

Life goes on inside S. African embassy

By Betty Cuniberti
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — Inside the imposing four-story embassy on Massachusetts Avenue, in an elegantly furnished, white-carpeted room, a uniformed maid served tea and curried-chicken finger sandwiches as the ambassador's wife talked about her lifestyle.

What makes life different for Daphne Fourie are not the luxurious surroundings and service that are de rigueur in diplomatic circles. Rather, it is the focus of world attention on the demonstrations that have been taking place outside the embassy for more than five months.

This is the embassy of South Africa, and nearly 2,000 people, many of them prominent Americans, have been arrested in daily protests against the South African government's policy of apartheid. The protests have spread to college campuses where students are calling on universities to withdraw investments in South Africa.

It is against this backdrop of controversy and disagreement that a small group of people go to work every day — filing reports, typing letters, gathering and dispensing information, planning social events and otherwise conducting the everyday business of an embassy.

Those inside the embassy portray themselves as unmoved by the demonstrations outside and complain that they are misunderstood by Americans and, in particular, by an unfair American press.

Said Daphne Fourie: "Our views are the same, if not more sure we're doing the right thing." When demonstrations occur, she said, "it doesn't affect me that much. If I have to go out in my car, I do. Sometimes I don't even know they're there."

In an interview, her husband, South African Ambassador Bernardus Fourie, added: "There's a feeling we live like hermits. Life really goes on exactly as before."

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employed as political counselor, said he doesn't talk to the demonstrators, but wishes he had, at least in one case. "I would love to have talked to Stevie Wonder," Kilian said. "My daughter would have been thrilled."

(Shortly after the interview with Kilian, Wonder's music was banned in South Africa. The action was taken after Wonder dedicated his Oscar for "I Just Called to Say I Love You" to Nelson Mandela, the country's imprisoned black nationalist leader.)

Randall Robinson, 43, the Harvard-educated lawyer who organizes the protests, vehemently disagrees with those employees who maintain that the protesters have had no effect.

"The demonstrations without a doubt have produced in the U.S. Congress a commitment to support a program of economic sanctions against South Africa," said Robinson, executive director of the TransAfrica lobbying group and national coordinator of the Free South Africa Movement.

Inside the embassy, there is agreement that change is necessary in South Africa, but embassy personnel say they do not understand why their nation has been singled out for criticism when the South African government is making what it considers dramatic improvements.

Vicky Coetzee, a South African and an agricultural researcher who has worked for the embassy for 15 years, said Americans do not understand how South African whites feel about blacks.

"We're fond of them. We don't hate them. Absolutely, sincerely, that is not true," Coetzee said. "Most South Africans recognize that changes are needed. It's just a matter of the pace. I don't think (American demonstrations) are the solution. We're not perfect but we're trying damn hard. I feel very positive about what South Africa is doing. I don't feel I have to make excuses."

EMIGRES WELCOME APARTHEID BATTLE

South Africans in New York,
Both Blacks and Whites,
Approve of Concern

By MARVINE HOWE

As resistance to apartheid rises in their homeland, many South Africans in the New York area say they welcome growing American concern over the troubled situation thousands of miles away.

Although they came to the United States sharing a repugnance for the South African Government's racial policies, the small community has long been scarcely visible. In interviews, nearly all — black and white — said they were stirred by the events at home. But their feelings differed, running from concern to fear to anger.

Many South Africans, including whites, said they were elated and often took part in the swelling American protests against apartheid. The majority of the whites, however, while expressing heightened concern, said they were not involved in the protests.

Most of the whites are professionals and live comfortably in the suburbs. While a few black South Africans have found success as professors, musicians, nurses and businessmen, most in New York exist precariously as refugees and complain of difficulties in obtaining immigrant status.

'The Writing on the Wall'

It is estimated that there are 35,000 whites from South Africa and 2,500 blacks in the United States. Almost all the blacks live in the New York area, members of the community said, and the whites have settled mainly in urban areas of the Northeast — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts.

Great Neck, L.I., for example, seems like a suburb of Johannesburg, with affluent white South Africans commonly seen in neighborhood banks and supermarkets. They have large houses with central air-conditioning, gardens, servants — some even imported from the homeland.

South Africans have been emigrating to the United States in increasing numbers since the early 1950's, after the Afrikaner Government turned racial segregation into a political system called apartheid.

The whites left because of what many call "the writing on the wall," the feeling that South Africa's racial policies will inevitably lead to civil war between whites and blacks.

They are like the 46-year-old accountant who feels "completely assimilated" in the United States but asked not to be named because he still has relatives in South Africa.

Lawyer Urges Majority Rule

"I left in 1974 because I hate the South African Government and didn't see any future for my children," he said. Questioned if he knew any black South Africans, he replied with surprise: "Are there any here?"

Joel Carlson, a liberal white lawyer who lives in Great Neck but retains ties with the black South African community, said wealthy white South Africans "tend to gain entry and subsequently U.S. citizenship more easily" than black opponents of the regime.

Mr. Carlson fled with his family in 1971 because of harassment. In lectures, articles and a book, "No Neutral Ground," he urges majority rule in South Africa.

"We still regard ourselves as displaced South Africans," said Mervyn Susser, professor of epidemiology at the Columbia University School of Medicine. His wife, Dr. Zena Stein, also a professor there, agreed, calling their home in Hastings-on-Hudson "a transit camp for South Africans."

Approving of the recent student protests at Columbia, Dr. Susser said he favored "measured disinvestment by universities as an important symbol and a means of leverage on South Africa and companies."

'Microcosm of Divisions'

Bernard Magubane, a professor of anthropology at the University of Connecticut, described the South African community in this country as "a microcosm of the racial divisions" of the motherland. While most whites are well-to-do and easily assimilated, he said most blacks come as political refugees or students and struggle to survive.

Thabi Nyide, a Columbia student, came to the United States in 1976 on a scholarship because she was convinced that, if she stayed in Johannesburg, she would be arrested. She expressed some bitterness over the reception of black South Africans in the United States, though.

"We see a great reception here for Ethiopians, Poles and Cubans," she said, "but so little action for the victims of apartheid."

John Makatini, a spokesman for the African National Congress, the main nationalist movement in South Africa, said the black South Africans' biggest problem here was that they "don't qualify for refugee status." He spoke of the Free South Africa Movement in the United States "with happiness and gratitude after years of frustration."

Dumisani Kumalo, projects director for the American Committee on Africa and a leader of the disinvestment campaign, has traveled all over the United States talking to politicians, trade unions and churches. Mr. Kumalo, a founding member of the South African Union of Black Journalists, fled in 1977 after the union was banned.

"It makes me happy," Mr. Kumalo said, "to say five states — Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan and Nebraska — have passed divestment ordinances and another 30 states are considering legislation limiting the investment of public funding in South Africa."

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MAY 5, 1985

Durban blacks 'vote' for Mandela

Tribune Reporter

AN opinion poll among black people around Durban has elicited some startling findings — the majority of respondents look on jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela as the best leader for the country's black people.

They agree with his rejection of PW Botha's conditional offer to release him, and a substantial number of them support the withdrawal of foreign companies from South Africa.

In the poll, commissioned by the Zulu language newspaper, *Ilanga*, 48 percent of those interviewed felt Mandela, now spending his 23rd year in prison, was "the best leader for the black people in South Africa today."

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was second with 28 percent. The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, was third with 12 percent.

The survey was conducted in the Durban central business district, KwaMashu and Umlazi in March this year, among people of both sexes and all ages. The majority of them were Zulu-speaking.

Mandela's support was strongest at KwaMashu where he received 64 percent of the vote with only 19 percent going to Chief Buthelezi. In the CBD 52 percent opted for Mandela and only 18 percent for Chief Buthelezi.

The tables were turned in Umlazi, however, with Chief Buthelezi getting 46 percent of the vote to Mandela's 28 percent.

The findings of the poll are surprising because Natal, and especially the African townships around Durban, have long been considered Chief Buthelezi's stronghold.

Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu were chosen by 88 percent of the respondents. President of the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede and chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Ntatho Motlana, got two and one percent respectively.

The UDF, which shares Mandela's ideological leanings, was said by 51 percent of the respondents to be the black political organisation — apart from the ANC — they support. Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement was second with 30 percent, while five percent were for the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Forty-four percent of the people said they supported moves to withdraw foreign capital from South Africa, and 40 percent were against. There were more supporters of disinvestment in Umlazi (50) than those against (29), whereas in KwaMashu the majority (46) were against disinvestment.

Polls conducted in all the major centres of the country have shown increasing support for Mandela. This is, however, the first known poll on the subject to have concentrated solely on the views of black people in and around Durban.

The researchers say the sample of the survey was not random as it was conducted in the street among passersby.

JORAC CALLS FOR INQUIRY INTO NDB

CITY PRESS
MAY 85

By PHINDA KUZWAYO

THE JOINT Rent Action Committee has called for a commission of inquiry into the Natalia Development Board.

This follows revelations in Parliament that the board has R21-million in reserves.

Jorac has written a letter to Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen demanding that an inquiry be held because "despite its liquidity, the board hasn't spent a cent on housing, maintenance and general improvement of the townships we represent".

The revelation was made by Mr Viljoen himself last month when he was replying to an Opposition spokesman's questions about the board's finances.

Other reasons given by Jorac for the need for a commission are:

- In 1983, when Jorac

called on the board to suspend rent increases, the board said it was on the verge of bankruptcy.

- Unrest broke out in Lamontville and Chester-ville because of the rent increases, resulting in the death of six people including Lamontville community leader Msizi Dube.

Jorac also questions the impartiality of the board in the unrest at Hambanathi between local Inkatha members and UDF supporters, which was sparked off by their differences on the incorporation into KwaZulu of certain townships under the board's jurisdiction.

Jorac says the proposed commission should probe the board's general administration and financial administration.

NYT 5/5/85

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Grinnell College Plans to Sell Some South Africa Holdings

After protests by students over the years, the Board of Trustees of Grinnell College voted yesterday to divest itself of some of its South African investments.

George Drake, president of the college in Grinnell, Iowa, said it would sell holdings in companies that supply military and technical aid to South Africa or follow policies that support that nation's system of racial separation.

Mr. Drake agreed with a student group's estimate that \$9 million of the college's \$140 million portfolio could be effected by the decision. The school has 1,200 students.

Convention?

Let us not

rule it out

as we try

to build up

black trust

PEACE FORUM

WILLIE

ESTERHUYSE

Professor of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, joins the debate on how black and white South Africans can get together ...

NEW feature of the South African political scene is the view that our political future should be decided at the negotiating table.

Various groups, parties and people differ on mechanisms, procedures, priorities and participants, but the general consensus is that decisions relating to the future of blacks should not be a "whites only" affair. This attitude was reflected by the State President in his opening speech to Parliament. It is understood by the energetic endeavours of the Minister of Constitutional Affairs to establish dialogue.

It has materialised quite dramatically in the way in which the Crossroads dilemma is being dealt with. Bull-dozing techniques of the past have been shelved and negotiated agreements have emerged out of this change in attitude, albeit still in embryonic form, is a far cry from the not too distant past.

Conditioned to act unilaterally and to regard white power and privilege as sacrosanct, not many whites are equipped with the skills of bargaining, negotiation and conflict management.

THESSE skills are not acquired in a day or learnt from circulars and one-hour seminars. It is moreover a hard fact that not everyone can be a negotiator.

Does a positive climate for enhancing the prospects of meaningful negotiation exist in our country? In some respects we have reasons for cautious optimism. The State President some of his Ministers and Black leaders like Chieftain Buthe should get credit for this.

● The perception that the negotiating agenda does not include the dismantling of apartheid, but has as its bid-
● The perception that the economic system represents among many blacks that our recession, and the perception ended by the present economic live deprivation, strength-
● The experience of rela-
● The 99-year lease-
● The time-lag between announcements aimed at improving conditions and de-
● The time-lag between pass laws had on black per-
● The devastating effect of influx control measures and
● The perception among blacks that local authorities are alternatives to full citi-
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den agenda the goal to pro-
wide apartheid with a more
acceptable face through the
co-option of blacks into the
system.
These factors make it ex-
tremely difficult for black
leaders with clout to publicly
participate in the process of
negotiation.
The negotiating environ-
ment is furthermore inhibi-
ted by important features of
the so-called "white political
culture".
Foremost among these are
the white fears of black ma-
jority rule.
These are strengthened by
violence in black townships.
The activities of the ANC and
international pressures.
Another inhibiting factor,
coupled to the economic re-
cession, is the presence of the
Conservative Party and the
National Party.
In a polarised and politi-
cally fragmented society like
South Africa, the exercise of
confidence building and crea-
tion of trust is extremely dif-

What is needed is a policy
framework by means of
which urbanisation can be
controlled instead of being
managed.
The allocation of freehold
title rights and the removal
of restrictions on the devel-
opment of the informal sec-
tion of blacks.
late the urbanisa-
sures which regu-
other control mea-
not be substituted by
support of black leaders.
It should furthermore be
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Radical rhetoric, unrealis-
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It could be argued that
some of these issues should
be part and parcel of the ne-
gotiating agenda and should
not be decided on by the Gov-
ernment unilaterally.
This argument has some
merit, provided it does not
lead to a prolonged process
of implementation and that
the end result will get the
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SUNDAY TIMES - 5 MAY 1985

They generate fears and a rightwing backlash and contribute to the further entrenchment of traditional positions.

What is needed is a scaling down of claims and views. And this is most certainly not a "whites only" affair.

Another critical question is with whom to negotiate. Past experience makes it clear that whites can neither select with whom to negotiate, nor create a negotiating

leadership through imposed institutions.

The decision about whom their leaders are, is the prerogative of blacks.

Some blacks argue that real negotiations are out of the question because most of their leaders are either banned or in prison, and their organisations declared illegal.

The UDF and Azapo, representing divergent black opinion, are for various reasons also not interested in talks and negotiations at this stage. In a nutshell: negotiating partners are not easy to find nor willing to come to the fore.

THIS makes it all the more necessary for those willing to participate at this stage to achieve some tangible results.

If they remain with empty hands, they will become complete outcasts.

Negotiations should obviously include elected political leaders of the likes of Chief Buthelezi and others.

They represent an important segment of black opinion and the view that the ANC is the only and real representative of blacks is arrogant nonsense.

Besides elected political leaders, the black community comprises many organisations, unions, institutions and people of influence.

Preliminary negotiations should include them for they are in a position to jeopardise even the most generally acceptable outcome of negotiations if their co-operation is not involved. To ignore them or, even worse, to try to discredit them, will be utter folly.

In a politically fragmented environment, negotiations should take place over the broadest possible spectrum. If they do not, negotiations inevitably strengthen the forces of polarisation and alienation, which in turn will lead to the erosion of the power-bases of those participating.

If the aim of negotiations is to establish relative peace and support for negotiated

agreements, negotiations cannot be restricted to traditional and elected political leaders only.

They should include charismatic leaders, community leaders, leaders of organisations with influence and opinion-makers.

To be more specific: If ways and means can be found to mediate the participation of, for instance Inkatha, the UDF, the South African Council of Churches, the Tutus and Motlanas, it would be a major step in the attempt to establish avenues towards a just society.

Sustained efforts, especially on the informal level, should be made to mediate their participation.

Reasons for not being prepared to participate at this stage should be taken seriously and could provide the agenda for initial talks.

In this respect it should be emphasised that the ground-

work for negotiations is not a responsibility of the Government alone.

One of the fallacies is the tendency to expect everything from the Government. The success of negotiations depends admittedly to a large extent on initiatives taken by Government. It should, however, be bolstered by talks and dialogues across the whole spectrum of our society.

THE involvement and participation of our society's opinion-makers in the process of dialogue and the establishment of confidence and trust are necessary conditions for a democratic process of negotiations.

The negotiating framework poses another serious problem. Should it be a national convention, an infor-

mal forum or something else?

Blacks generally feel strongly in favour of a national convention. The National Party is against it.

This provides a very serious obstacle to meaningful negotiations. The Special Cabinet Committee, recently enlarged to include members of the opposition, made some headway. Its general acceptance by blacks, however, was limited because it was regarded as part and parcel of the "system".

The idea of an informal forum was also not greeted with much enthusiasm. But significant forum talks did take place and are continuing.

Given black reactions, and they should be taken seriously if we are sincere about negotiations, the Special Cabinet Committee and the idea of an informal forum obviously does not supply the

final answer to a negotiating framework.

While these moves by Government should not be discarded — the forum, for instance, provides the opportunity to hold informal and confidential talks, thus preparing the ground for further initiatives — I believe that a formal negotiating body should be given serious thought.

It should, moreover, be one of the points on the agenda of preliminary negotiations.

A national convention should not in principle be excluded, but is equally an item to be negotiated. A possible compromise would be the institution of a Constitutional Task Force.

Negotiations eventually revolve around issues like objectives, goals and bottom lines. Suffice to say that these issues imply that we should not expect too much too soon.



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Apartheid Opponents Launch Fresh Campaign

Nicaragua Sanctions Become a Weapon

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

Civil rights and political activist groups launched a campaign yesterday to persuade Congress and the Reagan administration to impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

A coalition resembling one that fought the civil rights battles of the 1960s argues that if sanctions are suitable for Marxist-ruled Nicaragua they are suitable for white-ruled South Africa.

The campaign against the apartheid policies of South Africa is led by the Washington-based Free South Africa Movement. It hopes to convince Congress that the administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa—applying only diplomatic pressure to convince the white-ruled government to change its policies—is not enough.

"Martin Luther King Jr., I think, is with us today because for many years he talked about the inhumanity of South Africa," said Coretta Scott King. The widow of the slain civil rights leader said she had not seen such solidarity in a movement since her husband fought racism in this country.

Following a day-long strategy meeting of more than 200 groups, Randall Robinson, cochairman of the movement and executive director of TransAfrica, said the campaign was injecting "a new flavor and a new spirit" into an old coalition on behalf of "a new American policy" toward South Africa.

Robinson, King and others, many

of whom have been staging protests and vigils in support of South African blacks, told a news conference that they solidly support pending legislation to impose sanctions against South Africa.

The administration's South African policies have come under increasing attack over the last few months, partly because of the publicity engendered by the protests.

The anti-South Africa groups also apparently feel that the administration's position has been further weakened by its decision to impose a trade embargo on the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, which it accuses of exporting revolution throughout Central America.

The administration's difficult position was illustrated earlier this month in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the assistant secretary of state for Africa, Chester A. Crocker, widely regarded as the constructive-engagement policy's chief architect and staunchest defender.

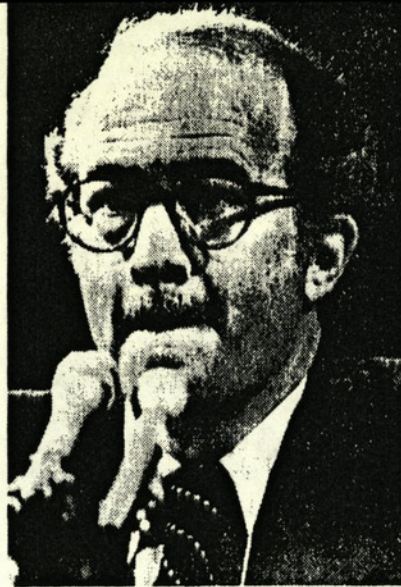
Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.) asked why Crocker continued to defend the policy when so many Americans of all political persuasions had come to the conclusion that it had failed.

"The issues are complicated, but you better start coming to grips with them because you are sitting there ... in total isolation from what is going on around you," Sarbanes said.

The administration's entire southern African policy—aimed at getting Cubans troops out of Angola, independence in Namibia and orderly change inside South Africa—is increasingly under attack from both Republicans and Democrats.

One result is that many Republicans, particularly in the Senate where the terms of 22 GOP members expire next year, are distancing themselves from the administration.

"For most Republicans, the administration's policy provides no political cover," said one Senate staff aide. "The administration isn't even mouthing the right words. Crocker's approach to reform just doesn't sell."



CHESTER A. CROCKER
... policy's chief architect, staunchest defender

For the first time, there is every indication that both the House and the Senate will pass legislation this session, even over administration opposition, aimed at stepping up U.S. pressure on the Pretoria government.

"Republicans are feeling that the administration's policy has to be altered in some shape, form or manner," said another aide. "There are three or four Republican bills, and these are not liberal Republicans."

Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), who heads the Senate subcommittee on Africa and is one of the few still opposed to economic sanctions, indicated in an interview that she feels part of the administration's problem is of its own making.

"The least they could do right now is more forcefully speaking out in South Africa, and that we have not done," she said.

In the administration's struggle to head off sanctions against South Africa, President Reagan's decision to impose a trade embargo on Nicaragua has come at an awkward moment. The embargo complicates its argument that such measures imposed on white-ruled South Africa would be "counterproductive."

Democrats in particular have seized upon the apparent contradiction, but the inconsistency troubles many Republicans, who also are pressing for action against South Africa.



SEN. PAUL S. SARBANES
... "you better start coming to grips"

"Can anyone seriously doubt that it is far worse to live today as a black man or woman in South Africa than as an opponent of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua," Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) said at a House Foreign Affairs committee session just after Reagan announced his Nicaraguan trade embargo.

"If total sanctions are justified against Nicaragua, can we really say that partial sanctions ... are not justified against South Africa?" Solarz added.

Crocker's answer is that the two cases are different and must be decided partly on the basis of whether U.S. sanctions will make any difference. South Africa's economy is 30 times larger than Nicaragua's and much less vulnerable to the impact of sanctions, he argued.

One gauge of the breath and depth of the South African issue is the shifting attitude among mainstream and conservative Capitol Hill Republicans, many of whom are openly disgruntled with the administration's "constructive engagement" policy.

The Senate's Republican leadership, a group of well-known House Republican conservatives led by Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia and another by Mark D. Siljander of Michigan have come out for various kinds of sanctions.

Two conservative Republican senators—William V. Roth, Jr. of Delaware and Mitch McConnell of

Kentucky—have introduced a bill that calls for banning all U.S. loans to the Pretoria government and all flights by South African Airways to the United States. Licenses of goods and technology for South African nuclear development would be blocked. The bill also would reduce the number of South African consulates allowed to operate here.

The focus of the legislative battle today is in the Senate, where Republicans are in control and the administration normally could be expected to have a better chance to head off legislation it opposes. Even there, however, it is locked in an uphill battle.

Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.) have introduced probably the strongest bill to date, but even their proposals do not differ radically from ones put forth by conservative Republicans.

Known as the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, the Kennedy-Weicker measure would prohibit all new U.S. loans to South Africa, restrict new investment, prohibit computer sales to the government there and ban the sale of South African gold kruggerands in the United States.

An identical bill has been introduced in the House by Rep. William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) with 145 co-sponsors, seven of them Republicans. It has already been approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee and is expected to reach the floor before the Memorial Day recess.



SEN. NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM
... wishes U.S. voice was more forceful

An alternative approach, more to the administration's liking, has been proposed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, and cosponsored by Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) and Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.).

The thrust of this bill is to increase aid for the economic and social betterment of the black population in South Africa and put off any consideration of economic sanctions for at least two years to give the South African government more time to make reforms.

But it would make the "Sullivan principles" mandatory for U.S. companies operating in South Africa. The principles, named after Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, seek to assure equal treatment for blacks and improve their general conditions both in and out of the workplace.

Even this limited step is so far unacceptable to the administration, however.

Crocker told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 2 that the Sullivan principles would be difficult to apply and monitor in a foreign country.

The administration's position, as presented by Crocker, is that more change for the better is taking place than ever before in South Africa and that U.S. sanctions would be sending the "wrong signal at the wrong time."

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Reform-minded S. Africa turns to Zulu chief

Sunday
By Ray Moseley Chicago Tribune

ULUNDI, South Africa—While black unrest has flared across much of South Africa in the last 14 months, there has been one notable exception.

KwaZulu, the land of the 5.5 million Zulus who comprise South Africa's largest black tribe, has been remarkably peaceful.

One reason undoubtedly has been the fact that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, resolutely opposes violence and believes South Africa's problems still can be solved through negotiation.

Buthelezi, 56, who has his capital in this village high in the mountains 120 miles north-east of Durban, has long been the odd man out in South Africa's black politics.

In the eyes of many blacks, he committed the unpardonable sin of agreeing to head a black government set up under the aegis of a white government, and thus is little more than a white stooge.

Buthelezi also differs from many black leaders in that he rejects socialism in favor of free enterprise. He opposes the campaign in the United States to impose sanctions against South Africa, arguing that sanctions would hurt blacks more than whites.

The distaste that many South African blacks have for him is shared by some black organizations in the U.S. that lobby on South African affairs, and by some members of Congress.

But as leader of one-fourth of South Africa's 22 million blacks, Buthelezi has a power base that cannot be ignored.

He and his supporters, who include many white liberals, argue that the characterization of him as a government collaborator is unfair.

They say Buthelezi, more than any other person, wrecked the government scheme to relegate blacks to independent homelands by his refusal to accept independence for KwaZulu.

He also has resisted government attempts to draw him into a national forum to discuss the future of blacks in South Africa unless the government first commits itself to sharing power with blacks.

Novelist Alan Paton, author of the famed anti-apartheid book "Cry, the Beloved Country," said of Buthelezi: "If there is anyone less like a stooge than he is, I would like to meet him."

Now, with the country's white government moving forward on political reform, many political observers see Buthelezi as possibly a key figure in helping determine South Africa's future.

Recent government actions, according to these observers, seem to point toward an eventual federal system in which blacks, whites, coloreds and Indians would share power.

Buthelezi has been advocating a federal solution since 1974.

Three years ago he established a commission consisting mainly of blacks and white liberal academics, which proposed a federation of KwaZulu with Natal province. KwaZulu, which consists of 10 areas inhabited by Zulus, was carved out of Natal.

Under the system the Buthelezi commission proposed, there would be power-sharing between the Natal and KwaZulu governments and safeguards for minority [white] rights.

The government ignored the proposal.

But as reform gets underway, there suddenly is more interest in Buthelezi and his ideas. President P.W. Botha, who snubbed him for four years, met with Buthelezi last November and afterward instructed his minister for black affairs, Gerrit Viljoen, to begin discussions with the Zulu leader.

Buthelezi and his cabinet met in March with Viljoen and three other white cabinet ministers, and they agreed to establish a joint committee involving the national government, Natal and KwaZulu to plan a major industrial development project and two other projects encompassing the ports and urban im-

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provement.

Buthelezi said in an interview that he regards this decision as a breakthrough, portending a trial run of his federalism scheme. "One could interpret it as a back-door entry to implementation of the Buthelezi commission report," he said.

Laurence Schlemmer, a renowned sociologist at the University of Natal in Durban and a member of the commission, agrees.

"It is a complete move away from the idea that KwaZulu is a separate territory," he said. "No longer will KwaZulu and Natal be planned separately on major developments."

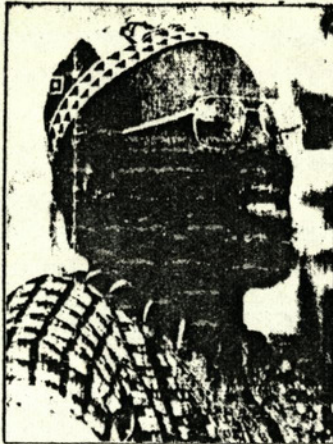
But Schlemmer said the government "still has to bite the political bullet" on federalism and may not be ready to accept it for another 18 months or so.

If federalism is to come, many experts think Natal-KwaZulu would be the ideal testing ground. Natal is inhabited mainly by English-speaking whites and Indians, who would be less resistant to power-sharing with blacks than would Afrikaners in other parts of the country.

Paton said that if federalism comes to the region, he would expect Buthelezi to head the government. Many prominent whites in Natal, he said, would be "quite willing" to serve under him.

"A federal system here would be a great encouragement to white people who are so afraid of the future," he said.

The current unrest in South Africa has illustrated not only the gap between white and black but the



Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi

raging hostility among black factions.

Buthelezi has been the target not merely of black radicals seeking revolution but also of moderate blacks such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of Johannesburg.

There also is a deep split in ideology and tactics between blacks who support the principles of the outlawed African National Congress and those who support the Black Consciousness movement.

Buthelezi is conscious of the fact that black versus black confrontation has been a problem throughout Africa. He said he doesn't know how to overcome it.

"I could understand the hostility toward me if it were based on principle," he said. "But we are all agreed on the principle of getting rid of apartheid. The question is how we do it."

In fact, the split is deeper than that because he differs from many

other blacks on the economic system that would prevail once blacks are in government.

Like other blacks, he said he supported socialism until he went to Tanzania and saw its failures there.

"I don't say free enterprise is perfect," he said. "But, despite its faults, I don't see any other system that is such a potent force for development."

Buthelezi seeks to promote support for free enterprise and black self-help schemes through Inkatha, a million-member Zulu organization that he formed to provide money to set up black-owned businesses. It is the largest and most disciplined black organization of its type in South Africa and is recognized, but not supported, by the government.

Buthelezi, the great-grandson of one of the Zulu kings who fought the British in the 19th Century, said he has always understood why the African National Congress under Nelson Mandela opted for violence, and he has never condemned it for that.

"In the long run, if my people opt for armed struggle, that will be my option, too," he said. "But humans turn to violence when everything else fails, and I caution against using a strategy like violence prematurely."

He said blacks could use their consumer buying power and their power as the major element of the work force to compel change. But these options have not even been tried, he said.

From his speeches it is clear that Buthelezi sees himself as the pre-eminent leader of black South Africa. But most blacks here clearly regard Mandela, who is serving a life sentence, as their leader.

Buthelezi said he would have no

difficulty serving in a government with Mandela. He said he had cordial relations with Mandela before he went to prison, and has recently received a friendly message from him.

Professor Schlemmer said that whether it is Mandela or some other black who takes power here, he will have to come to terms with Buthelezi.

"Otherwise he will face a few million Zulus mobilized against him, and who wants that?" he said.

Buthelezi said his own ideal for a future South Africa is a one-man, one-vote system, but he does not expect that to be conceded. "Both sides have to compromise," he said. "There is a danger of reducing the country to ashes if we insist on confrontation. The whites are afraid, and if we force them to have their backs to the wall, they will scorch the earth."

Most black leaders reject all reforms put forward by the government as cosmetic and meaningless. But Buthelezi said he is not afraid to give credit when it is due.

President Botha, he said, has done more than any of his predecessors in pushing reform. "But he has not convinced blacks that he intends to address the issue of power-sharing," he said.

During a U.S. tour this year, Buthelezi met with President Reagan. He said he told Reagan that his policy of "constructive engagement" toward South Africa has so far done nothing to improve the lives of blacks.

"I told him that if he characterizes his policy as one of carrot and stick, he should use the stick more," he said. "Otherwise blacks here will think he is collaborating with an apartheid regime."

Heritage of warfare flows through Zulus

The Zulus may be best known among Americans and Europeans as noble fighters who battled, with occasional spectacular success, against early Dutch settlers and British colonialists in Southern Africa in the 19th Century.

In the view of many South Africans, those battles broke out as the Zulus, known as a strong people, extended their traditional homelands southward, meeting the European colonists as they migrated northward. In the view of many Zulus, the whites met resistance when they invaded Zulu lands.

The Zulus' current situation stems in part from a battle between European colonial forces and a band of Zulus led by an ancestor of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi, noted for his steadfast opposition to violence as the solution to South Africa's problems, traces his ancestry to one of his people's most renowned warriors.

History—and Hollywood in its 1960s movie "Zulu"—takes particular note of one Buthelezi ancestor, King Cetshwayo. This Zulu king led a force of his tribal fighters in 1879 to defeat the technologically superior British army.

Cetshwayo had built his army on the military tradition established by an earlier king, Shaka, who had commanded an

army in which tribesmen were housed in regiments grouped by age, forbidden to marry until their mid-30s, and drilled to move in disciplined attacks.

Twelve hundred Europeans and Africans under British command were killed by the Zulus' spears in the January, 1879, battle led by Cetshwayo. The Zulus won the battle but lost the war.

British colonialists divided the territory, which lies in the Natal province in the southeastern part of Africa near the Indian Ocean, into administrative partitions that included 21 special "reserves" set aside for the Zulu people.

Traditionally farmers and cattle herders, the Zulus were settled into areas in which the land often was unusable. Brief rebellions against white rulers arose and were quashed several times in the 19th Century. Clan warfare among Zulus continued into the 20th Century, centering on conflicts over the dwindling supply of land in the reserves.

These fragmented and scattered reserves would become known as a Zulu state, KwaZulu.

In the mid-1970s, some persistent clan clashes spilled into cities and mining towns, where Zulu workers had migrated with the growth of industry.