

# SIMON BARBER reports from WASHINGTON

**W**ASHINGTON has been eerily quiet on the South Africa front for the past couple of months. A Press conference on child detainees here, an amendment requiring the administration to investigate S A's oil supplies there — perfunctory stuff mostly. The State Department spokesman has sometimes had to volunteer reactions to Pretoria's outrage of the day because reporters haven't asked the question.

Even at last week's 75 000-strong 'mobilisation' in the capital to protest US policy in Central America and southern Africa, the latter took a back seat.

Senator Alan Cranston and Congressman Ron Dellums have their total sanctions bills in the hopper, of course, but no-one is taking the things very seriously. Congressman Dellums himself has told the administration's congressional liaison people that he doesn't foresee much happening this year. Economic aid for the 'front-line states is the priority, and that has hardly been grabbing headlines. This may have something to do with the embarrassing fact that there isn't enough money in the foreign aid budget and SADCC isn't sexy enough to make a fuss about.

**C**ONGRESSMAN Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee, has promised hearings into how the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act (CAAA) is being implemented — inadequately is the conclusion he is driving at — but they keep getting deferred. The new chairman of the Senate Africa Subcommittee, Senator Paul Simon, has not even been heard from, partly no doubt because he is too busy readying his improbable bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mozambique is a hottish topic, if a somewhat confused and marginal one. The Right continues to gird it loins to have Renamo placed on the Reagan doctrine's list of freedom fighters. The State Department, now genuinely afraid for Frelimo's survival, is de-

ploying some of its star performers, including Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost, to plead for aid for the embattled regime. An interesting coalition, involving such Centre-Right Republicans as Senators William Roth and Mitch McConnell and the ultra-Liberal John Ker-

## All quiet N. MERCURY on the S A 5 MAY 1987 front, but the lull is temporary

ry (Senator Edward Kennedy's Massachusetts colleague), is forming to block the aid in a 'pox-on-both-your-houses' stance.

**C**OULD it be that Mozambique is going to become the next marxist government selected by Democrats to prove they aren't such wimps after all? Angola was the victim of choice in 1984 when the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives tried to look tough by repealing the Clark Amendment.

On the subject of Angola, no-one seems to have paid the slightest attention to Dr Chester Crocker's talks with Interior Minister Kito Rodrigues in Brazzaville a few weeks ago, billed though these talks were as the 'reopening of negotiations'.

Hair growing on the legs of a corpse, more like.

Does anyone remember 'linkage' or Namibian independence these days? There has been some excitement over what appear to be preparations for Fapla's annual dry season push, but almost none over the Pentagon's announced wish to have access to an airfield in southern Zaire — flammable material, surely.

In short, southern Africa has temporarily moved off Washington's scope and normality has returned after a three-year absence.

Part of the explanation is that the Reagan Administration's opponents have found other ways of skinning the cat. Irangate — the

congressional hearings begin tomorrow and promise to rivet the capital's attention for a good two months or so — is one. Beating up on little yellow men who make products too many Americans want to buy is another. Japan (South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore can't be far behind) is this year's vote-pulling sanction of choice.

**A**NOTHER reason, but one that will all too likely evaporate as soon as electoral imperatives dictate, is doubt. Second thoughts on the efficacy of the comprehensive anti-apartheid act and on the concomitant spate of disinvestment are now widespread, though not deep enough to act as a reliable brake. The new health of the south african economy has been noted as has Pretoria's undiminished brutishness. Neither has moral certainty been advanced by episodes like Cosatu's lynching of blacklegs last week.

Also observed, even by the likes of Congressman Walter Fauntroy, are the killings being made by white South African businessmen as American companies sell out at below market value, not to mention the fact that the new owners are scrapping Sullivan code-type programs for their black employees. The Swedes, always a reliable weathervane of Leftish con-

ventional wisdom, say they may modify their sanctions as a result. And it is reliably reported that the Rev Leon Sullivan is feverishly seeking an out to his threat to abandon his principles and call for total disinvestment if the millennium doesn't dawn by the end of the month.

That said, the temptation to have another go will mount steadily as the 1988

elections approach. Assuming that in the interim the Reagan Administration does not do something provocative like trying to launch a doomed multilateral negotiation effort on the lines the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, and assuming, far more gingerly, that the South African Government doesn't pull a spectacular atrocity, things should get moving in September when the President is obliged to report on Pretoria's progress and recommend what further sanctions should be imposed.

**S**INCE the list of options helpfully set out by the CAAA were mostly imposed anyway in other sections of the Bill and the remaining alternatives are unthinkable (bans on strategic minerals and all South African deposits in US banks), and seeing as how the President would refuse to impose them even if they could be thought, his report is going to be controversial. The controversy will be well-timed to coincide with the 1988 presidential election season getting serious.

South Africa was not an issue in 1984, becoming one only afterwards when it was about the only rallying cry available for the eviscerated Left. 1988 will be rather different for two closely connected reasons. One is the Rev Jesse Jackson. The other is March 8, more commonly known as Super Tuesday, when virtually all Southern States go to the polls to select delegates to the party nominating conventions. For most candidates, this will be Armageddon, the ultimate winnowing.

Blacks usually account for between a quarter and a third of the vote in Southern primaries. Most are likely Jackson supporters, which makes life extraordinarily difficult for the remaining Democrats — probably at least five or six candidates by that stage, none of whom have especially strong ties to the black community. It goes without saying that there



will be a frenzied rush to look more royalist than the king.

**C**ONGRESSMAN Richard Gephardt, best known as the first Democrat officially to declare himself in the race, has already been told by his handlers to stress his support for sanctions. Senator Joseph Biden, though not yet declared, has been getting his ducks in line for well over a year. He was the senator whose face was on the front of every major U S newspaper last July when he erupted in righteous indignation at Secretary of State George Shultz during Foreign Relations Committee hearings on South Africa. The picture is often reproduced. Biden knew exactly what he was doing.

Make no mistake, the lull is temporary.

5 May 1987



5 MAY 1987

10

The Natal Mercury,

## Edgar Tekere is fired for 'misconduct'

HARARE—A former terrorist chieftain and longtime trusted aide of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has been fired for misconduct from his key post as ruling party chairman in one of Zimbabwe's eight provinces, newspapers reported yesterday.

Edgar Tekere, 50, was the second veteran nationalist politician to be axed as a provincial chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) in five months.

The 15-member party Politburo, on December 20, dismissed Masvingo provincial chairman Eddison Zvobgo for misconduct after finding him guilty of swearing at a fellow official and behaving in a tribal manner.

Both politicians controlled the party's affairs in their own tribal strongholds. Mr Zvobgo is a Karanga, the dominant clan of Mr Mugabe's Shona tribe in Masvingo, while Mr Tekere is a Manica, a Shona clan from Manicaland. Mr Mugabe himself is of the Zezuru clan.

### Reform

Zanu (PF) administrative secretary Maurice Nyagumbo, announcing the latest dismissal, said Mr Tekere was found guilty by the Politburo of irresponsibility and tarnishing the image of the party.

Mr Nyagumbo said the party had gone out of its way to help Mr Tekere 'mend his ways' but now concluded he could not reform.

Mr Nyagumbo, who is also Co-operative Development Minister, did not specify Mr Tekere's misconduct.

Zanu (PF) insiders, however, said Mr Tekere sought to create a political fiefdom in Manicaland and publicly opposed Mr Mugabe's avowed aim of establishing a one-party state.

They also noted he had

been convicted in court of drunken driving for which he was fined 1 000 Zimbabwe dollars and stripped of his license for two weeks in 1985.

### Acquitted

Mr Tekere, the son of an Anglican priest and a founding member of Mr Mugabe's party in 1963, gained international notoriety a few months after independence from Britain in April 1985 in a highly publicised murder trial.

Mr Tekere was acquitted in a split verdict by the High Court in December that year on a technicality of leading seven armed bodyguards in an attack on a white farmhouse near Harare and killing the occupant, 67-year-old caretaker Gerald Adams.

The 2-1 verdict was based on a law passed by former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's white minority regime shielding Cabinet ministers acting 'in good faith' to suppress terrorism. The law has since been rescinded.

Mr Tekere, Minister of Manpower, Planning and Development at the time of his trial, did not deny his role in the killing. He argued that he believed a plot against the Government was being hatched on the farm. — (Sapa-AP)



21

## Students arrested

Bowden

From Page 1 05/05/87

large number of students gathered between buildings on the campus where speakers began addressing the groups.

At about 1.15pm the police arrived on the campus and verbally informed those present that the gathering was illegal and were requested to disperse.

The group refused to comply with the order and began throwing stones at the police and then moved into the Old Mutual Sports Hall. The police entered the hall and arrested 120 students.

The police statement said several slogans including "Viva ANC and Viva SACP", had been placed on the walls.

The announcement banning the meeting had been broadcast on the radio at 12.15pm and a notice was placed outside the hall where the meeting was due to have taken place.



# SASH FLAYS SA'S 'CIVIL WAR'

SOUTH AFRICA is worthy of a greater love than blind adherence to policies that have wrecked the economy and seen thousands die in townships and now on city streets, the Black Sash said in a statement yesterday.

"The actions at Cosatu House (trade union headquarters in Johannesburg raided twice by police in the past two weeks) and the shootings on the campus of the University of Cape Town should have shocked South Africans to the core," the statement said.

The "civil war" the country had experienced for nearly three years had come out of the townships and into the cities, the statement said.

How much longer before it knocked on suburban doors?

"How much longer before white South Africans sit up and say 'no, apartheid must end, the shooting must stop'?"

"Children need peace, we cannot detain them or fill their minds with fear and hatred.

"Our children have to be protected and taught to love. None of this will be achieved unless we have justice for all, and government by consent," the Sash said.

The Black Sash said its aim was to see, "one South Africa, one people", so that the country's "ironic" motto, "Unity Is Strength" would be fulfilled.

These issues had been ignored in an election "pockmarked with trivia and astonishing racial hatred", the statement said.

The "lie of apartheid reform" had been exposed.

"White voters think of your children and the encroaching war," the statement added. — Sapa.

Sowetan 05/04/87

'The

shootings

must

stop'

16/1/77



# CLASH AT WITS

Sowetan

## Students in protest over whites-only elections



MRS WINNIE Mandela  
... she was to address  
meeting.

SOWETAN  
Reporters  
and SAPA

AT LEAST 120  
Wits University  
students were  
arrested yesterday  
after a meeting to  
protest against the  
whites-only elec-  
tions was banned at  
the campus.

The meeting, which  
was to have been  
addressed by Mrs  
Winnie Mandela, wife  
of the jailed leader of  
the African National  
Congress, Nelson  
Mandela, was banned

16/1/77



## Millions watch Shaka in Aussie

### Mercury Correspondent

MELBOURNE—In spite of isolated pockets of protest from anti-apartheid groups in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, the R24-million television mini-series *Shaka Zulu* is being beamed nightly to millions across Australia.

In Melbourne the ANC's representative, Mr Terry February, joined the Rev Richard Wootton and about 30 others in a protest outside the studio of television station Channel 9, which bought, for an undisclosed sum, the right to screen the 10-hour epic over five nights.

Mr February alleged the series was made with the connivance of the South African Government and said its prof-

its would be returned to Pretoria in support of apartheid.

A Channel 9 spokesman denied the claims and said since the film was produced by a US company its sale to Australia was seen as an international transaction.

'Naturally we deplore apartheid,' the spokesman said.

According to reviewer Michelle Fincke in the high-circulation Melbourne Herald, '*Shaka Zulu* was an ambitious project'.

She says that while at times the production bogged down in detail of Zulu tribal customs, 'it is involving, impressive and a spectacle which is well worth the 10-hour investment'.

## P W reacts to PFP advert quote

### Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—President Botha yesterday sent a letter to the PFP through his attorneys to object to a PFP advertisement in which the President was quoted saying ANC leader Nelson Mandela 'can rot in prison'.

PFP secretary-general Robin Carlisle said yesterday the compilers of the advertisement had relied on the Financial Mail of February 13 as the source for the quote and were now aware of the subsequent article on the subject in the paper of February 20.

The PFP notes Mr Botha's denial of the statement attributed to him and has no fur-

ther comment to make at this stage,' Mr Carlisle said.

The Financial Mail reported that President Botha had made the statement to foreign correspondents at an informal reception, but he later denied it.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he had informed all South African representatives abroad about the advertisement.

He had instructed them to give the highest priority to ensuring that leaders and the media overseas were informed forthwith of the truth.

(Report by M du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

● See Page 10



# The Natal Mercury

TUESDAY, MAY 5, 1987

## SOCK IT TO THEM!

ELECTION rhetoric good, bad and downright indifferent — even irrelevant — has been washing over voters in the past few weeks leaving many exhausted and bewildered in turbulent cross currents frantically trying to reach the safety of the shore; in this case a South Africa with a peaceful future. For that, essentially, is what this election's all about.

Who to entrust with rescue from the seemingly endless violence of those demanding a place in the future they have been denied so long? A country so debilitated by it all that the economy seems capable of little more than erratic surges, more because of its own inherent strength than any Government stimulants or intelligent action.

And as our strength is wasted a Government whose only resort is to crude balms and archaic constitutional potions meant to hide its own incompetence, repeatedly and unimaginatively turns to drastic purgatives, confinements, medieval whippings and bloodletting in the hope of effecting a cure or at least arresting decay.

While at the sickbed the physician-in-chief, one P W Botha, insists there will be no cure (reform) until the patient's stopped kicking — his exact words, *until law and order has been restored*. A pretty crude prognosis.

Indeed, he was quite blunt. Without economic sunshine and law and order there would definitely be no reform!

Which sounds quaintly like putting the wagon before the ox or passing judgment before hearing the pleas. For without dealing with the needs of the massive black majority that

even the most foolish among us knows has been unfairly treated; knows cannot be contained by force indefinitely; and knows in the end result must be accommodated reasonably in a shared society, the raging inflammation and violence will remain.

Now it's time those sort of people stopped being damned foolish, selfish, uncaring and downright suicidal. If not for themselves then for their children and their children's children.

Let's start with the fact that really there's nowhere else most of them would find worth going, even if they could or wanted to. After all, half that go come back anyway! Why, because we're South Africans!

And if it makes no sense to go, and we can't suppress the majority indefinitely, which we can't — even General Magnus Malan having told us as much with President Botha occasionally nodding in agreement when there's no chance the terrible Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, might have seen him doing so on television — then it's surely got to be negotiation.

And it shouldn't be difficult to appreciate that the time to be talking is while we are militarily and numerically strong and can bring some real conviction and persuasiveness to bear getting the best deal we can. — unlike poor old Ian Smith, who was on his knees and had even had the squeeze put on him by Prime Minister John Vorster to start talking or else.

We really shouldn't go on fooling ourselves. We cannot continue to hope that 'something will come along'.

Mr Botha concedes we've got to talk. The leader of the NRP-PFP Alliance says we should have been talking a long time ago.

Short of the totally unexpected, the most we will see after tomorrow's vote is the rearrangement of a few seats. The Conservative Party will lose a few they gained by changing Nationalist jackets — and they'll win a few. The Alliance hopes to pick up some and a solitary Independent, former Nat Wynand Malan, could just slip in. So there'll be no great upheaval.

— an irrevocable white veto, which is really why they keep arguing 'group rights' and talk of 'equal power sharing'.

Nat policy reduces itself to acceptance of only those reforms which don't endanger white group areas, schools and hospitals and do not deprive them of a final say over whatever they regard as their own business or don't like. All else is negotiable.

The Alliance says trust, an independent judiciary, a Bill of Rights and other checks and balances still to be negotiated in a process like that of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba is the only acceptable course forward.

So when YOU make your cross tomorrow, think of your family's future. Think whom you can trust to negotiate a future for them. And, above all, remember that the unenfranchised black majority is hoping you are going to be prepared to share something with them. Finally, they also need to be persuaded that they can put their trust in whomever you chose to negotiate that future.

They're hoping you'll choose someone you both can trust because they are just as sick and tired of radicals and their violence as you are! As far as we are aware, no black of any consequence has been talking to the Nats. So why not shake some sense into the Nats by voting for the Alliance?



# NATAL MERCURY

5 MAY 1987

## Nusas to vote on one person, one vote system ✓

Political Reporter

THE greatest investment South African whites could make would be to support a one person, one vote system, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Mokoena was speaking at the University of Natal at the launch of a campaign at all National Union of South African Student (Nusas) affiliated campuses around the May 6 whites-only election.

Mr Mokoena said whites should identify with the 'oppressed masses' because they were going to rule the country.

'We are not going to throw whites into the sea.'

He said apartheid had created certain fallacies and whites were not told the truth about what was happening.

'You don't need agitators from Moscow or Cuba to tell people that they are hungry or out of work.'

Mr Sibusiso Sithole, local branch member of the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), said it was 'stupid' to say majority rule meant rule only by blacks.

'The country belongs to everybody and majority rule encompasses all the people of this country.'

Mr Sithole said there should not be concessions and minority vetoes as in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Mr Jonathan Slinger, University of Natal, Durban, Students' Representative Council (SRC) president, said the Nusas campaign included a referendum for students to vote on whether they accepted the concept of one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa.

Mr Slinger said polling had started yesterday at the Universities of Natal, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Rhodes.

He said the referendum would continue today and tomorrow and the results were expected to be released on Thursday morning.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# The Natal Mercury

TUESDAY, MAY 5, 1987

## SOCK IT TO THEM!

ELECTION rhetoric good, bad and downright indifferent — even irrelevant — has been washing over voters in the past few weeks leaving many exhausted and bewildered in turbulent cross currents frantically trying to reach the safety of the shore; in this case a South Africa with a peaceful future. For that, essentially, is what this election's all about.

Who to entrust with rescue from the seemingly endless violence of those demanding a place in the future they have been denied so long? A country so debilitated by it all that the economy seems capable of little more than erratic surges, more because of its own inherent strength than any Government stimulants or intelligent action.

And as our strength is wasted a Government whose only resort is to crude balms and archaic constitutional potions meant to hide its own incompetence, repeatedly and unimaginatively turns to drastic purgatives, confinements, medieval whippings and bloodletting in the hope of effecting a cure or at least arresting decay.

While at the sickbed the physician-in-chief, one P W Botha, insists there will be no cure (reform) until the patient's stopped kicking — his exact words, *until law and order has been restored*. A pretty crude prognosis.

Indeed, he was quite blunt. Without economic sunshine and law and order there would definitely be no reform!

Which sounds quaintly like putting the wagon before the ox or passing judgment before hearing the pleas. For without dealing with the needs of the massive black majority that even the most foolish among us knows has been unfairly treated; knows cannot be contained by force indefinitely; and knows in the end result must be accommodated reasonably in a shared society, the raging inflammation and violence will remain.

Now it's time those sort of people stopped being damned foolish, selfish, uncaring and downright suicidal. If not for themselves then for their children and their children's children.

Let's start with the fact that really there's nowhere else most of them would find worth going, even if they could or wanted to. After all, half that go come back anyway! Why, because we're South Africans!

And if it makes no sense to go, and we can't suppress the majority indefinitely, which we can't — even General Magnus Malan having told us as much with President Botha occasionally nodding in agreement when there's no chance the terrible Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, might have seen him doing so on television — then it's surely got to be negotiation.

And it shouldn't be difficult to appreciate that the time to be talking is while we are militarily and numerically strong and can bring some real conviction and persuasiveness to bear getting the best deal we can. — unlike poor old Ian Smith, who was on his knees and had even had the squeeze put on him by Prime Minister John Vorster to start talking or else.

We really shouldn't go on fooling ourselves. We cannot continue to hope that 'something will come along'.

Mr Botha concedes we've got to talk. The leader of the NRP-PFP Alliance says we should have been talking a long time ago.

Short of the totally unexpected, the most we will see after tomorrow's vote is the rearrangement of a few seats. The Conservative Party will lose a few they gained by changing Nationalist jackets — and they'll win a few. The Alliance hopes to pick up some and a solitary Independent, former Nat Wynand Malan, could just slip in. So there'll be no great upheaval.

Dr Denis Worrall, whatever his former colleagues might say, has put his finger on it. The Nats thought they could buy time, as usual, with the crumbs of influx control and other bits and pieces but leadership has degenerated into political sightlessness. They still think they can hang on indefinitely to what the *volk* regard as a bloodright — an irrevocable white veto, which is really why they keep arguing 'group rights' and talk of 'equal power sharing'.

Nat policy reduces itself to acceptance of only those reforms which don't endanger white group areas, schools and hospitals and do not deprive them of a final say over whatever they regard as their own business or don't like. All else is negotiable.

The Alliance says trust, an independent judiciary, a Bill of Rights and other checks and balances still to be negotiated in a process like that of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba is the only acceptable course forward.

So when YOU make your cross tomorrow, think of your family's future. Think whom you can trust to negotiate a future for them. And, above all, remember that the unenfranchised black majority is hoping you are going to be prepared to share something with them. Finally, they also need to be persuaded that they can put their trust in whomever you chose to negotiate that future.

They're hoping you'll choose someone you both can trust because they are just as sick and tired of radicals and their violence as you are! As far as we are aware, no black of any consequence has been talking to the Nats. So why not shake some sense into the Nats by voting for the Alliance?



# 'Enormous amount of tension' at varsity

## Mercury Reporter

**THE** disturbance surrounding the Clover ice-cream boycott at the University of Durban-Westville was one of several minor incidents of friction between different groups at the university this year, acting rector Prof Michael Smout said yesterday.

He said there was an enormous amount of tension at the University of Durban-Westville and other universities around the country because of events nationally.

He said he had looked into Friday's incident in which students, boycotting Clover because of the alleged unfair dismissal of workers in Pietermaritzburg last year, grabbed ice-cream from students eating it in dining halls and threw it away.

## No action

He had also looked into slogans, including 'death threats' to Indian students.

No action would be taken by the university authorities unless a specific complaint was made against any person. The students had not officially asked the university to change their diets or complained about ice-cream being served.

Any such requests or complaints would be considered by the university authorities, he said.

Prof Smout said a university could be regarded as a microcosm of South African society and the 'enormous amount of tension' being experienced at the university, which is non-racial, was a reflection of tensions countrywide.

Tensions were running particularly high at the university because, of about 8 000 students, fewer than 500 would be able to vote tomorrow, he said.



# X Chief slams N. MERCURY 5 MAY 1987 'war' talk X

## African Affairs Correspondent

**ULUNDI—KwaZulu MPs rushed back to their constituencies last night after the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was hurriedly adjourned following a call by the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions for a two-day stayaway in protest against tomorrow's whites-only election.**

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the call for the stayaway from work and school was a 'declaration of war'.

He said such an action was 'grossly irresponsible' at a time when most black people were in dire economic straits.

'What we will see in the next few days is nothing but intimidation by these people calling for the stayaway,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He questioned whether stayaway organisers would see to the needs of workers who might be dismissed because of their actions.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Member for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, alleged in a letter read by KwaZulu Chief Whip Prince Gideon Zulu that shots had been fired into the air at the end of a meeting held to discuss the stayaway at the Umlazi Cinema on Sunday night.

Pamphlets calling for the stayaway were distributed throughout the greater Durban area, and also in Ladysmith, according to Chief Buthelezi.

He read the pamphlet, which says: 'The UDF, Cosatu and other democratic movements have called on our people for two days of national protest on May 5 and 6. We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa, support this call.'

## Protection

He said it protested against the whites-only election and called on the Government to 'scrap the racist Parliament'; to unban the ANC; to release political prisoners; to end the state of emergency; to keep 'hands off the UDF and Cosatu' and to withdraw SADF units from the townships.

It called on members of the public to stay away from work and school and not to shop in town; for shops to be closed and for taxi and bus services between the townships and towns to be suspended for the two days.

It also called on the youth to observe the stayaway in a 'disciplined way' and explain it to the rest of the community.

It added that health workers and journalists were excluded from the stayaway, but that health workers must wear uniforms and that journalists must carry identity cards.

Chief Buthelezi said that although the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had no quarrel with the sentiments of the organisers of the stayaway in relation to the urgency surrounding the abolition of apartheid, it disagreed with the observation of stayaways.

'We reject black-on-black violence as a way of dismantling apartheid,' he said.

'Blacks have been intimidated by whites for decades. We cannot accept being intimidated by blacks in the name of freedom,' he said.

Adjourning the Legislative Assembly until Thursday, he said it was fitting that the members be in their constituencies during the stayaway.

'It is right for the people to have the wisdom and protection of the leaders in their

own communities,' he said.

'The business of this House is the business of the people, and the business of the people happens not to be here for the next few days, but in the communities where the people are,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'People have been talking of the new dawn,' he added. 'If this is the new dawn, God save us from our liberators.'

Sapa reports that police were fully aware of planned action by certain radical organisations and individuals and steps had already been taken to 'foil' them, the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johann Coetzee, said.

In an interview in Pretoria he said security forces would be out in full strength and well prepared to handle any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections.

The Divisional Inspector of Police in Port Natal, Brig Jaap Venter, issued a warning to intimidators.

'People should be warned that we will be out in full strength and we will act swiftly and professionally if necessary and I appeal to law abiding citizens to carry on their daily lives as normal,' he said.

(Report by W Harper, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



NATAL MERCURY 5 MAY 1987

## Democracy 'the only way'

MAX DU PREEZ, Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Dirk Mudge, architect of the Turnhalle Conference of Ethnic Groups in 1975 and now chairman of the DTA and Cabinet Minister in Namibia's Transitional Government, has poured buckets of cold water over the entire concept of group as the cornerstone of political structures.

Once known as Mr Ethnicity because his entire political philosophy had been based on groups, he now declares: 'There is only one way to protect minority rights and that is the democratic system.'

Mr Mudge's view on compulsory group classification, the division of own and general affairs and the statutory protection of minority rights, as explained in an interview published in the latest edition of the Afrikaans magazine, Die Suid-Afrikaan, fundamentally undermines the whole philosophy underlying the NP's plans for a new South Africa.

He says everyone is so obsessed with group rights and protection, but what is really behind it is white fears for black domination. The only solution, his experience has taught him, is to get common ground between groups and minorities and form a unity around that.

One cannot use colour as a common bond, because then whites are in the minority. If you use language or culture, you divide the white community into several groups. That common ground has to be a political and economic

philosophy.

He explained how the first interim government was based on 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' divisions, but did not work. It made him realise that the best recipe is for the whites to work themselves out of a minority situation and become part of the majority.

'The instrument is the political party. That is the only way that I can get somewhere as a minority group. Otherwise I do not have a hope. The surest way to isolate yourself is to say I stand on my own. That way you define yourself out of a majority,' he says.

His experience in South West Africa showed him that absolute freedom of association is the only way. That means open schools and open residential areas. In SWA residential areas have been open for all for several years now and there have been no problems or incidents whatsoever. Even arch-conservative whites have accepted it fully. The same is now happening with schools.

On negotiation with the revolutionary movement, in his case Swapo, Mr Mudge says that is essential. In the case of SWA, he does not believe it is realistic to insist that Swapo first abandon violence — negotiation between S A and Swapo has taken place already without Swapo having done that.

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



5 MAY 1987

The Natal Mercury, Tu

# Directors pledge support for Chris Ball

Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG**—The Institute of Directors, a 1 500 strong group representing company directors, said yesterday that it stood behind businessmen who showed support for First National Bank managing director Chris Ball.

A spokesman for the institute said it acted as a voice for individual directors. It upheld the principle of free speech and accepted that business and politics were interlinked, particularly in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the response from senior executives to a call for the support of Mr Ball is unlikely to be revealed to the public.

Mr Mervyn King, one of the signatories to the letter which noted businessmen's continued backing of Mr Ball, said the issue was a private one between business and the bank.

He added that it was not his function to keep a scorecard of the responses, and that it was more important that the bank knew of the backing it had in 'our present economic and political climate'.

Mr King expected the letter to be handed to First National Bank chairman Basil Hersov who, he said, was at liberty to make it public knowledge if he chose.

## The Indaba 'guff'

**SIR** — The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is fast becoming a focal point of contention in the forthcoming elections, with the liberalist parties and Press media in the forefront expounding its merits.

One can only hope the whites of South Africa do not swallow all the guff as did the white Rhodesians. The whites of South Africa should recall all the fast and fancy talking that took place in the run-up to the 'infamous' Lancaster House Agreement, and eventual transition of power to the blacks.

One remembers only too well the liberalists and Press media of South Africa extolling the 'butter wouldn't melt in his mouth' virtues of Robert Mugabe. The sarcastic phrases of 'now that did not hurt did it?', 'the sky did not fall in' were bandied about after transition to black rule. Well, it did hurt and 'the sky did fall in'!

And now the liberalist Press media of South Africa have made a complete about-face, labelling Robert Mugabe a vicious dictator who has put a once rich and thriving country in the 'begging bowl' category!

With this in mind, one can only view the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as South Africa's Lancaster House Agreement and, those liberalist spokesmen along with the Press media as the Lord Carringtons, Heaths and Crocker of South Africa!

And, of course Chief Buthelezi as the Robert Mugabe of South Africa.

J M VAN WYNGAARD

1 Delalle Road  
Woodlands  
Durban



5 MAY 1987

The Natal Mercury, Tu

# New U S bid to curb S A investment

Simon Barber

**WASHINGTON**—The United States House of Representatives has opened a potential new line of attack for the anti-apartheid campaign by approving legislation that would require foreign investors to register their U S holdings publicly.

The measure, which has yet to be passed by the Senate, raises the possibility of banning South African investment in the U S, and could also subject South African investors to unwelcome scrutiny by Pretoria.

Congress has already barred the South African government from holding U S bank accounts and has given itself the option of extending the ban to cover all South Africans in any further round of sanctions legislation.

Cathy Bowers, a South African analyst with the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, said the centre had received inquiries about investment levels in the U S and predicted that the proposed registry could be used to penalise South Africa.

The provision, approved last week as part of the House's highly protectionist Trade Bill, would affect investors with holdings worth more than \$150 000 (about R300 000).

## Fines

Any foreign individual, business or government would have to file a detailed public disclosure statement if they owned 5% or more of any U S property or interest with a market value greater than \$3 000 000 (about R6 000 000).

Penalties for non-compliance include fines of up to \$10 000 (about R20 000) a week and a year in jail.

The proposal's sponsor, Congressman John Bryant, a Texas Democrat, said the purpose was to enable the Government to monitor foreign investment as it struggles with its massive trade and budget deficits.

'The amount of foreign ownership in the U S has doubled in the past five years. There is clearly a trend of massive proportions in our country and yet we know very little about it,' Mr George Slover, a spokesman for the congressmen explained.

The move was hotly contested by the American real estate industry, among others.

## Kaunda flays UK for funds threat

**LUSAKA**—President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia attacked the British Government yesterday for threatening to withhold aid funds following Zambia's break with International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity policies last week.

'The British have already said in the Press that they would not give us aid at all. An honest government would have to wait and see what our new programme is like before taking action,' he told a rally in support of his decision on the IMF.

President Kaunda was referring to a Times of Zambia interview yesterday, which quoted the British High Commissioner, Kelvin White, as saying the decision to abandon IMF policies would have an adverse effect on British aid to Zambia.

Mr White said the newspaper had misquoted him and that Britain would withhold only the funds which would have gone into the foreign exchange auction system.

Last Friday President Kaunda announced the abolition of the IMF-inspired auction system and said Zambia would revert to a fixed exchange rate, initially set at 8,0 kwacha to the dollar.

He also limited debt service payments to less than 10% of foreign exchange earnings and said Zambia would embark on a new economic strategy with greater Government controls.

In his address yesterday, he accused unnamed outside forces of conspiring with the Zambian trade unions to overthrow his Government.

'Our patience is not weakness. When the time comes for us to strike, we will hit hard.' — (Sapa-Reuter)



SO when YOU make your cross tomorrow, think of your family's future. Think whom you can trust to negotiate a future for them. And, above all, remember that the unenfranchised black majority is hoping you are going to be prepared to share something with them. Finally, they also need to

## Opinion

be persuaded that they can put their trust in whomever you chose to negotiate that future.

They're hoping you'll choose someone you both can trust because they

are just as sick and tired of radicals and their violence as you are! As far as we are aware, no black of any consequence has been talking to the Nats. So why not shake some sense into the Nats by voting for the Alliance?

See Page 8

# Chief slams *Natal Mercury 5/5/87* 'war' talk

### African Affairs Correspondent

**ULUNDI**—KwaZulu MPs rushed back to their constituencies last night after the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was hurriedly adjourned following a call by the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions for a two-day stayaway in protest against tomorrow's whites-only election.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the call for the stayaway from work and school was a 'declaration of war'.

He said such an action was 'grossly irresponsible' at a time when most black people were in dire economic straits.

'What we will see in the next few days is nothing but intimidation by these people calling for the stayaway,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He questioned whether stayaway organisers would see to the needs of workers who might be dismissed because of their actions.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Member for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, alleged in a letter read by KwaZulu Chief Whip Prince Gideon Zulu that shots had been fired into the air at the end of a meeting held to discuss the stayaway at the Umlazi Cinema on Sunday night.

### Whites-only

Pamphlets calling for the stayaway were distributed throughout the greater Durban area, and also in Ladysmith, according to Chief Buthelezi.

He read the pamphlet, which says: 'The UDF, Cosatu and other democratic movements have called on our people for two days of national protest on May 5 and 6. We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa, support this call.'

He said it protested against the whites-only election and called on the Government to 'scrap the racist Parliament'; to unban the ANC; to release political prisoners; to end the state of emergency; to keep 'hands off the UDF and Cosatu' and to withdraw SADF units from the townships.

It called on members of the public to stay away from work and school and not to shop in town; for shops to be closed and for taxi and bus services between the townships and towns to be suspended for the two days.

It also called on the youth to observe the stayaway in a 'disciplined way' and explain it to the rest of the community.

It added that health workers and journalists were excluded from the stayaway, but that health workers must wear uniforms and that journalists must carry identity cards.

Chief Buthelezi said that although the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had no quarrel with the sentiments of the organisers of the stayaway, in relation to the urgency surrounding the abolition of apartheid, it disagreed with the observation of stayaways.

'We reject black-on-black violence as a way of dismantling apartheid,' he said.

'Blacks have been intimidated by whites for decades. We cannot accept being intimidated by blacks in the name of freedom,' he said.

### New dawn

Adjourning the Legislative Assembly until Thursday, he said it was fitting that the members be in their constituencies during the stayaway.

'The business of this House is the business of the people, and the business of the people happens not to be here for the next few days, but in the communities where the people are,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'People have been talking of the new dawn,' he added. 'If this is the new dawn, God save us from our liberators.'

Sapa reports that police were fully aware of planned action by certain radical organisations and individuals and steps had already been taken to 'foil' them, the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johann Coetzee, said.

In an interview in Pretoria he said security forces would be out in full strength and well prepared to handle any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections.

The Divisional Inspector of Police in Port Natal, Brig Jaap Venter, issued a warning to intimidators.

'People should be warned that we will be out in full strength and will act swiftly and professionally if necessary. I appeal to law abiding citizens to carry on their daily lives as normal,' he said.

(Report by W Harper, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Buthelezi urges whites to vote for reconciliation

BY ANTHONY ROBINSON IN DURBAN

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of 6m Zulus, last night told whites to keep blacks in mind when they cast their vote in Wednesday's whites-only election.

At an election rally closing the campaign of the allied Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and New Republic Party (NRP) in Durban, Chief Buthelezi told whites to reject the apartheid plans of President P. W. Botha and vote instead for "politics of negotiation and reconciliation." Blacks and whites were interdependent and would live or die together in South Africa like Siamese twins, he added.

Chief Buthelezi is the only black politician to have been invited to speak from a white political platform during the campaign. He was heard by a capacity crowd of blacks, whites and a few Indians which spilled out of the suburban Westville city hall into the lush, semi-tropical surrounding gardens.

Blacks and whites listened attentively as the chief rejected calls by black radicals for whites to boycott the election. Instead he called for whites to show by their vote

that they wanted to create a modern, multi-party, free enterprise, democratic society for all South Africans. This he said would "give hope and encourage us blacks who want the same thing, but cannot yet vote for it."

He urged whites to reject President Botha's request for what he described as "a mandate to continue South Africa's apartheid structures in urban areas," and added that black South Africans were "appalled that at this eleventh hour the government's appreciation of political realities is so terribly lacking."

The fact that Chief Buthelezi was asked to speak in support of the PFP/NRP reflects his high standing among many moderate whites in Natal. His decision to accept underlined his support for the Kwa-Natal "indaba" which seeks to set up a multi-racial government for the province. The indaba, whose proposals have been rejected by the government, is a major electoral factor in Natal where the PFP/NRP hopes to gain seats from the ruling National Party.

## Botha heckled as ruling party concludes campaign

BY JIM JONES IN JOHANNESBURG

THE closing election rally of South Africa's ruling National Party in Johannesburg's city hall last night underlined declining support for the Botha government.

Even the promise of President Botha on the platform failed to fill the hall and the loudspeakers outside for the expected overflow played only to groups of heavily-armed policemen.

Hecklers were promptly hustled out by plain-clothes policemen or photographed by other policemen crouched on the sides of the city hall's stage. Mr Botha was jeered by a small group of young people.

The campaign has been notably short of new ideas by the ruling party and last night

Mr Botha merely repeated the litany of his party's success in safeguarding the nation's security by stopping "terrorists" on the borders of South West Africa and "saboteurs" bent on destroying the industries of the Witwatersrand. He also claimed success in improving the national well-being with the sanctions-busting Mossel Bay offshore oil project and Armscor's armaments manufacturing.

He said the National Party would negotiate with black South Africans after the election, but only with "decent-minded, well-behaved and peaceful leaders" in a National Council established by the government.



# Soweto Goes on the Boil

## Fury after a funeral ban

**T**he victims had died together—and the mourners intended to bury them together. Defying a government ban on mass funerals, thousands of residents of Soweto made plans last week to bury more than 20 blacks killed by South African police a fortnight ago. The mourners gathered at township churches and street corners. But as local priests began to lead the march toward a stadium for the funeral, government forces moved in. Police and Army helicopters circled overhead, dropping tear-gas canisters onto the procession. Some police began firing guns into the air. Others sprayed the crowd with purple dye—a tactic the security forces now use to brand demonstrators. The mourners scattered, and security police trucked many of the coffins away. Pretoria had stopped the mass funeral—but its crackdown set off a new round of violence in Soweto. By the time it ended at least seven more blacks were dead.

While prohibiting blacks from attending mass burials, the government also tried to shut them out of a happier moment. Last week Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu formally became the first black Anglican archbishop in South Africa. Early this week more than 200 million people around the world were expected to watch live TV coverage of his enthronement. But South Africa's state-controlled TV service refused to air the broadcast. Pretoria denied visas to several of Tutu's guests, including Harry Belafonte's wife; it also kept the Rev. Jesse Jackson away by issuing him a restricted visa that allowed him to stay in the country for only 36 hours and barred him from making public statements. Bill Cosby, Arthur Ashe, Belafonte and Sens. Ted Kennedy and Gary Hart declined invitations. Still, the guest list prompted a spate of editorials and letters in South Africa's newspapers criticizing the new archbishop for turning a solemn occasion into a celebrity event—a charge his supporters shrugged off. "Bishop Tutu likes showbiz," said the Rev. Edward King, the Anglican dean of Cape Town. "It's a sincere expression of his personality and warmth."

Archbishop Tutu's enthronement and the rising body count in Soweto kept the South African crisis in the headlines—putting pressure not only on Pretoria but on Washington. The Reagan administration reluctantly announced it would



REUTERS

Defying the government: Pallbearers march in an outlawed funeral procession



GUBB-J.B. PICTURES

A glittering guest list: The new archbishop

extend for another year the limited economic sanctions it imposed last year. President Reagan told Congress he might consider "additional measures" after consulting with European leaders. But the allies remain far apart on the sanctions issue. The European Economic Community (EEC) is willing to ban imports of South African coal, steel and iron but not to sever air links with South Africa. Washington would like to do just the reverse. The EEC will probably go ahead with its own sanctions package in the next few weeks, leaving Reagan isolated. Congress is also pressing for stronger action, and Reagan's tepid measure probably won't stop it from passing a sanctions bill; even White House officials concede that Congress would probably be able to override any Reagan veto.

**Controlling the news:** Faced with the likelihood of increased international censure, the South African government only grew more defiant. After banning mass funerals, it imposed tough new curbs on journalists. The latest order prohibits reporters from being "within sight" of any unrest or police action. It also forbids reporting on any action taken by South African security

forces. The restrictions replaced and expanded curbs that Pretoria decreed in June; a South African court declared sections of the old rules invalid last month. During the two-week gap while press regulations were slightly eased, journalists were able to go into Soweto and report on the violence firsthand. Now they will have to go back to relying on eyewitness accounts, and the government's Bureau of Information will have an easier time controlling the news.

There was plenty of violence at hand last week. A bomb exploded in a supermarket in a white neighborhood in Durban, injuring 21 people. Two days later Durban police said they had detained a black "terrorist suspect" and found a cache of weapons, including a Soviet-made limpet mine like the one used in the store bombing.

**One-day strike:** In Soweto, radical blacks declared a one-day strike to protest the ban on mass funerals. Soweto residents told reporters that groups of the "comrades" had built barricades in the streets out of oil drums and rocks; witnesses told of running street battles between comrades and police and said several people had been shot. The Bureau of Information claimed that violence was limited to stone-throwing. Township residents said the comrades enforced the work stay-away by patrolling train stations with whips. Tens of thousands of Soweto residents stayed home for the day, but at least one person who tried to ignore the strike order was killed when she fell in front of a train while trying to run from the comrades. Three blacks died in a shoot-out, reportedly with police, at a train station. When three more youths tried to hijack a car on the road from Soweto to Johannesburg, one of the car's occupants shot them. The killings gave Soweto more dead to bury—and the white regime's determination to ban mass funerals is a sure invitation to more trouble.

NANCY COOPER with ARLENE GETZ in Cape Town



# 'Don't spit in our faces'

## Daily News Reporters

THE white election tomorrow could give a clear indication if there was any chance for peaceful change in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned last night.

And unless whites showed a lot of support for the moderate alliance and independents, they would be "spitting in the face" of not only the country's friends in the West, but of black South Africans.

Speaking at a thousand people at a PFP meeting in Westville with senior PFP-NRP alliance members, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said he wanted to tell whites that blacks rejected outright the mandate the State President Mr P.W. Botha was asking for.

Mr Botha and his colleagues were asking whites to endorse the structures of apartheid, which would "heap political coals of fire" on an already volatile situation.

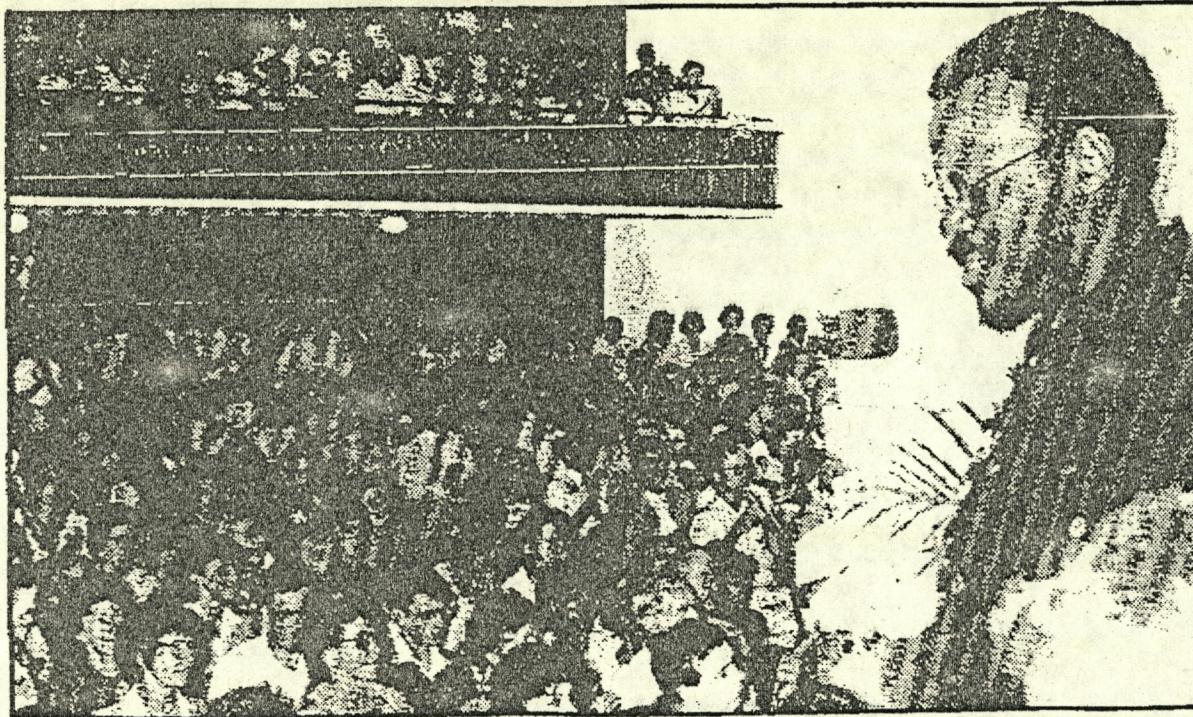
"Black South Africans are appalled that at this 11th hour of our history, the Government's appreciation of political realities is so terribly lacking. The only way we can salvage our country from the ruins with which apartheid is threatening us is the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type industrial democracy."

He said whites tomorrow faced an "historic and awesome responsibility".

"If in this election whites reject their black fellow South Africans by supporting the destruction of South Africa the P.W. Botha way, they will be answerable to their children and their children's children after them. History itself will extract that answer, for making the wrong decision on Wednesday."

Chief Buthelezi said: "You will also be rejecting the hand of friendship which black South Africa is still extending to you."

"This election demands that you put the good of the State before the good of any party. Voting for those



Buthelezi: South Africa's blacks reject the mandate that P.W. Botha is seeking in tomorrow's elections

## Buthelezi makes last-ditch election plea

who are prepared to develop further an alliance of moderates seeking really meaningful reform is not voting for a political party. Every vote cast for them is a brick laid in the building of hope for South Africa.

"How the Alliance and independent candidates perform is the barometer which the world and black South Africa will watch to see whether or not whites realise that we are in the 11th hour. This will indicate whether we have any prospects for peaceful change or not."

Mr Ray Swart, PFP Natal leader, told the meeting that whites had to respond to blacks committed to peaceful change in the election tomorrow

Mr Swart warned that the NP smear campaign, fuelling anti-black feelings, would make any reform programme after the elections almost impossible because the propaganda would have hardened white attitudes.

"In this election, white Natal has the chance to respond to the initiatives (of moderate blacks like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi) by supporting the candidates of the PFP/NRP alliance who are committed to the politics of negotiation and reconciliation."

Natal could be the laboratory for peaceful change for the rest of South Africa.

Whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds could not survive without the

other. Conflict would produce disaster. Most whites commended people like Chief Buthelezi for his commitment to explore peaceful change through initiatives such as the Indaba.

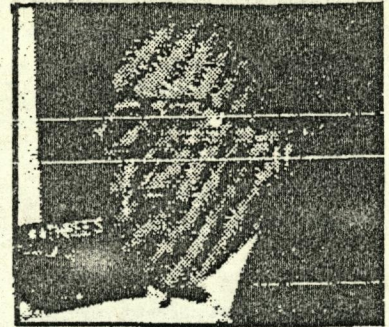
"But commendation is not enough. What is needed is white response."

Mr Roger Barrows, Natal Coastal chairman of the PFP, said the decisions made on Wednesday would go far beyond the white electorate.

The decisions taken at the polls would influence government as they could reflect the needs and desires of all South Africans.

He appealed to voters to see past words to the real issues.

The real issue was the need for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.



Swart: peace could start in Natal

ca. Although attacked by the right and by the far left, the PFP/NRP alliance stood firmly on this issue.

• The broad-based alliance of moderates that was growing in South Africa was inspired by the the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

In a pre-recorded message shown on a giant video screen at the Westville meeting, Mr Eglin said the elections on Wednesday would be the first step in the "new and broader alliance that will free the country from both the stigma and burden of apartheid".

It was no longer a case of black politics and white politics in South Africa.

"There are merely South Africa politics. In South Africa today there is only one reality, and that is we are all bound together by a simple truth — we are all South Africans."

The crowd crammed the Westville Civic Centre to overflowing for last night's meeting — the last of the NRP/PFP alliance in Natal.

But the SABC was not there.

Although the crowd was multiracial, most were white.

The meeting ended with NRP veteran Mr Martin thanking Chief Buthelezi and the two, who have worked closely for many years, embraced to the cheers of the audience.

Reports by B. Cameron and G. Spence, 85 Fu Street, Durban.



# Buthlezi warns of intimidation

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly adjourned abruptly yesterday to allow its members to be with their people and families during a two-day stayaway called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Assembly heard of the stayaway when it was told by the Chief Whip, Prince Gideon Zulu, that he received a message from the member for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, yesterday about a meeting held at the Umlazi cinema on Sunday night.

Prince Zulu said Mr Sabelo told him the meeting was well attended with many people and busses. When the meeting dispersed shots were fired in the air.

He said pamphlets calling for a stayaway were distributed at the meeting and again yesterday morning.

After reading the pamphlet, which urged people to stay at home and not go to town today and tomorrow, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the action was

unconstructive.

He said it amounted to a declaration of war. The shooting in the air was a warning to the people what to expect if they did not heed the call.

He said what the people were going to see was "unbearable intimidation" in these two days.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu did not quarrel with the sentiments of opposing apartheid, but the problem was that a certain clique had decided for black people without consulting them.

The KwaZulu Government agreed that apartheid should be dismantled, but it did not agree that this was the way of doing it, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said all the members of the Assembly were leaders in their respective constituencies. They needed to be with their loved ones and to give their people guidance and leadership under the circumstances.

It would be irresponsible of him if he did not propose the adjournment.

The Assembly adjourned until Thursday.



# Zulu chief's support for white independents could help Pretoria

STAFF PHOTO

Prominent black leader Gatsha Buthelezi has endorsed independent white candidates in South Africa's coming election. The fact that he has even entered the fray of an all-white election - one which many blacks reject out of hand - is seen as an indirect boost to Pretoria.

By Ned Temko  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

A major black leader has lent an unexpected, backhanded - and perhaps unintended - boost to the South African government's credibility as an engine for reform.

On the surface, Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi's statement yesterday endorsed three liberal breakaway candidates from the ruling National Party. The independents represent no threat to the NP's large majority in the 178-seat white chamber, but they seem to have captured the imagination of many long-

time NP supporters.

Chief Buthelezi also attacked current "power sharing" offers from South African President Pieter Botha as mere camouflage for continued white domination. His statement was read by an aide in the presence of a delighted Denis Worrall. Formerly ambassador to London, Mr. Worrall is now running as an independent in the whites-only national election May 6.

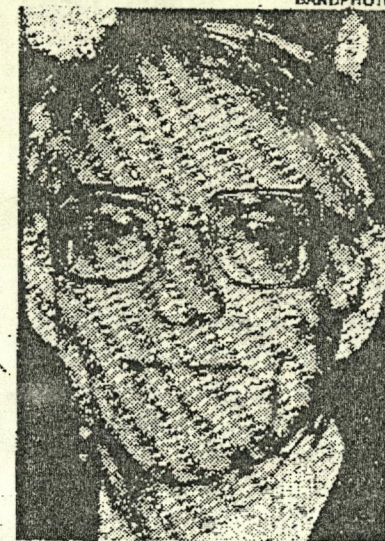
Local analysts saw the declaration as likely to help the independents in the campaign homestretch - demonstrating a measure of black interest the government has been incapable of delivering.

Yet, below the surface, the statement was seen as representing a longer-term boost for Pretoria:

• Buthelezi made it clear that he feels any hope for peaceful change rests on using the independents' challenge to nudge the NP to the left as a prelude to meaningful talks - not on what he termed the impossible prospect of voting the present government out.

• He signaled that, despite his persistent rejection of Pretoria's proposals for a black council, he is eager to negotiate a deal with the NP if they show credible willingness.

Please see **WORRAL** page 12



Worrall: pleasantly surprised by Buthelezi's show of support

## WORRAL from page 7

ness to deal away "rights to dominate" the country's black majority.

• Finally, Buthelezi's statement flew in the face of denunciations of the white election by prominent antiapartheid figures such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Leading NP figures have portrayed the election as a chance to turn back a strong antireform challenge from the far right, even as a ten-month-old state of emergency has begun to turn back unrest from the black left. Then, the officials suggest, the government can move into "power sharing" talks with "moderate" blacks, who will realize that the government is the only negotiating partner in town.

Buthelezi, a shrewd bargainer, stopped short of suggesting automatic participation in talks with the government. He is aware of opposition to his political approach from prominent members of the

outlawed African National Congress, and from many of the black youth activists. In yesterday's statement, he said, "It is imperative for the future of this country that bolder steps now be taken to negotiate really meaningful reform." He said it was essential that Botha realize that "what he has presented to South Africa and to the world as 'reform' is not good enough."

Still, analysts here expected that government officials would see Buthelezi's reiterated readiness for at least some form of negotiated settlement - during a white election campaign denounced by various other black leaders - as a vindication of their muscular bid to retake the political initiative from those involved in the insurgent campaign for black-majority rule.

*This report was written in conformity with South Africa's press restrictions.*



MAY- 5-87

# Buthelezi holds down the middle

By JIM HOAGLAND  
LOS ANGELES TIMES NEWS SERVICE

PARIS — While South Africa's whites were noisily winding down their national election campaign this week, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi was quietly gliding through salons and government offices in Europe in patient search of support in the other struggle for power under way in the Beloved Country.

It is a struggle to determine who will unite and lead the country's fragmented black majority into a post-apartheid era, and on what terms. Financial and diplomatic resources from abroad, which Chief Buthelezi sought this week in England and in France, could help shape the unpredictable outcome.

The results of the whites-only election next Wednesday, on the other hand, are the safest bet around. Despite three years of bloodshed, international ostracism and stunning miscalculation, South Africa's fearful white minority is poised to extend the mandate of P.W. Botha's government in this vote.

Since the entrenchment of apartheid in 1948, South Africa's elections have not been moments of significant change. They are, instead, times in which the country's deep divisions are put on display, intensely debated and then reflexively confirmed in a vote for the National Party.

These are elections that are endured rather than fought. Once they are out of the way, work can resume on trying to find solutions for South Africa's vast problems. Signs will emerge whether Botha will now seek more reform, more repression or (most likely) a holding pattern of more of both.

Chief Buthelezi thinks Botha's

## Analysis

by defections to candidates who want a faster and cleaner break with apartheid. "At no time have the whites been as prepared for change as they are now. They may send Botha the message that his reforms aren't good enough," he said.

But what is most striking about the attitude of the proud, at times prickly Zulu chieftain is his nonchalance in talking about these elections and their aftermath.

Fifteen years ago, when I first met him in South Africa, Buthelezi and other black leaders felt and voiced the sting of exclusion from such elections. Today, their certainty that blacks will soon hold power seems to have blunted that pain.

Buthelezi does not claim to have the answer to all of South Africa's problems. In a candid conversation here, he acknowledged that black-on-black violence could continue to be a problem even under a black government. His tribal base in Natal, his denunciations of violence and his open courting of western democracies for support to counterbalance Soviet arming of South African black guerrillas has brought sharp attacks on him by the young radicals of the townships.

But it is precisely because he is attempting to occupy a middle ground between the "scorched earth tactics" used by the white government on one side and the young radicals on the other that Buthelezi has become such a potent symbol in the confused politics of apartheid.

If the whites refuse to deal with him, they will clearly not deal with any credible black leader. As

door in Buthelezi's face, Botha & Co. are saying to the black majority and to the world that they are not serious about seeking workable solutions for South Africa's racial problems.

They are saying in effect that they will not make the modest sacrifices Buthelezi would ask of them, much less the more painful ones other black leaders demand. Dealing with Buthelezi would be a sign from the white leaders that they understand the dangers their stubborn advocacy of white supremacy presents for themselves and for the international community.

It is possible that time has already run out on the Buthelezi option. Many young blacks argue that only agreements reached by the government with the African National Congress would stick now. What is clear from such arguments is that the increasing radicalization of South Africa works against the middle course advocated by Buthelezi.

Botha could halt this erosion and change the political landscape dramatically with one announcement after his government has been reconfirmed in office. He should immediately announce that he is accepting Buthelezi's demand that imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela be freed unconditionally as Buthelezi's price for cooperating with a presidential commission in devising amendments for the detested 1983 constitution.

This act would demonstrate to the black majority that moderate leaders who want to maintain Western influence in South Africa can deliver. It would also demonstrate that Botha is finally serious about negotiating for the survival of Africa's only white tribe.

(Jim Hoagland is associate editor and chief foreign correspondent.)



Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi