

Lesotho: No THE CITIZEN fighting

LESOTHO last night denied an SABC report that fighting had broken out between military factions in the capital of the mountain kingdom.

Lesotho Information Minister Mr Desmond Sixishe said by telephone from his home in Maseru: "That's bull... It's absolute rubbish. There's nothing going on here."

The radio report quoted travellers at a border crossing point as saying that one group of the military wanted to carry out a coup yesterday afternoon.

Mr Sixishe said he did not know why the SABC had broadcast the report.

Lesotho expelled an SABC television crew on Thursday. It accused the SABC of creating speculation of an attempted military coup as border restrictions by South Africa began to take their toll on the country.

According to a Sapa report, a clash between the Lesotho National Army and members of the Youth League of the ruling Lesotho National Party led some people to believe there had been a coup attempt.

The clash occurred when soldiers and para-military people converged on the offices of the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan. The youths are charged with guarding the Prime Minister's office.

JAN 18 1986
When soldiers and the para-military — accusing the youths of acting beyond the powers vested in them by the party — attempted to disarm them, there were scuffles and fighting. Some youths were allegedly assaulted.

The incident was interpreted in some quarters as having been a coup attempt, residents said.

Panic had broken out in Maseru when a motorcade of soldiers raced to the Prime Minister's office.

The panic deepened when the motorcade left.

The Prime Minister was seen being escorted to the Lesotho King's Palace.

SA blames ANC *THE STAR* for border tension

JAN 18, 1986

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa has made it quite clear to Lesotho that the root cause of the current "abnormal" relations between the two countries is the presence of African National Congress activists in the mountain kingdom.

At talks in Pretoria yesterday, a delegation of high-ranking Lesotho officials was told that the relationship between the two countries could not be normalised until South Africa was satisfied that the ANC presence in Lesotho would be eliminated.

"That was the bottom line," Mr Neil van Heerden, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs and head of its Africa section, told media representatives afterwards.

While the two delegations were in discussion, reports of violence between Lesotho security forces and the ruling party's radical Youth Wing added to the confusion over the situation in the kingdom.

The South African security action on the border apparently triggered a confrontation between hardliners who wanted an international airlift to Lesotho — with all the attendant anti-South African publicity — and moderates who wanted a compromise. It seems the hardliners' attitude prevailed.

On Wednesday members of the Lesotho Paramilitary Force (LPF) surrounded Prime Minister Mr Leabua Jonathan's home to "protect" him from the Youth League.

At the same time, it is believed, LPF commander Major-General JM Lekhanya went into the home and told Chief Jonathan that the security forces were unhappy with the situation and the planned Lesotho approach.

'Undisciplined'

He also warned that the Youth League was dangerous and undisciplined and would have to be brought under control.

After yesterday's meeting in Pretoria, a joint Press statement was issued. Later Mr van Heerden said both governments had agreed to the creation of a special sub-committee on security.

Gary van Staden writes from Maseru that Mr Jonathan yesterday emerged in public for the first time since reports of a

coup in Maseru on Wednesday. He denied that there had been any changes in the government.

He told a Press conference — closed to foreign journalists — that rumours of a coup were the work of foreign media, which were distributing "lies and fabrications".

Reliable sources said yesterday that there had been fresh clashes between units of the LPF and members of the Youth League outside Maseru, but a government spokesman said the city had been calm all day.

JAN 18, 1986 To grips with security

ONE OF THE most important intentions of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique was to bring an end to destabilisation actions both ways across South Africa's borders. But the issue of destabilisation in Southern Africa is unfortunately far from dead. The contentious killing of ANC members in Lesotho before Christmas by a group suspected of having South African connections has sparked another round of bitter cut and thrust, demonstrating the extreme risks involved in conducting deception diplomacy on the one side, and thump-and-talk politics on the other. Both Lesotho and South Africa, their credibility already in tatters, stand to lose far more than credibility. If it is true that Lesotho has been harbouring ANC members intent on insurgency into South Africa, then the destabilisation resulting from South Africa's reaction has been considerable.

Though South Africa this time has not resorted to overt military raids such as it previously executed against Maseru, Maputo and Gaborone, its perceived complicity in the killing of ANC members in Lesotho and its blockade action has aroused world concern. Somewhere there must be a way of breaking the pattern. South Africa's neighbours, to a man hostile to apartheid and sympathetic to the ANC's goals, are harming their own prospects for the sake of the hurt they can do South Africa.

The ANC would do well to relieve these states of their agony by abandoning violence to promote negotiation. But Pretoria cannot wait for the ANC. The Government must itself provide proof of its bona fides to convince the many doubters that violence is no longer needed to spur apartheid's demise.

Other opinion

We hope the Western world will ... speed up the dismantling of the racist regime by declaring and imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. We believe, as does Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, that South Africa will be free. The recent delivery of one million "freedom let-

ters" to Bishop Tutu by the American people is a clear demonstration of where their hearts are in regard to apartheid. They are for the dignity of mankind regardless of colour, race or creed. We hope the Reagan Administration together with the British Government will heed their people's call and act accordingly. To the South African people of all races who have joined in the struggle against apartheid and those who have lost their loved ones, relatives and friends, we say the darkest hour is just before dawn. There should be no let-up in the struggle against the racist regime ... we in Kenya lived through a similar experience during our struggle for independence. But we never gave up hope that one day we shall be the masters of our own destiny. How right we were, and how wrong our enemies. And so it shall be in South Africa in the not too distant future.

— THE KENYA TIMES (Nairobi)

★ ★ ★

Landlocked but resilient Lesotho is putting up a spirited fight to safeguard its sovereignty ... The villain is undoubtedly the desperate Pretoria regime, intent on carrying the war waged in South Africa's black townships beyond its borders. Already, an economic blockade has been slapped on Lesotho by South Africa, which entirely surrounds the little country. But Lesotho refuses to be cowed into subservience to Pretoria ... While South Africa has only excelled in waving the big stick, unleashing its formidable military might over tiny Lesotho, the mountain kingdom has scored success with her diplomatic strategy of breaking away from Pretoria's grip. Typical of a non-aligned country, it has friends on both sides of the East-West divide. It is this stance which is considered provocative by the racist regime and this explains the current situation in Lesotho.

— THE DAILY NEWS (Dar es Salaam)

Pretoria accuses 9 North American clerics of guerrilla links

Gazette News Services

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa yesterday refused to let nine clergymen from Canada and the United States visit the country, accusing them of links to African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas trying to topple the white-minority government.

The decision by Home Affairs

Minister Stoffel Botha came a week after a U.S. congressional delegation returned home and advocated stiffer economic sanctions to force an end to apartheid.

Home Affairs Minister Botha said in a statement: "All nine clerics are attached to the National Council of the Churches of Christ, an organization which has close links with terrorist organizations

— among others with the ANC."

He apparently referred to the National Council of Churches, whose president, Bishop Philip Cousin, was in the delegation.

The churchmen were invited by the strongly anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches, official host to the congressmen.

Other delegates are from the United Methodist, Baptist, Roman

Catholic, Episcopal and Reformed churches in the U.S. and the United Church of Canada.

In Oakland, Calif., South African Bishop Desmond Tutu skipped a \$125-a-plate benefit dinner last night in honor of him and the late Martin Luther King Jr. rather than cross a Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union picket line.

AP, Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Introducing a fitness center that will knock the competition

ide
otho
says

ier, with some
three days to

to government
ordered to post-
surgery to save
ic.
tables are dis-
in Maseru, a

whose fuel-
ormally deliv-
month, said
out of diesel
litres of gaso-
e weekend.
nt radio said
rica had sent
t will allow
tho" and de-
f safety for
ers.

at the work-
the normal
South Afri-

long dispute
ges that Le-
guerrillas.
bases," Ma-
deputy per-
health, said

nbers in Le-
every day.

wea-
pende-
ed this
cates.

c
ie
té
o-
to
c-

so
u-
o-
te-
in
na
n-
ht
rn
ed

REMOVE ANC, SA TELLS LESOTHO

THE CITIZEN JAN 18, 1986.

SOUTH Africa made clear to Lesotho yesterday that it would stand firm on border controls until the presence of African National Congress elements in Lesotho ends.

In five hours of talks with Lesotho officials in the Union Buildings yesterday, South Africa refused to deviate from its determination to continue "limited" controls as long as the ANC was on Lesotho soil.

By KEITH
ABENDROTH
and SAPA

The two delegations agreed to set up a special subcommittee of the Standing Inter-governmental Liaison Committee to consider and advise on security matters between the two countries.

The South African delegation of nine was headed by the Deputy Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van

Heerden, who said the meeting had been held to discuss the present "abnormal" situation at the border posts.

He added: "To describe it as abnormal would be to put it mildly."

Mr Van Heerden stressed, however, that the restrictions were "limited" and that there was no question at this stage of there being a total embargo on any

TO PAGE 2

products or goods to Lesotho.

He said the South African team had made it clear to Lesotho that elimination of the "pervasive" ANC presence in Lesotho was the formula for restoration of normal border controls.

Air space

Concern had been expressed to the Lesotho

team about the possible use of air routes into Lesotho from other states to convey arms, ammunition and explosives.

South Africa had certain rights in terms of international air traffic law and was entitled to expect that military hardware was not conveyed in South African air space.

The Lesotho team had been told clearly: "When neighbours are living cheek to jowl, it's a very

dangerous exercise for a neighbour to play around with fireworks.

"If he blows up his own house, well and good — but if he blows up his neighbour's house you have problems," said Mr Van Heerden.

The Lesotho side said the problem was one of "refugees" — and that Lesotho had certain obligations to refugees.

"We decided both to

take cognisance of our position and to report back to our respective governments," Mr Van Heerden said.

Urgent

Details would then have to be thrashed out on how to "normalise" the situation. While no time factor had been mentioned, the situation was obviously urgent and a meeting would be called as soon as either side requested.

Mr Van Heerden said that the discussions had taken place in a "frank" atmosphere.

The reason South Africa had introduced limited controls was because Lesotho had failed to address the problem of the ANC presence on her soil despite repeated requests from the Republic to do so.

The controls, he said, were not introduced because South Africa

wanted to punish the ordinary man.

The step had been taken when all efforts to reach settlement on the issue at diplomatic level had failed and the aim of the border controls was to scrutinise the mass of traffic passing between the countries.

People had said that terrorists could easily cross into South Africa without going through a border post, and this was so. But at the same time in the volume of traffic that did pass through it was possible to smuggle through activists. "It takes longer to make a

more careful search," he said.

Humanitarian

Special provision was being made for patients having to go to Bloemfontein or Johannesburg for medical attention.

"South Africa has

made it clear time and again that she does not wish to live in enmity with any of her neighbours," said Mr Van Heerden.

"In fact we place a very high priority on normal and healthy relationships between neighbours. When a neighbour is as close as ours is the question of sound relationships is even more important.

"But if neighbours have problems they can very easily spill over into your own backyard."

Evidence

Chapter and verse, addresses and details of ANC nests in the mountain kingdom had been given.

It was vital that agreement be reached between the states on the question of mutual security — and from the South African side this meant the effective elimination of the ANC from Lesotho.

Mr Van Heerden commented in reply to a question that it was "hard to judge" the degree of willingness with which the Lesotho team had met the demands.

The Lesotho team was led by Mr P M J Rasekoai, Secretary to the Cabinet, with his immediate right hand men at the meetings Mr O T Sefako, Permanent Secretary for Defence and Internal Security, and Mr M T Mashologu, Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Also in the team were Major General Justin Lekhanya, chief of the para-military Security Force and Major General S R Mathela, Commissioner of Police, Mr M M Matete, Chief Electoral Officer and Mrs Elize

said he was well satisfied with the result of the talks and proposals would now be made to the State President.

Marokuneni, Senior Secretary to the Cabinet.

No comment

The Lesotho delegation left the Union Buildings immediately after the meeting without commenting on the talks.

However, the two delegates issued a brief, joint statement: "The two delegations realised an urgent need to normalise the situation between South Africa and Lesotho.

"They will submit recommendations to their governments and the modalities for normalising the situation will be worked out in consultation between the two governments."

Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

18 Jan. 29-Feb. 4, 1986

THE
SI

EDITORIAL

JONAS SAVIMBI:

AFRICA'S THREE-CARD MONTE MAN

Last week, *The City Sun* carried a Viewpoint piece foreign policy "experts" would have done well to read. It was a well-informed article written by Bernard Johns, a senior fellow at the Washington, D.C.-based Joint Center for Political Studies who is on leave from the U.S. State Department, and focused on the role of ethnocentrism in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

But with the visit of Jonas Savimbi to these shores this week to make his case for massive amounts of foreign aid, Johns' opinion piece could use a little updating. The formulation of U.S. foreign policy need not take us into the complex inner workings of Capitol Hill and the Pentagon; we need only to be familiar with the unique characteristics of the three-card monte phenomenon.

The point to three-card monte, of course, is that the aim of the dealer is to take his victims for as much as he can, for as much as they're willing to part with. He gauges the gullible crowd, hones in on a particularly greedy individual and takes him to the cleaners, aided and abetted by his practiced sidekick shills.

Jonas Savimbi, the head of what U.S. Secretary of State has called "a legitimate nationalist movement" in Namibia (it should be any thinking person's cue immediately to regard Savimbi and his movement with suspicion), is the African continent's three-card monte man. He deals the cards according to his audience's demands.

Savimbi, who heads the South Africa-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), is in the United States this week seeking millions—bills recommending anywhere from \$24 to \$300 million already are in the works—to wrest control of the embattled country. From the looks of things, he won't go home empty-handed.

When Savimbi wanted help from the Soviets, he dealt them his I'm-a-leftist-revolutionary cards. When he wanted the white-minority racist government of South Africa to come to his aid, he followed through with his it's-in-your-best-interest-to-help-me-out cards. Now that he wants millions more in overt aid (he'd already gotten covert aid through the CIA), he's busy dealing out his I'm-trying-to-wipe-out-Communism-on-the-African-continent cards.

Like a seasoned three-card monte dealer, he's been able to use his sidekick shills to whip up just enough interest in his game to keep each of his targets biting. And, at least for the moment, he's in control. Or at least they're letting him think so.

But we've seen people of Savimbi's ilk before. In the scheme of things they really are neophyte players in a much larger, deadlier game and they ultimately lose—everything.

They are like the three-card monte dealers testing their talents before a seemingly unknowing crowd. But sometimes the crowd is way ahead of the game and has the dealer on the offensive even before he realizes it. That's the crowd Savimbi is playing with.

For the moment, they'll let him have his millions; they'll throw him a few crumbs so that he can get *their* work done. But they're playing for much higher stakes.

What is at stake is an international interest in maintaining a strong foothold, a permanent interest, in a very valuable piece of property on a continent that, over the past few years in particular, has begun to take decidedly left (that is, increasingly anti-Western) turns.

African nations increasingly are flexing their muscles in favor of nationhood, not colonialism; in favor of self-determination, not satellite status.

Regrettably, the United States, which should seek to avoid its penchant for supporting the wrong sides in struggles, apparently will repeat its insane proclivity one more time with Savimbi, all in the name of fighting Communism.

But it most clearly is the wrong choice. There hardly is a right choice in a three-card monte game.

City Sun Jan 29 - Feb 4 '86 (Black, Brooklyn Weekly)

Afrique du Sud : la « troisième voie » du chef Buthelezi

Après Strasbourg où il a été reçu au Parlement européen, et avant Londres où il sera l'hôte du gouvernement britannique, le chef Gatsha Buthelezi est passé hier à Paris pour réitérer son refus de la politique d'apartheid mais, parallèlement, pour réaffirmer son espoir dans des solutions non violentes et pour mettre en garde les Européens contre une politique de sanction mal ajustée et finalement nocive.

● Mal connu en France, Buthelezi est reconnu comme un interlocuteur à part entière aux Etats-Unis et en Grande-Bretagne car, en Afrique du Sud, il est l'homme de la « troisième voie ». Personne ne met sérieusement en doute la représentativité de son parti, l'Inkatha, fort d'un million de membres, ni la solidité de son leadership sur les Zoulous, première ethnie noire du pays (6 millions d'individus) devant les Xhosas (3,5 millions) parmi lesquels se recrutent les principaux artisans des organisations anti-apartheid les plus radicales.

Président du Kwazulu, le homeland

des Zoulous, Buthelezi a toujours refusé toute solution d'indépendance octroyée par Pretoria au contraire d'un Matanzima au Transkaei, ou d'un Mangopo au Bophutatswana. En revanche, il a voulu faire du Natal, la province où est implanté le Kwazulu et le berceau des Zoulous, un prototype de coexistence raciale qui pourrait inspirer des solutions au reste de l'Afrique du Sud. Les conclusions de la commission multicommunautaire qu'il avait créée dans ce but, en 1980, n'ont toujours pas été suivies d'effets mais, reprenant Mao, Buthelezi remarque en souriant : « Une très longue marche commence avec un pas. »

Sa conviction est, en effet, que ni la lutte armée, ni les sanctions ne seront efficaces et que si l'application de la loi « one man one vote » est idéalement souhaitable, vouloir l'imposer serait détruire l'Afrique du Sud. Son choix dans l'instauration d'un système fédéral permettant une certaine pondération du vote majoritaire. En cela, il est radicalement hostile au système parlementaire tricaméral associant les Métis et les Indiens à la direction des affaires et il juge même que la nouvelle constitution, en consommant l'exclusion des Noirs du système politique, a été « un pas en arrière ». Buthelezi s'affirme prêt à

négoier avec P.W. Botha, mais à partir d'une déclaration d'intention assez précise du chef du « pouvoir blanc » sur une Afrique du Sud unie, gouvernée au « sommet » par des institutions uniques et multiraciales. La déclaration présidentielle du 15 août portait tout cela en germe, mais le chef du Kwazulu la juge encore trop peu claire et en attend une autre, peut-être à la fin de ce mois. « Je comprends parfaitement les racines de la violence, dit-il, mais la violence ne doit intervenir qu'en dernier ressort et nous n'en sommes pas encore là. Je remarque la désunion des radicaux qui a conduit au chaos tant de pays d'Afrique après la décolonisation. Je crois à l'embargo sur les ventes d'armes, au boycottage sportif car il a valeur éducative, mais pas à des sanctions qui ne tiennent aucun compte des intérêts des Noirs. Les sanctions sont devenues un jouet dont le monde extérieur s'entiche, mais seul Reagan a admis qu'elles devaient être équilibrées, par exemple par des politiques d'aide dans le domaine éducatif. Je ne viens pas ici pour critiquer le gouvernement français mais si l'Afrique du Sud ne pouvait pas écouler son charbon, ce serait des Noirs qui en souffriraient... »

J.M.K.

Figaro
18-19/1/86

Gatsha Buthelezi : un Zoulou à Paris

Le leader de Zoulous d'Afrique du Sud et de l'Inkatha (parti qui regroupe plus d'un million de membres) et chef du gouvernement élu du Kwa zoulou (Etat près de Durban, sur la côte de l'océan Indien), le chef Gatsha Buthelezi, était de passage à Paris hier et a donné une conférence de presse entre une visite au parlement européen de Strasbourg et New York où il doit être reçu aux Nations unies.

Selon le « Chef-Ministre », les sanctions contre l'Afrique du Sud, décidées par les gouvernements européens, sont des jouets que ceux-ci se donnent en espérant vaguement que tout va s'écrouler pour se donner bonne conscience. Mais quand, par exemple, l'Afrique du Sud ne peut écouler son charbon, ce sont les Noirs qui en souffrent le plus. Ce n'est pas la solution.

Anti-violent, il va sans dire que Buthelezi n'est ni communiste (comme Nelson Mandela « qui a un rôle crucial à jouer en Afrique du sud »), ni partisan de l'apartheid : « c'est là le mal », ni raciste tribal : il est contre les récents affrontements dans le Natal « tous les Noirs sont mon peuple ».

Le chef Buthelezi, qui a appartenu à l'A.N.C., se prononce en revanche pour la formule « un homme une voix » et attend beaucoup du prochain discours de Pieter Botha au Cap. « L'Afrique du sud, dit-il, est trop compliquée pour qu'on puisse y tracer des scénarios simplistes ».

Y. B.

Matin de Paris
18-19/1/86

AFRIQUE DU SUD

Un chef zoulou « cohabitable »

Le Congrès national africain, l'ANC, qu'Olivier Tambo dirige maintenant depuis son exil de Lusaka ? « Il s'est écarté de ses buts premiers, de l'époque où j'y adhérais moi-même ». Pour Buthelezi, il n'est pas question, comme l'ANC, d'avoir recours à la violence et de « prendre le risque de détruire les fondations de l'avenir ». Il paraît ainsi favorable à l'attitude des Etats-Unis, leur politique d'engagement constructif, qui, tout en prenant des sanctions limitées contre le régime de Prétoria, veulent accroître leur aide humanitaire.

Non violents, les Zoulous de Gatsha Buthelezi et les militants purs et durs de l'Inkhata, alors que les sanglants affrontements d'août dernier contre la communauté indienne, et plus récemment dans la région de Durban contre l'ethnie Pondo ont fait des dizaines de morts ? « C'est le résultat de l'apartheid et de migrations vers les régions moins défavorisées de la province du Natal, depuis le Transkei par exemple », un phénomène « de rejet » comparable à celui que l'on constate dans divers pays européens... En aucun cas, il insiste, un problème ethnique. « D'ailleurs, confie-t-il, je me considère avant tout comme un Noir, avant d'être un Zoulou. »

L'IMAGE D'UN MODERE. Pour jouer le jeu de la modération, Gatsha Buthelezi a besoin d'un interlocuteur qui soit à l'unisson. Or, depuis dix-huit mois, y a-t-il encore la place pour la modération en Afrique du Sud ?

Les pays occidentaux, bien sûr, sont libres de régler leur « mauvaise conscience », mais lui, en tant qu'« élu responsable », leur dit une chose : « imposer des sanctions économiques à l'Afrique du Sud, c'est condamner d'autres Noirs au chômage dans les mines et les ports ».

Gatsha Buthelezi, chef ministre charismatique du Kwazulu, cultive son image de modéré. Depuis quelques jours, il a entrepris une grande tournée dans les pays occidentaux pour leur expliquer sa position. Lutter contre l'apartheid, tout le monde est d'accord là-dessus, encore faut-il accepter des compromis. L'objectif à long terme est bien « un homme, une voix », et tout serait plus simple si, dans le discours qu'il doit prononcer à la fin du mois au Cap, Pieter Botha se décidait à parler « d'un gouvernement, d'un parlement, d'un pays », en acceptant aussi de libérer Nelson Mandela et ne plus le faire passer pour le communiste qu'il n'est pas.

Avant-hier devant l'Assemblée de Strasbourg, hier à Paris, où il n'a cependant pas rencontré de responsables français — « c'était juste une escale », le temps de discuter avec quelques journalistes —, le représentant des Zoulous, l'ethnie la plus importante d'Afrique du Sud, qui infligea de lourdes défaites aux Anglais au XIX^e siècle, a bien lancé des appels pour que les entreprises étrangères respectent à la lettre le code de conduite et ne fassent pas de discriminations entre ouvriers noirs et blancs.

OLIVIER ROBERT