazardous except in the most general terms.

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

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

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

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





## SLOVO: PRETORIA'S FAVOURITE BOGEYMAN

By HOWARD BARRELL

JOE SLOVO, it is said, is quaintly upset at being.

accused by South African government supporters of being a KGB colonel with his own country dacha somewhere out in the wilds of the Soviet Union. !

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

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

i-le is popular within the ANC external mission and, to judge from the chants in his honour at black political meetings inside the country, he has

similar popularity as a symbol among many other black people.

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

At the last congress of the South African Communist Party â\200\224 held in London in late 1984 â\200\224 he is widely believed finally to have achieved the position that government officials have so incorrectly and for so long said he occupied. That is, chairman of the Communist Party â\200\224 the successor to Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

His colleagues in the ANC say he takes a very dim view of the Stalin era, with its personality cults and bloody purges, believing it seriously set back the socialist cause. They add that, although he is a senior official in a party whose organisational pillar is discipline, he has a horror of â\200\234apparatchiksâ\200\235 and aggressively conformist

political behaviour. VIR -  
He is also said to b}xmong mpÃ@oZ/e?â\200\230 oviet

Communist Party general secretary Mikhail

Gorbachevâ\200\231s efforts to modernise and regenerate -socialism in that country.

Slovo, whose father was a van driver, managed to get to university because as a World War II ex-serviceman he could get a bursary. He then studied law at Wits University and, after qualifying, was involved in the defence teams in a number of political trials. : 5 :

A founder member of the Congress of Democrats, he represented it on the national

consultative committee of the Congress Alliance.

After being banned in 1954, Slovo continued his political work clandestinely. He was subsequently one of the accused in the marathon Treason Trial

which started in 1956.

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

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

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

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

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

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1986 A7

Mandela today: â\200\230| ag

BY TONY BURMAN

Mr. Burman co-produced a documentary profile of Nelson and Winnie Mandela shown this week on

CBC'â\200\231s The Journal.

LITTLE BY LITTLE, as the" stories accumulate, a shadowy picture forms of South Africaâ\200\231s Nelson Mandela today, a man whom few people have seen in the past 24 years:

[J The imprisoned black leader was recently allowed a rare visit with his lawyers. To everyoneâ\200\231s surprise, he cut the meeting off early because the white Afrikaner nurses taking care of him following a minor operation had reached the end of their shift. He

explained that he didnâ\200\231t want to inconvenience them.

[J His last meeting with foreigners occurred last month when he saw a group representing the Commonwealth. He came to the meeting wearing a black, green and gold leather belt: the colors of the banned African National Congress. When told that they had already seen his wife, Winnie, he grinned and said, â\200\234Iâ\200\231m jealous.â\200\235

[J U.S. law professor Samuel Dash, describing his three-hour meeting with Mr. Mandela, said, â\200\234I felt like I was in the presence of a head of state. He opened the discussion not by talking about South- Africa, but asking me about the arms talks in Geneva and about what nuclear warfare might mean to his people in South Africa.â\200\235

[J Lord Bethell of Britain, who also met him for several hours but on a different occasion, said that Mr. Mandela â\200\230â\200\234was friendly, welcoming, giving me the impression that he was welcoming me to his home and treating the prison staff as if they were there to look after him. The way he spoke of them was almost affectionate, perhaps a little condescending.â\200\235

[0 Editors of the crusading black newspaper, The Sowetan, were startled when they received a Christmas card from Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town. It read: â\200\230â\200\230Best wishes. Keep up the good work.â\200\235 It was signed - â\200\234Mandela.â\200\235

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

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

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

Africa's armed resistance in the

early 1960s, has been in jail for 24 years. In 1962, he was convicted of organizing a strike. Two years later, while in jail, he was convicted on a far more serious charge of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

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

M R.MANDELA, as leader of South

standard, he appeared to be a reluctant guerrilla fighter.

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

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

IS IMPORTANT to remember this when sifting through the various stories about the personality, ap-

- pearance, and views of Nelson Mandela today.

What comes through is a picture strikingly consistent with his image and reputation before he was sent to prison. Rather than being a fire-breathing revolutionary, Mr.

Mandela appears to visitors as a middle-of-the-road, moderate African nationalist.

By all accounts, including those of his critics, he is a man of unusual personal

presence and charm. A South African govern-

ment official privately told a group of foreign visitors last month that officials have always been astonished at his ability to impress the prison staff, often to the annoyance of cabinet ministers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He looked older, of course. The hair is grey, or greyer. Very tall, He's got a very good way of carrying himself. He's an impressive man to look at. I must say the first impact is one of a man who is self-pos-

sessed. Heâ\200\231s totally in command of the situation.â\200\235â\200\235 Visitors who have seen Mr. Mandela

Mandela (1961 photo): â\200\230Bottom line is political power . . .

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

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

Dr. Nhatato Motlana, the Mandelasâ\200\231 family doctor, who performed a prostate operation on him a few months ago, said that â\200\234his mind is as sharp as ever. He has a physique of a 45-year-old. He should live until the year 2000.â\200\235

DISCUSSIONS with foreign visitors, Mr. Mandela has remained consistent in his views on South

Africaâ\200\231s crisis. From several of those ses-

sions, where notes were taken, it is possible to quote him directly:

[J On white fears: â\200\234I want to impress this on the whites of South Africa. Although we will be the majority, that doesnâ\200\231t mean the minority will lose their power, their participation, their economic life. I believe that the whites here, unlike anywhere else in Africa, belong here. This is their home. We

eadyâ\200\231

not trivialities.â\200\231

want to share that home, and share power with them.â\200\235â\200\235.

[J On recent reforms: â\200\230â\200\234The Government has only been talking about pin-pricks. Itâ\200\231s not my ambition to marry a white woman . or swim in a white pool. The bottom line is political power. Thatâ\200\231s the only thing weâ\200\231re talking about. Not these trivialities.â\200\235

[J On restraining the young: able to contain the situation in the townships. In the African National Congress, we have strong discipline. We, the leaders, having set the goals and the program, can control the others because of this discipline. Unless, of course, the whites donâ\200\231t negotiate

in good faith. Then all bets are off.â\200\235  
[J On the transition period: â\200\234We will move  
carefully. For example, the apartheid laws  
keep separate where black and whites can  
live. When we take power, we will end this,  
of course. But we donâ\200\231t want to turn major  
white cities like Johannesburg into giant  
slums. We will insist that separate living  
continues for a short while until we can get  
enough jobs and homes built. So that blacks -  
can move in with the same dignity and qual-  
ity of life whites have now in South Africa.â\200\235

Above all, Mr. Mandela appears to be  
confident that his Wait for freedom is com-  
ing to an end.

â\200\234When that day comes,â\200\235 he told one visi-  
tor, â\200\234I will be ready. My people will be  
ready But will the Government be ready?â\200\235â\200\231

â\200\234We will be -

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\*Continued from front 4

Buthlelezi  
Meeting

Commerceâ\200\231s annual  
meeting which is  
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g " at such a crucial stage  
next Thursday night. i Natal's history.

Representatives from  
the major newspapers  
as well as television  
are also expected to  
attend.

Chief Buthlelezi is  
one of the key men in  
the current KwaNatal  
indaba in Durban and  
many at the Lady-  
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ing for some hin:  
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Chief Buthlelezi the indaba are gener-  
Chief Buthlelezi is ally favourable but

guest speaker at the there is a powerful  
local Chamber of Â» element against, s  
was evident at Â«  
recent Andries Treur-  
nicht meeting.

About 300 people

listened to Dr Treur-  
nicht speak from the  
same platform where  
Chief Buthlelezi will  
.stand next Thursday.  
, The majority of the  
| people made it quite  
| clear they supported  
. the CP stand against  
{ any form of mixed



| government in Natal  
i or anywhere else in  
South Africa.

The meeting was\_  
also told of an â\200\230action  
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\*Continued on page 2 ']

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

Mr. Otto Kunene,  
the regional chair-  
man of the Inkatha  
youth brigade, said  
the Indaba was no  
more than the coming  
together of people in a  
democratic way and  
taking the significant  
step towards norma-  
lising the first and  
second tier govern-  
ments. '

â\200\234I believe a Joint

Legislation Authority

in KwaZulu/Natal  
will save this region  
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which could be  
chanelled into endea-  
vours not only toraise  
the standard of living  
among the poorest,  
but to increase the  
prosperity of the  
region,â\200\235 he said.  
Asked whether the  
outcome â\200\234of Indaba  
could lead to  
separation of Natal  
from the rest of South

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Africa, Mr. Kunene |-

said it was unlikely as  
this was not the  
intentioin of the  
Indaba delegates.  
An educationist  
who did not want to be  
â\200\234said: â\200\234The

Indaba proposals will |

more successful in

a federal state, where

different regions are  
governed by their own  
laws with little

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er regions.â\200\235 ;i \*  
he Mayor of  
eZakheni, Mr. Dumi-  
sani Nkabinde, also  
cheered the Indaba  
saying it can â\200\234save  
the whole of South  
Africa â\200\234from the  
saster.â\200\235 g  
Mr. Nkabinde said  
the Indaba was  
giving KwaZulu â\200\230a  
chance to decide its  
future with South  
Africa in the same  
way as the indepen-  
dent state chose their  
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The Indaba is' a

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He added that, viewed in histori- O The s and oo of informal Frpl b o e whether govern.  
cal perspective, SA had already en- structures and organisations get- ment would scrap | ,  
tered & â\200\234revolutionary phaseâ\200\235 and ting their legitimacy and power Cl Basic  
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Rather, he said, government tures of State on the people, ple.â\200\235 o e

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| VIOLENCE {n South Africa would ' -  
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ning Council chairman Dr Louis kind A .

Rive at Ulund! yesterday. : nd of time, Buthelezi said. ;

! Buthelezi said it was bâ\200\231;conxln'g He Invited Rive to serve on the

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Lâ\200\230 Botha's inabllity to sct boldly in 274 Advisory s . f

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: ldess could be worked out,  
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ning Counell cï¬\201 irman Dr Louis kind of time, Buthelezl said. -  
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By CLARE HARPER

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

The Studentsâ\200\231 Action Committee (SAC) â\200\224 an umbrella body including students from the Azanian Studentsâ\200\231 â\200\230 Organization, the Azanian Studentsâ\200\231 Movement, and Studentsâ\200\231 of Young Azania â\200\224 yesterday issued a statement saying that â\200\234no Inkatha member would be allowed to speak on the campusâ\200\235.

A spokesperson said the SAC would not allow â\200\234collaborators of the system to legitimize the kind of criminal activities that they (Inkatha) embark uponâ\200\235.

â\200\230 The students had demanded that the educationist â\200\234denounce the atrocities of Inkatha and Gatsha Butheleziâ\200\235.

The spokesperson said the education-

quested; but that the students were still dissatisfied with his answers. The acting head of the department of education at UCT, Professor Doug Young, yesterday said the educationist had been invited to answer any questions students may have had on education in KwaZulu, as small groups of students annually visited KwaZulu schools as part of their

lidents

tionist had done as the students re-

disrupt

ve N,

Meeting

teaching practice.

â\200\234To my knowledge he is not a member of inkatha â\200\224 he is here to be

interviewed in regard to his PhD application and to clarify matters about KwaZulu,â\200\235 Professor Young said. :

«If he was a member of Inkatha, I would never have invited him. I would in no way support the presence of | Inkatha people on campus and I abhor the methods employed by Inkatha â\200\224 and especially their alleged violentâ\200\231 involvement in the recent NECC (National Education Conference Crisis) meeting in Durban.â\200\235 '

He said, however, that visitors to the / °

UCT campus had a right to be heard:

fully.

â\200\234They should not be judged in advance of speaking. I stand by the universityâ\200\231s commitment to academic freedom.â\200\235 b

Professor Young said a lot of pressure had been put on the educationist

by the student group. %

The SAC spokesperson admitted to a heavy-handed questioning of the educationist â\200\234because students regard Inkatha very seriously, especially in the light of the attack on the Durban education conferenceâ\200\231â\200\231.

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

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

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7 trifft nur die Schwarzen

Hollanderin lehnt Gewalt gegen Apartheid ab |

hpb. Ein Wirtschaftsboykott  
durch die Europäische Gemein-  
schaft (EG) ist nach Einschätz-

zung von Reina Steenwijk kein Ä°

geeignetes Mittel, um die Re-  
gierung des südafrikanischen  
Staatspräsidenten Pieter Wil-  
lem Botha zur Änderung ihrer  
Haltung in der Apartheids-Fra-  
ge zu bewegen. Die westeuro-  
päischen Länder sollten lieber  
auf ihre Industriemanager ein-  
wirken, damit diese für eine  
Gleichbehandlung von weißen  
und schwarzen Beschäftigten  
in ihren südafrikanischen  
Tochterfirmen sorgen. Wirt-  
schaftliche Sanktionen würden  
dagegen in erster Linie die oh-  
nehin sozial benachteiligte  
schwarze Bevölkerungsmehr-

heit treffen, meinte sie gestern

vor der Landespressekonferenz\200\224'

Tenz.

1983 als Direktorin des „Infor-  
mationszentrum über das süd-  
liche Afrika“\200\235 in Amsterdam.  
Außerdem ist sie Europa-Re-  
präsentantin von „Chief“  
Mangosuthu - Buthelezi, dem  
Präsidenten der schwarzen  
südafrikanischen Massenbe-  
wegung „Inkatha“\200\235 und Chef-  
minister des sogenannten Ho-

melands . Kwa-Zulu. Buthelezi

gilt als einer der einflussreich-

sten und schärfsten Kritiker

von Staatspräsident Botha und

seiner Apartheids-Politik.  
Inkatha will den friedli-

chen Wandel in der südafrika-

Reina .\200\230Steenwijk leitet seit\204¢

nischen Republik, die Anwen-  
dung von Gewalt lehnen. wir  
zum gegenwartlgen Zeitpunkt

kategofischâ\204ç'abâ\204ç, sagte Reinaâ\200\231 p~~

Steenwijk. Die Reglerung in

Pretoria sei dariiber hinaus ge- Reina Steenwljk

genwidrtig militdrisch viel zu  
stark, als daB ein ,,Guerilla-  
krieg"â\200\235 Sinn hÃ©tte. Die ,,Inka-

tha"-Bewegung z#&hlt augen- '  
blicklich weit Giber zwei Millio- Âç

nen Mitglieder, darunter sehr  
viele Frauen. Sie ist nach Dar-  
stellung von Frau Steenwijk  
westlich orientiert. Die Bewe-  
gung will neben der Gleichbe-  
rechtigung aller Bevdlkerungs-

gruppen die pluralistische De-,

mokratie und die Marktwirt-

schaft in der neuen Verfassung ]

verankern.

~.Sanktionen treffen

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arme .Bevï¬\201lkerungâ\200\230 ;  
Gegen Boykott Stidafrikas 4

mat Bremen. Gegen den wie-  
derholt Â°= geforderten Wirt-  
schaftsboykott der stiidafrikani-  
schen Republik durch die Mit-  
gliedsstaaten der EuropÃ©ischen  
Gemeinschaft (EG) hat sich ge-  
stern die Direktorin des ,,Infor-  
mationszentrums tiber das siid-  
liche Afrikaâ\200\234 in Europa, Reina  
Steenwijk, ausgesprochen. Vor  
der Landespressekonferenz im  
Bremer Rathaus begriindete sie  
diesen Standpunkt mit dem  
Hinweis darauf, da durch  
Sanktionen vor allem die arme  
schwarze BevÃ©lkerung getrof-  
fen wiirde. Gleichzeitig forderte  
sie gestern das Bundeskabinett  
und die-anderen EG-Regierun-  
gen dazu auf, energisch auf ihre

Unternehmen und Manager einzuwirken, damit endlich eine Gleichbehandlung von Weißen und schwarzen Beschäftigten in den südafrikanischen Tochterfirmen von westeuropäischen Konzernen erreicht werden könne. Reina Steenwijk: „Trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen ist eine solche Gleichstellung nämlich noch lange nicht in Sicht.“

Die in den Niederlanden geborene Reina Steenwijk (37) ist seit 1983 Direktorin des in Amsterdam ansässigen „Informationszentrums über das südliche Afrika“<sup>234</sup>. Zugleich ist sie Europa-Vertreterin von „Chief\* Mangosuthu . Buthelezi, dem Präsidenten der schwarzen südafrikanischen Massenbewegung „Inkatha“ und Chefminister des sogenannten Homeland Kwa-Zulu. Buthelezi gilt als einer der schärften Kritiker und Gegner des südafrikanischen Staatspräsidenten Botha.

Die weit über zwei Millionen Mitglieder starke „Inkatha“<sup>234</sup>-Bewegung strebt auf friedlichem Weg die Aufhebung der Apartheid an. Sie ist nach den Worten von Reina Steenwijk westlich

„tiefer und die

orientiert und will in einer neu-

„Landesverfassung neben der

Gleichberechtigung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen die Demokratie Marktwirtschaft festschreiben. Die Bezeichnung „Inkatha“ ist keine Abkürzung, sondern stammt vielmehr aus der Landessprache und bezeichnet den Kopfschutz aus

„Stoff, den die Frauen traditionell

beim Tragen schwerer La-

zu schwer ist“<sup>234</sup>, betonte Reina Steenwijk gestern.

„Die Massenbewegung, die gerade unter Frauen in den vergangenen 20 Jahren einen sehr

starken Zulauf hatte, setzt sich:

vorbehaltlos für die Gleichberechtigung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen in der südafrikanischen Republik und freie Wahlen ein. Das gegenwärtige Drei-



Kammer-Parlamentssystem in Pretoria wird von ihr deshalb auch nicht anerkannt. „Wir verfolgen dabei das Prinzip, so Reina Steenwijk, ein Mann muß auch eine Stimme haben.\* Die Ausgrenzung der Schwarzen und ihre Zwangsumsiedlung in sogenannte Homelands lehne man ebenfalls kategorisch ab. Diese Homelands

sind scheinbar unabhängig von Südafrika, weil sie eine eigene

politische Ordnung haben. Reina Steenwijk: Faktisch können sie aber gar nicht allein existieren, da ihnen die finanzielle Grundlage vollständig fehlt. Ihr Budget wird allein von Pretoria

-aus finanziert.\*

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

hängigkeit Südafrikas. Unabhängigkeit der Homelands\* - von den Vereinten Nationen als ungültig erklärt worden.

men Umsturz in der Südafrika-

sten benutzen. „Im Übertrage - Einen Wirtschaftsboykott dürfte es gegen Südafrika nicht geben

nen Sinne wollen wir damit sagen, forderte gestern Reina Steenwijk, (Bild) die Direktorin des, daß die Last der Apartheid Amsterdamer Informationszentrums für das südliche Afrika

für Südafrika und seine Bevölkerung - Zusammen mit dem CDU-Politiker Dr. Ernst Miiller-Hermann Regierungsmehrheit ganz einfach erläuterte sie einen umfassenden Forderungskatalog zur dauer-

»Wir wollen keinen gewaltsamen

nischen Republik, erklärte ge-

stern die Europa-Repräsentan-

tin von, Chief Buthelezi wei-

ter. Die Regierung in Pretoria

sei militärisch auch viel zu

stark. Die augenblicklichen Ausschrei-

blitzaktionen strachten

1  
Südafrika

tungen in einigen Großstädten -

des Landes könnten nicht als  
organisierter ,Guerillakampf\*  
bezeichnet werden. Allerdings  
schloß Reina Steenwijk gestern

nicht aus, daß es eine Situation |

ebe könnte, in der auch Buthe-  
ezi seine Anhänger zu den Waf-  
fen rufen würde.,,In einer sol-  
-chen Situation sind wir aber  
noch lange nicht.â\200\234 Deshalb su-  
che man nach wie vor das Ge-  
spräch mit der Regierung in  
Pretoria, um auf diese friedliche  
Weise den Wandel doch noch  
herbeizuführen. Reina Steen-  
wijk: ,Unter den militärischen  
schwarzen Führern gilt ,Chief\*  
Buthelezi deshalb als Verräter.\*  
Trotz zahlreicher Morddrohun-  
gen lasse er sich aber nicht von  
seinem Weg abbringen.

Bilder (2): Woltemath

Absage an Wirtschaftsboykott .

Zulu-Partei will Apartheid mit eigenen Mitteln bekämpfen

Von unserem Redaktionsmitglied Volker Kaiser!,

Bremen. Ein Wirtschaftsboykott durch die Bundesrepublik und der Abzug des in Südafrika investierten Kapitals sind keine adäquaten Schritte, um das Apartheid-Regime in Pretoria unter Druck zu setzen. Solche Maßnahmen trafen vor allem die schwarze Bevölkerung des Landes, sagte Reina Steenwijk gestern vor der Bremer Landespressekonferenz. Die Hol- lag: denn, die als Europabeauftragte des Chiefministers von Kwazulu-Land, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, fungiert, beschleunigte der Bundesregierung dagegen, verantwortliches Handeln, weil Bonn gleiche Rahmenbedingungen für weiße und schwarze Arbeitnehmer befrworten. >

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

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\*

Werbung für eine Regierung aus Weißen und Schwarzen

Beauftragte berichtet aus Kwazulu in Südafrika

Von unserem Redaktionsmitglied Peter Voith

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

Landespressekonferenz über die Problematik in Südafrika referierte.

" Südafrikas Homeland Kwazulu ist eng mit der südafrikanischen Provinz Natal verwoben. Gerade heute ist es her, da machte der umstrittene schwarze Führer Schlagzeilen. Der

Land: Auf seine Initiative hin haben Gespräche über eine rassistisch gemischte Regierung

Natal/Kwazulu begonnen. An den Gesprächen, die für Südafrika Neuland bedeuten,

hmen Vertreter politischer Gruppen und  
rischaftsvereinigungen der Weilen sowie  
präsentanten der Schwarzen teil. Frau  
eenwijk zuversichtlich: ,Dies ist ein erster

pBer Schritt, um das gesamte Homeland-

pnzept der weiBen Regierung undurchfiihr-  
r zu machen.â\200\235 Denn, so glaubt sie, die Regie-  
g könne diese Pläne nicht mehr aufhalten.  
me eine Vereinbarung: zur Bildung -einer  
ultrassischenâ\200\235 Regierung fiir Natal/Kwazu-  
zustande, werde die Minderheitsregierung  
er Pieter Willem Botha ,bestimmt nicht so-  
ja sagen, sondern sie wird die weitere Ent-  
klung im gesamten Land abwarten. Aber  
n sagen kann sie letztlich auch nichtâ\200\235.

ehement verwahrte sich Frau Steenwijk

gegen die unter anderem von dem ANC erho-  
bene Forderung an die westlichen Industrie- '  
lÄnder, den Warenaustausch mit Siidafrika zu

â\200\230boykottieren. Begründung: Ein solcher Boy-

kott trÄffe nicht in erster Linie die Apartheids-  
regierung, sondern die schwarze Bevölkerung.  
Sie würde keine Arbeit mehr finden, ihre so- |  
ziale Notlage würde sich extrem verschlech-  
tern. Nur wenn große Teile der schwarzen Be-  
volkerung durch ihr Einkommen sozial abgesi- '  
â\200\230chert seien, sei es möglich, ,schwarze Macht  
auf regionaler Ebene, angefangen in den Be-  
â\200\230trieben, aufzubauenâ\200\235. : ;  
Ebensowenig wie ein Boykott westlicher In-  
dustrielÄnder führt nach Ansicht der Europa-  
Beauftragten ein bewaffneter Kampf zur Auf-  
hebung der Rassentrennung. Wenn von den  
(fast taglichen) Unruhen in Kapstadt, Johan-  
nesburg oder Pretoria berichtet werde, so han- |  
dele es sich dabei immer um eine ,uneffektive '  
Gewaltâ\200\235, die strategisch keinen Wert habe und  
nur viele Opfer â\200\224 hauptsächlich unter den  
Schwarzen â\200\224 fordere. . chRE  
â\200\230Auerdem, so Frau Steenwijk, müsse sich |  
â\200\230die Öffentlichkeit immer vor Augen führen,  
daß der Regierungsapparat bei der Zerschla- .  
' gung solcher Unruhen nur einen sehr kleinen  
Teil seiner - Polizeikräfte einsetze: ,Viele  
Schwarze haben furchtbare Angst davor, daß  
-die gesamte Polizei aufgebieten werden kÄnn-  
â\200\230te.â\200\235 Bei der militärischen Überlegenheit der  
Weißen sei ein Kampf aussichtslos sei. -  
Allerdings: Wie Frau Steenwijk einrdumte,  
schließt Buthelezi Gewalt als Mittel der politi-  
schen Auseinandersetzung nicht generell aus.  
Buthelezi werde ,nur solange den Briicken-  
bauer spielen, wie auch Fortschritte erkenn-  
bar seienâ\200\235. Wenn er diese Aufgabe nicht mehr  
wahrnehme, ,kann man nur für Siidafrika be-  
o : G S oy

sehr wohl kontrolliert werden, wie das Kapital  
verwendet wird, das deutsche Firmen in Siid-  
afrika investieren. Wirkungsvoller als ein Boy-  
kott von außen, der wieder nur eine Bevor-  
n,undung darstelle, seien Sanktionen durch  
die schwarze Bevilkerung, die inzwischen

rund 52 Prozent aller Konsumgüter kauften  
Auch deshalb sei es das Anliegen der Inkatha,  
der von Buthelezi geführten gemäßigten Zulu-  
Partei, die „schwarze Macht“ im Lande lokal  
und regional aufzubauen.

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

Zur Eskalation von Gewalt in der Kap-Repu-  
blik sagte Frau Steenwijk: „Eine wirkliche Be- |  
drohung sind diese Unruhen nicht. Die Gewalt  
ist nicht strategisch und nicht effektiv.“ Zu-  
dem habe das Apartheid-Regime erst einen  
wichtigen Teil seiner militärischen Macht ausge-  
schöpft. Allerdings hätten die punktuellen Ak- |  
tionen des Afrikanischen Nationalkongresses |  
(ANC) für einige Publizität gesorgt. Das Ver-  
hältnis zwischen ANC, der unter anderem vom  
Simbabwe aus operiert, und der Inkatha-Par-  
tei sei allerdings mehr und mehr von Rivalität  
geprägt.

Als Erfolg der von Buthelezis Inkatha-Partei  
verfolgten Politik wertete die Europabeauf-  
tragte die in der Hafenstadt Durban angelauf-  
nen Verhandlungen über eine gemischt ras-  
sische Regierung für die Provinz Natal und  
das Homeland KwaZulu. Dabei treffen schwar-  
ze Vertreter des Homeland mit den weißen  
Abordnungen der Provinzverwaltung von Na-

tal zusammen. Frau Steenwijk ist der Auffas-

sung, daß Pretoria die Pläne für eine gemein-  
same Verfassung nicht stoppen kann, auch  
wenn der Wunsch nach integrierter Legislativ-  
und Exekutivgewalt den Vorstellungen der  
Buthelezi-Regierung diametral gegenüberstehe.  
Die rund 12 Millionen Mitglieder zählende In-  
katha, die ihre Anhänger vor allem in Natal  
und Transvaal hat, sei auf dem Weg, Südafrika

zu einem gemischt-rassischen Land -  
eigentlich zu machen

/-

Bt Al

\*f V/ b

An Apologist fot Botha?

President Reagan has jumped to the defense of a fellow president: \*â\200\234Itâ\200\231s just like me, dealing with the Hill up here,â\200\235 he said in his news

conference last week. â\200\234Sometimes he can't get 7

all that he seeks. I can tell you that he agrees with us and finds the past system repugnant and is trying to get changes .as quckly as- possible.â\200\235 To describe all thiÂ¢ understanding for Pieter W. Botha of South Africa as wishful is too kind. It verges on insult to those in South Africa whom Mr. Botha has misled â\200\224 includ- ing his foreign minister and the least militant black leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.-

At a press briefing in February, R.F. Botha, the foreign minister, unwisely expressed what

he thought was his government's policy: â\200\234As ,

lone as we can agree in a suitable way on the

protection of minority rights without a racial s .gress. Better-off blacks are taking to the

sting .., then it would possibly become un- avoidable that in future you might have a black president of this country.â\200\235 But even this

minimal statement was instantly rejected by

\* Mr. Botha, who forced his colleague to recant, Is it true, as Mr. Reagan says, that Mr,

Botha â\200\234agrees with usâ\200\235? He has made it plain -

he wants to discard â\200\234apartheidâ\200\235 in name only, while preserving white and Afrikaner domin-

ion. Far from engaging in give-and-take with' liis opponents â\200\224 as Mr. Reagan does onCapi- .

101 Hill â\200\224 Mr. Botha refuses to bargain with Jeaders of a rebellious black majority. The best

measure of Mr. Bothaâ\200\231s failure to reach out is

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

\_Speaking last week to his KwaZulu â\200\234home- landâ\200\235 parliament, the chief remarked tartly of Mr. Botha: â\200\234This man has got his head so' - deeply buried in the sand that you will have to recognize him by the shape of his toes.â\200\235 Mr. Buthelezi said that Mr. Botha has so lost touch with reality that he believes that real reforms

can be fended off for a generation. Coming from a black long willing to work within Mr. Botha's system, that is a devastating judgment.

There are other signs of hardening attitudes. Bishop Desmond Tutu, a moderate, saying he now has "no hope" of change from Mr. Botha,

, Now supports sanctions and has come close to

endorsing the radical African National Con-

gress: .The wife of the chairman of the Afri-

- can Chamber of Commerce was among 2,000

arrested at a recent demonstration.

Mr. Reagan asks blacks to believe that Mr, Botha is a misunderstood reformer. Granted, Mr. Reagan has always insisted that "private diplomacy" works better in promoting

changes in Pretoria. But it is one thing to retain

- Mr..Botha's confidence, and another to act as his apologist, Why should an administration that crusades. for freedom everywhere else make excuses for South Africa?

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