

16/7/3

Farmers not intimidated by terrorist threat

15/12/86

Citizen Reporter

A FIRM "no ways, not on your nelly" is the reply of Soutpansberg farming community commando leader Mr Willie Ester-

huyse when he is asked if he is likely to give up his farm to ANC terrorists.

Interviewed on his farm Over-lakte — a catapult shot from Zimbabwe, over the Limpopo River — he and other border farmers said they were "here to stay".

Farmers had been "nervous" after the first landmine blasts a year ago, but they had learnt to live with threat and to understand it, said the father of three young children.

With the state contributing heavily to farm homestead fortifications and mine-resistant vehicles, the farmers were confident they could "handle anything a bunch of scruffy ANC terrors can throw at us, and more".

Experience had taught the farmers to cut down on "riding around" and to plan farming and social activities better.

Said Mr Esterhuyse: "I

would rather walk around my farm — which was bush just six years ago and in which I have sunk everything I own — than Hillbrow at night or any other time."

He confirmed that a problem was the "second row" of farmers immediately behind the front row, Limpopo River bank farms — farms determinedly occupied because of the vast availability of water to boost cotton growing.

He said many of these farms were either game farms owned by wealthy urban professional people, or had been left by the farmers — forced off by drought and economic hardship rather than terrorism.

They provided a valuable re-grouping area for terrorists, but generally Black farm labourers were well disposed and operated closely with their employers.

"We have little trouble with them. They realise that they are in it up to their necks, just as we are — and that a mine does not select a "Boer" to annihilate and allows the Black man to go free."

He said that illegal entries to South Africa appeared to be increasing as the economies of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, particularly, collapsed.

"The stories of hardship are heartbreaking," he added.

He and other farmers were, however, worried about increasing agricultural input costs — concerned that economics would succeed in doing what the terrorists were failing to do, force them off the land.

For instance a cotton-picking machine that cost him R87 000 only three years ago now costs R230 000 — "and that's before the tax man takes his slice".

The Leverage of Legitimacy in the South African Struggle for Liberation

His Excellency
Mangosuthu G.
Buthelezi

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha, and Chairman of the South African Black Alliance

TUESDAY DECEMBER 2

THE WHOLE BURDEN of West European and North American diplomacy rests on the recognition of P.W. Botha's government in South Africa as a *de facto* and *de jure* government. There is the exchange of ambassadors between Pretoria and capitals in the Western world. There is South Africa's position in the United Nations legitimized by the West. There is South Africa's position in the International Monetary Fund legitimized by the West. There are extradition treaties between South Africa and Western countries, and a host of binding legal and commercial ties between South Africa and the Western world — all of which add up to express an ongoing legitimacy of the South African government.

Even Third-World states which have no diplomatic ties with South Africa and that minimize every possible contact recognize P.W. Botha's legitimacy as head of the government. The West's continued vetoing of UN resolutions at the Security Council level, the maintenance of trade links with South Africa, and a host of daily contacts with South Africa are dragged into the Third World arena from time to time.

Western governments have always been under pressure to de-legitimize the South African government by the Third World

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and the socialist bloc. I would like now to offer some thoughts about this from a black perspective.

Courting Disaster

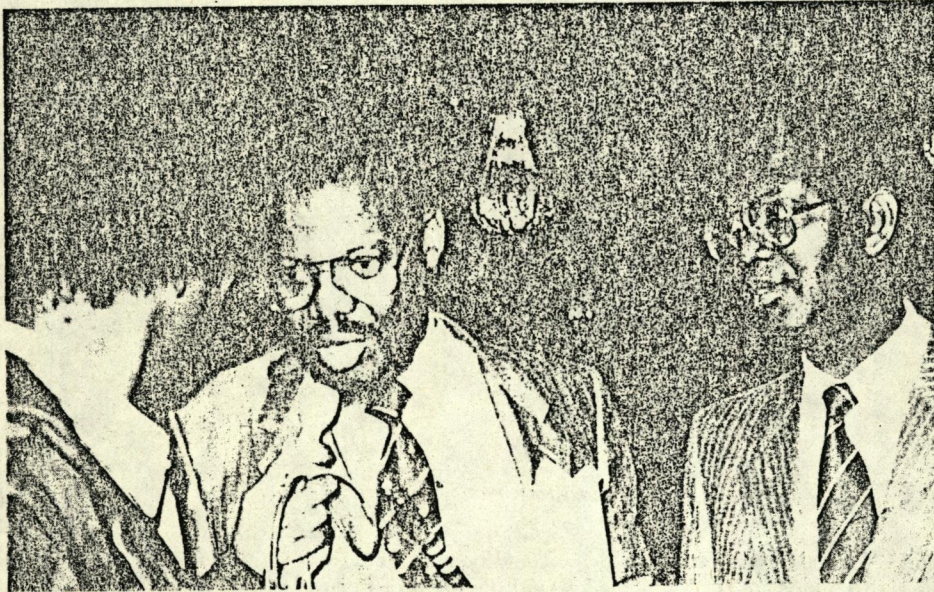
South African revolutionary forces have long regarded the South African government as an illegitimate dictatorship. The South African government, for the first time in the history of racial oppression in South Africa, is now actually courting "legitimacy disaster."

The time may well come when there is nothing left but to employ violence against the government. When that time comes nobody will save the legitimacy of the South African government.

There is an exploitable weakness in racial oppression in South Africa: The South African government is beginning to move into a position of accepted isolation in which its legitimacy will be difficult to maintain. It desperately needs Western legitimacy — that is the one thing it cannot afford to abandon.

Only advances in black democratic, non-violent opposition to apartheid can finally ensure the permanent legitimacy of any South African government. The means of such a government is full black involvement in the country's parliamentary process. In this sense, throughout its existence as a legal organization in South Africa, the old African National Congress (ANC) legitimized successive South African governments. The primary objective of black politics was always to gain black entry into South Africa's parliamentary system.

Black opposition to apartheid always accepted the kind of government, economic order, and constitution South Africa has had ever since 1910. Blacks sought only equality in the land of their birth: the right to participate in the development of their country, in the formation of its government, and the determination of its domestic and foreign policy.



KPFA reporter Wendell Harper, Chief Buthelezi, and Africa Study Section Chairman Alfred Acquaye

Political Exclusion

The present constitution and the Tricameral Parliament has radicalized black politics. The last thing black democratic opposition in South Africa can do is get the state president to pronounce the death sentence on the present parliamentary system. His refusal to do so will be no more and no less than to accept that there can no longer be a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Already the upward spiraling of violence has led to massive black pressure against anyone who has any dealings with the South African government. Non-cooperation is now elevated by a section of the black population to a political principle. They have already declared themselves to be the internal allies of the external revolutionary movement. Those in South Africa who refuse to have any negotiations with the South African government have already endorsed a future one-party state, the kind which South African revolutionaries want to establish on their return to the country.

The crisis can only be resolved by the scrapping of the constitution and the existing parliamentary system, to be replaced with a negotiated constitution and a new parliamentary system — or violent overthrow of the government.

It is a forlorn white hope that compromise on fundamental constitutional issues can be reached. There can be no compromise within the framework of the country's existing constitution and parliamentary system.

The only function the existing parliamentary system can serve is to legitimize radical change and produce the continuity that is so essential for the development of democracy, by passing legislation, scrapping the present constitution, and intro-

The days of political paternalism are gone.

ducing a new one. That is the bottom line: Both black and white who do not recognize this will be endorsed out of relevance by history itself.

Sabre-Rattling

Never have I endorsed the present constitution. I have rejected it in both word and in deed.

When the present constitution was being formulated by the president's council, the present state president, then prime minister, put enormous pressure on me to join a black advisory council whose function would have been to legitimize the new constitution. I would have absolutely nothing to do with it — and in fact that black advisory council never got off the ground.

The present constitution was introduced in a whites-only referendum. I campaigned across the country to persuade whites that they would be making a tragic error if they endorsed it. I was not heard when I said

the new constitution would radicalize black politics, polarize the country, and heighten black anger immeasurably.

I was accused of sabre-rattling by the state president and his cabinet, but in 1985 I was awarded the Financial Mail's Man of the Year Award — largely in recognition of the valuable contribution I made

during the referendum campaign. In granting the award, *Financial Mail* admitted they had been wrong and that many prominent businessmen had been wrong in arguing that the new constitution was a step in the right direction.

After the new constitution had been accepted, the state president established a special cabinet committee with the specific purpose of negotiating with blacks for further political development within the Tricameral Parliament and new constitution.

Political "Persuasion"

I would have nothing to do with that committee. Immense pressure was brought on me to enter it, and I was told by cabinet ministers, on instruction by Mr. P.W. Botha, it was essential that I accept so-called independence for KwaZulu — so that the state president could urgently get on with his intention to establish a confederation of southern African states.

I was told that if I did not go along with the state president, he would carry on on his own. I was told that an attempt to establish a confederation of southern African states, when there was only Transkei and South Africa would have been politically foolhardy, but that the state president judged it had become possible to do so once Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei had accepted what Pretoria regarded as independence. And I was told that once I had accepted so-called independence for KwaZulu, a confederation of southern African states would become "real politik." There is a national party dependence on KwaZulu's cooperation — we number nearly 7 million people — and if we endorsed ourselves out of South Africa, whites would be left with a commanding majority.

I would rather have gone to the bush than bow to such dictates. The state president recognized that the special cabinet committee could not make the break he was hoping for, and he attempted to establish a non-statutory negotiating forum in which government, together with blacks, could negotiate a black future within the broader acceptance of the new constitution and the Tricameral Parliament. Again, I would have absolutely nothing to do with this negotiating forum — and it came to nought. Finally the state president has announced his intention, in bill form, to establish a National Council. For the first

time in his political career he is about to move toward real negotiations between black and white.

The National Council

The main objectives of the National Council are to:

- offer participation in the planning and preparation of a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South African citizens in the process of government;
- grant to black South African citizens, on an interim basis, a voice in the processes of government which affect their interests; and
- further sound relationships among all South African citizens.

If it were possible to achieve these objectives through the council I would weather any and every political storm to do so. I will not enter the National Council to attempt these objectives if it simply means joining a talking shop or participating in an advisory council — the days of political paternalism are gone.

Negotiation Without Chains

Negotiation is vital — there can be no negotiation between grossly unequal partners. The council must be given bite — but above all else — black politics need to be unfettered.

The minimal requirement is that one be free to campaign for the stand one takes. While Dr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, and other political prisoners remain in jail, black politics will remain fettered at the national level.

Unless Western diplomacy participates in the attempt to establish a really legitimate government in South Africa, only violent revolution is left — and none will emerge the winner.

We must have a legitimate government to supervise the process of radical transition. We simply must, one way or another, establish the right of blacks to orchestrate their own future and express the sovereignty of South Africa in an all-embracing South African formula.

It would be indisputably better for Western governments, South Africa, and the whole of southern Africa, if South Africa's government could be relied upon to make the transitions into a democracy which all democratic countries are waiting for. But only joint participation of blacks and whites, working within a legitimized government, can achieve the kind of transition and future which Western governments so fervently hope for. It is to this end that West European and North American governments have been mounting pressure on Mr. Botha.

Senseless Futility

When one looks at the sanctions package announced by the U.S. government and other industrial democracies — in particu-

lar the conditions under which they would be prepared to lift sanctions — it becomes clear that the real political drive behind sanctions is to achieve objectives which include black participation in a legitimized transition.

The West is not asking the South African government to leap into a democratic utopia overnight. The West knows a transition period is necessary. The West only wants progress — real progress — beginning now. Each time the government misses an opportunity, it takes one step nearer the diplomatic isolation of South Africa.

It is so tragic that Western peace initiatives in South Africa have thus far failed. It is doubly tragic that these initiatives have failed unnecessarily. They have failed because the West has failed to see that it cannot mount pressures on Pretoria, and then stand back and hope Pretoria will do the right thing.

The West must be big enough to hold Pretoria's hand in the difficult transition period that lies ahead — not in the sense of condoning weakness, but in the sense of giving it courage. There is a groundswell demand in white South Africa for the normalization of the country as a modern, western-type industrial democracy. There is a demand for a stable multi-party parliament that will stand the test of time. There is a demand for the rule of law and for the free enterprise system.

We have been witness to the mission to South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. We have been witness to an endeavor by Sir Geoffrey Howe both as president of the EEC and as foreign minister of Great Britain, and we have also been witness to the ongoing efforts of President Reagan through the activity of Dr. Chester Crocker. Thus far, all these have tragically come to nought: The West is growing impatient, and is now moving into a position in which it can finally wipe its hands of any responsibility toward South Africa. That must be avoided at all cost.

Western Responsibilities

Diplomatic initiatives thus far have erred because they have taken too little part in an ongoing process in the country and assumed that arms-length pressure would work best. The West has a responsibility to the international community to support change in South Africa. Here I tread on thin ice.

It is possible for the West to establish a permanent, ongoing mission to South Africa as a catalyst for the kind of change

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FROM PAGE 1



Chief Buthelezi and Club Secretary Jean Auer

Buthelezi

which white South Africans and the majority of black South Africans can endorse. It is possible for a credible agent from abroad, backed by Western governments, to establish a group in South Africa which is composed of major industries and which includes local black leadership committed to the politics of negotiation. This group should be given the responsibility of spelling out the various possibilities of change which will have to be negotiated.

Such a group would have to accept that there can only be short-term compromise solutions, medium-term reduction of compromises, and finally uncompromised total equality and democracy. If such a group were to offer the South African government avenues of gaining credibility in the West during this difficult phase of South African history, its "real politik" would become evident to the majority of Mr. P.W. Botha's colleagues.

Plan for Reconciliation

Such an agent could establish a similar group outside South Africa that would include any South Africans abroad, including the exiled ANC, to begin a reconsideration of positions outside South Africa. The South African problem has been internationalized, and unless positions both within and without the country are reconsidered, total disaster is inevitable. Western governments could then have a shuttle group to move between the internal group and the external group and create the kind of dialogue that is vital to a peaceful solution of the South African problem.

Black politics need to be unfettered.

The only immediate outcome of the South African situation is an explosion of violence. If that is to be avoided, there must be an explosion of democracy and an explosion of negotiation in carefully monitored timetables. After many decades of ineffectual Western opposition to apartheid — ineffectual in the sense that apartheid grew in strength — the West cannot now expect instant solutions. Let us now do what is really necessary.

The Buthelezi Commission

I'm not boasting when I say that of all leaders, black and white, I'm the only one that has not confined my opposition to apartheid to just rhetoric. In 1980, I appointed a commission, called the Buthelezi Commission, whose aim was to get the region of Natal/KwaZulu to address South Africa's problems. I reserved a seat for the ANC, and I invited the ruling National Party; the ANC didn't reply, and the government refused to participate because I invited the ANC. I invited industrialists, even Mr. Oppenheim, who was a member of the Commission. We devised a blueprint, whereby this region of Natal/KwaZulu would have one government for all race groups, voting on the basis of one person, one vote. They recommended this be diluted by a minority veto. Although my ideal is one person, one vote in the entire state, I too endorsed that, because, as Mao

Tse-Tung said: "Even a journey of 1000 miles begins with a single step."

Up Against the Wall

I've come to the conclusion that if white South Africans are put against the wall — they'll destroy us. They would be foolish enough to destroy us, even while destroying themselves in the process. Some people in America who think there are possibilities

Buthelezi

for a fight to the finish are mistaken, whether it is led by blacks or whites. Whites cannot hope that because of their military they can annihilate the blacks, and blacks, even with their numbers, cannot hope to triumph over the whites. We have come from a warrior people, and when my ancestors fought a war, they brought back beautiful women and cattle — that was evidence of their victory. What sort of war will this be with no spoils? Neither blacks nor whites can win anything except ashes.

After the government rejected our first blueprint, we continued to negotiate with whites in Natal, and together produced a bill of rights, and recently, a blueprint for a bi-cameral legislature consisting of an assembly of 100, elected by one person, one vote, and a minority chamber, composed of 10 people of English background, 10 of Afrikaans, 10 of Asian, 10 of African, and 10 not designated under any of those categories. The government has rejected this blueprint also, saying it's a road to domination. Some people may say, what is there to do now but support violence? But this Commission was not my political lifeline; my political career did not hang on it. I believe I've reached a stage where I have allies among whites who believe in the bill of rights I've produced, and that it's possible for black and white to share power.

Answers to Written Questions from the Floor:

Q. The New York Times recently quoted you as saying, "Apartheid is in its death throes." On what do you base this opinion?

A. This October a very important thing took place in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church, which has been the guardian angel of the National Party, passed a resolution saying that apartheid is a sin. In the words of a prominent Afrikaner businessman, "It is not a question now of whether or not apartheid is dead. It is dead. The question is not to embalm it, but to bury it."

Q. What is your realistic forecast for South Africa five years from now? Is violence inevitable?

A. I cannot pretend to know what will happen. The violent atmosphere in South Africa is thickening. If nothing is forthcoming, it is clear we will have mindless violence, but at present, most violence is by black people against other blacks. If Mr. Botha would release Nelson Mandela and others, the logjam would un-jam. Dr. Mandela's release is important because he does not rule out negotiations. He has said — contrary to the ANC — that there

could be no negotiations without my input and the input of Inkatha, which I lead. He does envisage negotiations, whereas the ANC says there's nothing left to negotiate except handing over the power to the people — and by "the people," they mean themselves, not all the people of South Africa.

Q. A recent issue of The Economist advocates "consociation of South Africa" described as "disproportionate power sharing minority protection." Is this

acceptable to you, to blacks generally, to P.W. Botha? Are you confident that such minority guarantees can be protected?

A. Although the blueprint that came out of the Buthelezi Commission was a kind of a "consociational blueprint," I was prepared to deviate from one person, one person, one vote because I believe this is reality. I have only seen Mr. Botha twice in five years, once privately and once officially. I told him

that if whites don't compromise, there will be destruction; if blacks don't compromise, there will be destruction. That is the only scenario I see.

Q. What specific avenues for a negotiated settlement with the nationalist government remain open after Botha's rejection of power-sharing by Kwa-Natal?

A. That was not a political lifeline for me. I've triumphed in that there are many whites now who share my ideals as stated in the bill of rights which was produced, and who are in fact determined to bring about change. I am not speaking now for just a black constituency, but for a constituency of whites, Indians, and coloreds who produced this blueprint and who will take this matter further. It is not the end of the world.

Q. Both you and Bishop Tutu seem sincere and dedicated to the elimination of apartheid. Why is he so in favor of sanctions while you are so opposed?

A. The Archbishop is my archbishop. I want to remain loyal to him as the head of my church. Last year other priests and bishops tried to bring us together, but our discussions have not come to much. The alienation between the bishop and myself was badly dramatized when Coretta King visited South Africa. She was pressured not to see me because the bishop said she would make a travesty of his invitation if she did. Later, I received a very nice letter from the bishop in which he addressed me as his brother. On a church level we get along very well — politically we're different. We must not forget that the bishop is a patron of the United Democratic Front. He doesn't only wear the mitre of the church, he also wears the hat of the United Democratic Front which fronts the ANC.

Q. How do your views compare with those of Nelson Mandela's? Is it true you won't cooperate with the Botha government until Mandela is released?

A. I have great love and affection for him; we were together in ANC. Even after 20 years of incarceration, he has remained warm toward me. In spite of the fact that his wife has been alienated from me, he has remained loyal. He has never seen me as "politically dead," as some people are trying to portray me. His wisdom and political acumen would be very important fac-

tors in the future of South Africa. He is the martyr of black South Africa, and if we want to go forward and eliminate violence, it's very important that Botha release him. I'm not saying my participation depends on whether Dr. Mandela wants to participate or not, but that he must be able to refuse to participate if he chooses. Too many people in America, Europe, and South Africa are using Dr. Mandela's name in a way which is sickening — it is high time that Dr. Mandela came out and spoke for himself.

Q. Is there any evidence that the right-wing is encouraging violence among blacks in order to maintain apartheid?

A. I don't think so. They've threatened violence, but there is no evidence that they are in cahoots with any black person at all. We're just "niggers" as far they're concerned.

Q. What have been the effects thus far of withdrawals from South Africa by

companies such as General Motors and Barclay's Bank?

A. Psychologically a lot has happened. Many people have lost jobs. When General Motors announced that it was withdrawing there were strikes that went on and on. Black workers felt insecure and abandoned by General Motors. Barclay's Bank will change hands; I don't think it's anything more than that.

Q. What can we as individuals do to support you and your approach to South Africa's problems? Is there an organization in this country that supports your aims?

A. There is no organization, but there are people who support my cause. There is much Americans can do. I find Americans get very angry with me. When I've demolished the case for sanctions, they get very irritated because they had something that made them feel pure — like they've done their job. When I tell them the consequences, they don't feel so pure after all. The continued presence of America is vital for the whole of southern Africa and for Western civilization. It's important for Americans to help. The Rotary Club has built three schools for us. Black education is not free, not compulsory. People must be prepared to take their places. Apartheid will soon be history. Training people so they can acquire skills is a very big contribution — more important than symbolic support. We appreciate that you're anti-apartheid, but that alone doesn't help us very much.

Q. Isn't the level of civil rights and liberties possessed by black South Africans greater than that of many black-ruled African countries? Why is there no pressure for divestment from countries such as Uganda?

A. That is a very embarrassing question for me to answer. That can be answered by Americans — not by me.

Q. How is the new black U.S. ambassador to South Africa being accepted by the whites?

A. I don't think there was any specific reaction against or for him amongst whites. I don't think there will be any non-acceptance of him by whites. But as a black man, maybe our expectations for him are bigger than he can meet. We expect him to achieve more because of his black skin when, in fact, that may not be possible.

Q. Are there particular black-ruled African states whose successful post-colonial development you view as a good role model for post-apartheid South Africa?

A. Yes. Botswana is a very good country.

Q. Are natives better or worse off now in the countries under communist rule such as Zimbabwe and Ethiopia?

A. In Ethiopia, our people have suffered and are suffering. Economically, black Zimbabwe is better off today than ever. However, Zimbabwe is among the forefront where want sanctions applied — though more than 90 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and imports go through South Africa. Zimbabwe's economic growth is higher than the U.S. and South Africa at present.

Press Curbs Aimed at Black Groups

*S. Africa's Botha
Circles the Wagons*

12/15/86

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

CAPE TOWN, Dec. 14—South Africa's drastic new clampdown on the press is aimed more at crippling the emergent black political opposition than at the newspapers themselves, according to people in close touch with government thinking here.

They say that muzzling the press and putting an end to publicity that it feels stirs up the black population is part of the motive. But more importantly, the press restrictions are part of a massive operation aimed at the extensive network of community organizations that have been challenging the state's civic and legal authority in the segregated black townships during the last two rebellious years.

By prohibiting the newspapers from reporting or commenting on the activities of these organizations, the government aims to sever their means of communicating with the black community. They will now find it more difficult to organize and publicize their campaigns and even to meet and raise funds.

"The main aim," one source close to the Cabinet said here this week, "is to create quiet conditions that will enable the government to proceed with getting its new constitutional structures in place."

Most local analysts believe the sweeping restrictions are also intended as a declaration of defiance to the world, and particularly the United States, in response to sanctions.

Some think, too, that they are the harbinger of an early general election to be called by President Pieter W. Botha, who will run on a platform of patriotism and national security. The media crackdown is one display of *kragdadigheid*, the Afrikaans word for forcefulness.

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NEWS
ANALYSIS

A34 MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1986

THE WASHINGTON POST

S. African Curbs Aimed at Black Groups

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

that is usually a sure sign the ruling National Party is getting ready for the polls.

The progovernment Afrikaans language press is already beginning to refer in editorials and articles by political columnists to the prospect of a "laager" election in April. This evokes the imagery of the circling of ox-wagons by the Dutch-descended Afrikaner pioneers into a defensive laager when they were under attack.

The imagery implies that Botha and his party will portray white South Africans generally, and its dominant Afrikaner element particularly, as being under attack by a vindictive, American-led international community, as well as by the black revolutionaries who are presented as the tools of Moscow.

In the face of this "total onslaught," as government ministers call it, the whites must put aside their differences and stand together.

The laager concept also implies a retreat from the Botha government's attempts to appease world—especially American—opinion.

"Essentially the government is saying, to hell with the rest of the world," says Robert Shrire, head of the political studies department at the University of Cape Town. "Botha's intention now is to wrap himself and his government in the South African flag."

"The government believes that it cannot appease its international critics," Shrire adds. "No matter what it does it is damned, and there is no longer any point in restraint. And domestically it feels there are more votes in being tough than there are in punting reform."

In a national television broadcast Friday night, Botha declared war on the underground African National Congress (ANC) and warned that he will go after its members inside and outside the country. The warning was followed almost immediately by a series of armed raids into neighboring Swaziland, further demonstrating the mood of "forcefulness."

The press crackdown is thought to be aimed at an extensive network of community organizations—action committees, street committees, student associations and people's courts—that have sprung up in black townships throughout South Africa over the last two years. They are affiliated to national coordinating bodies such as the pro-ANC United Democratic Front and the black consciousness Azanian People's Organization.

16/7/83

LANDMINE BLAST

4/11/2FN 15/12/86

INJURES TWO

POLICEMEN

By RIKA van GRAAN

TWO members of the South African Police were seriously injured early yesterday when the police vehicle they were travelling in detonated a landmine on dirt road about 200 m from the T-junction on the road between Josefsdal border post

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X Landmine blast

FROM PAGE 1

onated the mine, the origin of which has not yet been ascertained.

Yesterday's blast was the 10th in the Eastern Transvaal since May.

The last in the Barberton district was on November 3 when a SADF corporal detonated a landmine about 20 km from the town. He died in the blast.

On October 6, six soldiers were injured when their vehicle detonated a

landmine in the Nbzine district, bordering Mozambique. Before that, on August 17, five people were killed and four injured in three mine blasts in the Nelspruit district.

On June 10, a matric schoolboy lost a foot in a landmine blast on his parent's farm in the Volksrust district. In another blast, only 10 km away, on the same day, two Black workers were injured when they detonated a landmine with a tractor.

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16/01/

Mozambique

CITIZEN 15/12/86

re-elects 1 party govt

MAPUTO. — General elections that began in August in war-torn Mozambique ended yesterday with the election of the country's one-party national legislature.

The 250 members of the People's Assembly were chosen by members of provincial assemblies from a total of 299 candidates proposed by Frelimo, the ruling Marxist Party.

Aim, Mozambique's new agency, said that because of communications difficulties, only the results from Maputo, the capital, were known immediately. There, Aim said, President Joaquim Chissano was elected to the People's Assembly unanimously by the 88 voting members of the Maputo Assembly, and 36 other candidates from a field of 44 also were elected.

The voting for the

People's Assembly marked the end of a four-phase process which began with election of community assemblies, followed by voting for district and provincial assemblies. It was the second national election since the country won independence from Portugal in 1975.

Mr Chissano became Mozambique's leader following the death of President Samora Machel in a plane crash October 19. Mr Machel's widow, Graça, was among the successful assembly candidates in Maputo, as was Mr Nuro Americano, goalkeeper for Mozambique's Champion soccer club.

Results from other provinces are expected to be known by Tuesday, Aim said.

Mr Chissano, speaking yesterday before the voting, said the People's Assembly should "mobilise the entire people into an impenetrable barrier" against the Mozambique National Resistance rebels who have been waging a disruptive insurgency in much of the country.

Mr Chissano returned to Maputo Saturday from a three-day trip to neighbouring Tanzania, where — according to Aim — Tanzanian officials pledged that their economic problems would not prevent them from supplying military and other support to Mozambique. — Sapa-AP.

16/6/11

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15/12/26

CITIZEN

Army chief confident on conflict in North

By
KEITH ABENDROTH

SECURITY forces on South Africa's northern border conflict zone have been told by their top Commanding Officer: "We're winning the war in South West Africa and can win it here too."

The Chief of the Army, Lieut General A J "Kat" Liebenberg, completed an arduous base to base trip at the weekend, to visit the area to give Christmas greetings to the men and the local farming community. He travelled several thousand kilometres, starting off on the western border with Botswana.

His message to the different units, given to them at their bases in the bush, was "we're winning the war in South-West Africa, keeping Swapo activity at a low ebb to

give the politicians and constitutional reform specialists the time they need to win the war on the broader basis".

"We have the recipe for success. The enemy is getting desperate as a result of his lack of success.

"Our experience in South-West Africa has taught us that we have now got the wheel. We don't have to invent it all over again. Now all we have to do is refine it and apply it to South Africa.

"Make no mistake — the aim of the ANC is to make South Africa ungovernable for a Communist take-over. Nor can we win the war overnight.

"We must prepare for stepped up activity in the new year — a time which will be critical to the fu-

ture for all of us."

He added: "The message is loud and clear. They will throw everything into the struggle in the new year because of their failure to get the revolution off the ground this year and because of the displeasure of their Kremlin masters."

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15 December 1986

War zone wives are 'tough cookies'

CITIZEN 15/12/86
Citizen Reporter

ARMY officers in the New Frontier War Zone have a healthy respect for farmers' wives, "tough cookies" who always remain ladies" in the words of the senior officer.

The officer commander of the Soutpansberg Military Area, Colonel "Swannie" Swanepoel, told The Citizen "If anything, they are more motivated than their men-folk."

"And the men are razor keen to knock the ANC for six as it is . . ."

In the past year more than 300 farmers' wives, and wives of other men in the area, had received training in handling the Uzzi sub-machinegun.

"And they have proved themselves naturals.

"The girls know what they are doing. Heaven help any terrors who come up against them.

"They are likely to discover, firsthand and painfully, that you don't threaten a tigress or her cubs."

33.2

Crooks and terrorists at the computer

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Crime and terrorism have entered the computer age.

The use of computers to commit crimes and terrorism targeted against computers are depriving Americans of some of their constitutional protections, costing business and government billions of dollars in annual losses, challenging traditional law-enforcement procedures, and perhaps even endangering human lives.

This is the assessment of a group of government, legal, and industry spokesmen who are calling for an all-out war on what they term "technocrimes."

August Bequai, a Washington, D.C., lawyer and security consultant, estimates that industry-related espionage in the United States costs \$1 billion a year, with the average "take" placed at \$500,000. Others say the actual bill may be many times this amount.

Mr. Bequai, whose book on the computerization of crime and terrorism has just been published, explains that "these losses can come from anywhere — from electronic juvenile delinquents or hackers, to computer-wielding mobsters and Mafioso, to industrial spies and high-tech thieves for the KGB."

Meanwhile, computers are fast joining political and business leaders as major terrorist targets, according to Federal Bureau of Investigation special agent Neil Gallagher, who heads an antiterrorism unit in Boston.

"Bombings against computer centers reached a peak last year, with 24 centers bombed in West Germany alone," Mr. Gallagher says. "What is frightening is that the more our society depends on computers, the greater the risk. . . . A well-directed terrorist attack on 100 key computers could bring the American economy to a standstill."

Lawrence J. Fennelly, chief consultant to Assets Protection Training Institute, a security company, insists that "computer felons are getting away with multimillion dollar frauds."

"Part of the problem," he

adds, "is that more than 60 percent of all corporations have no computer security programs whatsoever, and over half of these have been ripped off." Mr. Fennelly cites a computer consultant who robbed a bank of \$10 million in a wire fraud.

These experts also report that organized crime is using computers to keep track of its vast gambling, loansharking, prostitution, fencing, and narcotics operations. It also uses electronic devices to identify the whereabouts of individuals it has targeted for "hits."

Among recommendations to foil the rise in computer crime are: developing international agreements to detect electronic theft and apprehend culprits; increasing security capabilities for valuable databases; refining methods for tracking down high tech criminals; and enacting laws to deal with crime spawned by the computer age.

Bequai also stresses that a sense of morality and responsibility about the use of computers needs to be developed within government and private industry. "Few [in the public and private sectors] dispute that ethical considerations should govern the transfer of information between computers, their use, and access to the data they store," he says. "But most companies have done little to address the ethics problem. . . . And when they have done so, their guidelines are often cosmetic and ambiguous."

Bequai and others hail new federal legislation that restricts intrusion of privacy by electronic means. But they say stronger protections are needed to ensure individual rights guaranteed by the constitution. "With electronic access, there is [little or] no privacy" says Bequai.

Jerry Berman, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's project on technology and privacy, predicts Congress will pass legislation to further strengthen individual protections against computer theft, intrusions on individual rights, and other possible electronic abuses. ■

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27.1.

Gandhi is under pressure to build nuclear weapons

CITIZEN 15/12/86

TROMBAY. — At a large seaside complex surrounded by wooded hills, Indian scientists work on sophisticated nuclear technologies involving weapons-grade plutonium, enriched uranium, radioisotopes and lasers.

Their pioneering research at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in Trombay, 15 km north-east of Bombay, has made India the nuclear technology leader of the Third World. They have developed a complete nuclear fuel cycle, making India's atomic programme self-reliant.

"We have built a strong infrastructure of research facilities and highly trained scientific manpower," said Ashok Mohan, the centre's technical coordinator. "Here we fabricate

everything we need, and our scientists are developing the most advanced technologies."

The research is put to practical use at tasks ranging from preserving frozen shrimp to diagnosing and treating illnesses.

India has one of the world's largest research reactors at Trombay and has developed fast-breeder technology that produces more plutonium than it consumes.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has reiterated that India will use atoms for "human welfare, not destruction". But his government is under increasing political pressure to build nuclear weapons.

Trombay's new advanced 100-megawatt research reactor will substantially increase plutonium that could be made available for weapons.

A recent US Congressional study said India could make 60 bombs a year by 1990 with its present reprocessing capacity.

"We have the plutonium to manufacture as many bombs as the country needs. What is required is the political will to do so," said a Trombay scientist, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

India demonstrated its weapons capability in 1974 by detonating a powerful underground nuclear device in the north-western Thar desert.

The explosion led to an international outcry. The nuclear powers, including the Soviet Union, tightened atomic export regulations. The United States enacted a law requiring a country getting atomic assistance to accept stringent safeguards.

India's test also stirred Pakistan, whose then Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, vowed to manufacture an atomic bomb "even if we have to eat grass".

Although Pakistan has since denied it is developing nuclear weapons US intelligence officials have said that Pakistani

scientists have produced weapons-grade enriched uranium. In turn this has prompted some Indians to demand that bombs be built.

"This country has no options left. We have to prepare our bombs in the basement," said Mr K Subramanyam, head of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, a government think-tank in New Delhi.

However, other scholars are urging the government not to be drawn into a nuclear race.

In the main, however, criticism in India about the nuclear programme focuses on atomic power.

India's six electricity-generating reactors at three different stations have been plagued by problems. Eight other reactors being constructed are years behind schedule, meaning India cannot reach its target of using nuclear power to generate 10 000 megawatts of electricity by the year 2000.

Indian scientists say no Chernobyl-type disaster could occur because design provides for complete containment of radioactivity should a reactor malfunction.

One strength of India's nuclear programme — its goal of self-reliance — also provides the country's potential for weapons development.

16/2/2

Sanctions: A Black Dissent

Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of South Africa's 6 million-member Zulu nation, has won the admiration of many South African whites—and the ire of many black radicals—by opposing U.S. economic sanctions against Pretoria and by insisting that nonviolent change in his country is still possible. Buthelezi recently toured the United States to speak at universities and foreign-policy groups and to meet with U.S. officials including President Reagan and Vice President Bush. In Washington, recently, he spoke with NEWSWEEK's Jane Whitmore. Excerpts:

WHITMORE: What has been the reaction to U.S. sanctions?

BUTHELEZI: I think black South Africans, by and large, reacted with great shock, because they didn't expect sanctions. Labor-intensive industries like coal, sugar cane and steel, which employ thousands and thousands of black South Africans and blacks from outside the region, have been tragically hit in the last two years with a recession. Now even more people will be without work.

Then why do many black leaders still favor sanctions?

Some leaders of the ANC [African National Congress] and others have been out of the country for 25 years. They and their families will not bear the consequences of sanctions. Even leaders who are in the country, who are not elected, [find] it is to their advantage to say that they favor sanctions. When I speak in the West against sanctions, I am the mouthpiece of my people, whom I consult by the tens of thousands, even in places like Soweto. On May 1 I had an audience of about 100,000

people and with one voice they rejected sanctions.

What specifically should the United States and other Western nations be doing?

I think that [U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester] Crocker should just continue doing what he was doing: exercising the diplomatic clout of the United States. President Reagan [should be] getting together with Margaret Thatcher to try as diplomatically as possi-

tions with the Botha government?

On certain conditions, yes. Mr. Botha has said he's setting up a national council which is working up a new constitution for the country. That indicates a preparedness on his part to have people of all races participate. But having said so, that will not move forward if he does not [free] political prisoners like [imprisoned ANC leader] Dr. Nelson Mandela and others. The second condition, of course, is that [Botha] dis-

tion between blacks and whites or between blacks and blacks?

The problem of reconciliation in general is compounded by black [disunity]. It's a complication because Mr. Botha can well say, "I'm quite willing to talk to you but you are in such disarray." I think it's extremely important for Mandela to be released. Mandela stated clearly to the Eminent Persons Group that he was concerned about [black disunity]. He said that Tambo is a very dear brother and Buthelezi is a very dear brother, and if he's released one of the first things he would do is address this alienation.

Is there anything you can do to end your feud with the ANC?

It is not I who rejects the ANC. They ended the relationship in 1980. I'm prepared even now to meet with Mr. Tambo any way he chooses.

Would you welcome whites in a black-led South Africa?

Of course. I am not a racist. It's high time people accept that white South Africans will never go anywhere else. It's their country. The interdependence that has grown between black and white in the economy convinces me that we have one future, that whites need blacks and that blacks need whites.

Can you foresee yourself becoming the first head of a black government in South Africa?

I've never honestly seen myself aspiring for that. And I don't know if the position of running for office will happen while I'm still alive. There are people who want to kill me because of my attitude. I'm on the hit list. We are already fighting for who's going to be top dog. I think it's premature for that now. As we say, they're "dividing the wool before you kill the bear."

Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi



COLBURN—PHOTOREPORTERS

When I speak against sanctions, I am the mouthpiece of tens of thousands of my people, even in places like Soweto

ble to breathe down the neck of [South African President P. W.] Botha. It's a good thing that the administration is talking to [ANC President Oliver] Tambo. I think they should talk to those outside and inside the country and somehow set up a mechanism to act as honest broker between all parties concerned.

What impact will the pullout of U.S. and Western corporations have on the Botha government?

I don't think it will have any. His mood is very belligerent right now. He has called elections and I believe for one reason only: just to tell the West to go to hell. As I read his mood, he's moaning. He feels unappreciated. He's sulking.

Can there be fruitful negotia-

tion with the present tricameral Parliament.

Hasn't the violence within the past two years helped put pressure on the government?

Of course. Even violence has a role. I've always said the threat of violence has a contribution. Just as the threat of sanctions does, but not sanctions themselves.

Last week the South African government rejected the proposal for a multiracial state government in your home state of Natal. What will happen now?

If Mr. Botha refuses to approve legislation making this possible, we will have to reconsider our strategy.

What is going to be the most difficult in South Africa: reconcila-

The Leverage of Legitimacy in the South African Struggle for Liberation

His Excellency
Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha, and Chairman of the South African Black Alliance

TUESDAY DECEMBER 2

THE WHOLE BURDEN of West European and North American diplomacy rests on the recognition of P.W. Botha's government in South Africa as a *de facto* and *de jure* government. There is the exchange of ambassadors between Pretoria and capitals in the Western world. There is South Africa's position in the United Nations legitimized by the West. There is South Africa's position in the International Monetary Fund legitimized by the West. There are extradition treaties between South Africa and Western countries, and a host of binding legal and commercial ties between South Africa and the Western world — all of which add up to express an ongoing legitimacy of the South African government.

Even Third-World states which have no diplomatic ties with South Africa and that minimize every possible contact recognize P.W. Botha's legitimacy as head of the government. The West's continued vetoing of UN resolutions at the Security Council level, the maintenance of trade links with South Africa, and a host of daily contacts with South Africa is dragged into the Third World arena from time to time.

Western governments have always been under pressure to de-legitimize the South African government by the Third World

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Buthelezi

and the socialist bloc. I would like now to offer some thoughts about this from a black perspective.

Courting Disaster

South African revolutionary forces have long regarded the South African government as an illegitimate dictatorship. The South African government, for the first time in the history of racial oppression in South Africa, is now actually courting "legitimacy disaster."

The time may well come when there is nothing left but to employ violence against the government. When that time comes nobody will save the legitimacy of the South African government.

There is an exploitable weakness in racial oppression in South Africa: The South African government is beginning to move into a position of accepted isolation in which its legitimacy will be difficult to maintain. It desperately needs Western legitimacy — that is the one thing it cannot afford to abandon.

Only advances in black democratic, non-violent opposition to apartheid can finally ensure the permanent legitimacy of any South African government. The means of such a government is full black involvement in the country's parliamentary process. In this sense, throughout its existence as a legal organization in South Africa, the old African National Congress (ANC) legitimized successive South African governments. The primary objective of black politics was always to gain black entry into South Africa's parliamentary system.

Black opposition to apartheid always accepted the kind of government, economic order, and constitution South Africa has had ever since 1910. Blacks sought only equality in the land of their birth: the right to participate in the development of their country, in the formation of its government, and the determination of its domestic and foreign policy.



KPFA reporter Wendell Harper, Chief Buthelezi, and Africa Study Section Chairman Alfred Acquaye

Political Exclusion

The present constitution and the Tricameral Parliament has radicalized black politics. The last thing black democratic opposition in South Africa can do is get the state president to pronounce the death sentence on the present parliamentary system. His refusal to do so will be no more and no less than to accept that there can no longer be a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Already the upward spiraling of violence has led to massive black pressure against anyone who has any dealings with the South African government. Non-cooperation is now elevated by a section of the black population to a political principle. They have already declared themselves to be the internal allies of the external revolutionary movement. Those in South Africa who refuse to have any negotiations with the South African government have already endorsed a future one-party state, the kind which South African revolutionaries want to establish on their return to the country.

The crisis can only be resolved by the scrapping of the constitution and the existing parliamentary system, to be replaced with a negotiated constitution and a new parliamentary system — or violent overthrow of the government.

It is a forlorn white hope that compromise on fundamental constitutional issues can be reached. There can be no compromise within the framework of the country's existing constitution and parliamentary system.

The only function the existing parliamentary system can serve is to legitimize radical change and produce the continuity that is so essential for the development of democracy, by passing legislation, scrapping the present constitution, and intro-

The days of political paternalism are gone.

ducing a new one. That is the bottom line: Both black and white who do not recognize this will be endorsed out of relevance by history itself.

Sabre-Rattling

Never have I endorsed the present constitution. I have rejected it in both word and in deed.

When the present constitution was being formulated by the president's council, the present state president, then prime minister, put enormous pressure on me to join a black advisory council whose function would have been to legitimize the new constitution. I would have absolutely nothing to do with it — and in fact that black advisory council never got off the ground.

The present constitution was introduced in a whites-only referendum. I campaigned across the country to persuade whites that they would be making a tragic error if they endorsed it. I was not heard when I said

the new constitution would radicalize black politics, polarize the country, and heighten black anger immeasurably.

I was accused of sabre-rattling by the state president and his cabinet, but in 1985 I was awarded the Financial Mail's Man of the Year Award — largely in recognition of the valuable contribution I made

during the referendum campaign. In granting the award, *Financial Mail* admitted they had been wrong and that many prominent businessmen had been wrong in arguing that the new constitution was a step in the right direction.

After the new constitution had been accepted, the state president established a special cabinet committee with the specific purpose of negotiating with blacks for further political development within the Tricameral Parliament and new constitution.

Political "Persuasion"

I would have nothing to do with that committee. Immense pressure was brought on me to enter it, and I was told by cabinet ministers, on instruction by Mr. P.W. Botha, it was essential that I accept so-called independence for KwaZulu — so that the state president could urgently get on with his intention to establish a confederation of southern African states.

I was told that if I did not go along with the state president, he would carry on on his own. I was told that an attempt to establish a confederation of southern African states, when there was only Transkei and South Africa would have been politically foolhardy, but that the state president judged it had become possible to do so once Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei had accepted what Pretoria regarded as independence. And I was told that once I had accepted so-called independence for KwaZulu, a confederation of southern African states would become "real politik." There is a national party dependence on KwaZulu's cooperation — we number nearly 7 million people — and if we endorsed ourselves out of South Africa, whites would be left with a commanding majority.

I would rather have gone to the bush than bow to such dictates. The state president recognized that the special cabinet committee could not make the break he was hoping for, and he attempted to establish a non-statutory negotiating forum in which government, together with blacks, could negotiate a black future within the broader acceptance of the new constitution and the Tricameral Parliament. Again, I would have absolutely nothing to do with this negotiating forum — and it came to nought. Finally the state president has announced his intention, in bill form, to establish a National Council. For the first time in his political career he is about to move toward real negotiations between black and white.

The National Council

The main objectives of the National Council are to:

- offer participation in the planning and preparation of a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South African citizens in the process of government;
- grant to black South African citizens, on an interim basis, a voice in the processes of government which affect their interests; and
- further sound relationships among all South African citizens.

If it were possible to achieve these objectives through the council I would weather any and every political storm to do so. I will not enter the National Council to attempt these objectives if it simply means joining a talking shop or participating in an advisory council — the days of political paternalism are gone.

Negotiation Without Chains

Negotiation is vital — there can be no negotiation between grossly unequal partners. The council must be given bite — but above all else — black politics need to be unfettered.

The minimal requirement is that one be free to campaign for the stand one takes. While Dr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, and other political prisoners remain in jail, black politics will remain fettered at the national level.

Unless Western diplomacy participates in the attempt to establish a really legitimate government in South Africa, only violent revolution is left — and none will emerge the winner.

We must have a legitimate government to supervise the process of radical transition. We simply must, one way or another, establish the right of blacks to orchestrate their own future and express the sovereignty of South Africa in an all-embracing South African formula.

It would be indisputably better for Western governments, South Africa, and the whole of southern Africa, if South Africa's government could be relied upon to make the transitions into a democracy which all democratic countries are waiting for. But only joint participation of blacks and whites, working within a legitimized government, can achieve the kind of transition and future which Western governments so fervently hope for. It is to this end that West European and North American governments have been mounting pressure on Mr. Botha.

Senseless Futility

When one looks at the sanctions package announced by the U.S. government and other industrial democracies — in particular the conditions under which they would be prepared to lift sanctions — it becomes clear that the real political drive behind sanctions is to achieve objectives which include black participation in a legitimized transition.

The West is not asking the South African government to leap into a democratic utopia overnight. The West knows a transition period is necessary. The West only wants progress — real progress — beginning now. Each time the government misses an opportunity, it takes one step nearer the diplomatic isolation of South Africa.

It is so tragic that Western peace initiatives in South Africa have thus far failed. It is doubly tragic that these initiatives have failed unnecessarily. They have failed because the West has failed to see that it cannot mount pressures on Pretoria, and then stand back and hope Pretoria will do the right thing.

The West must be big enough to hold Pretoria's hand in the difficult transition period that lies ahead — not in the sense of condoning weakness, but in the sense of giving it courage. There is a groundswell demand in white South Africa for the normalization of the country as a modern, western-type industrial democracy. There is a demand for a stable multi-party parliament that will stand the test of time. There is a demand for the rule of law and for the free enterprise system.

We have been witness to the mission to South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. We have been witness to an endeavor by Sir Geoffrey Howe both as president of the EEC and as foreign minister of Great Britain, and we have also been witness to the ongoing efforts of President Reagan through the activity of Dr. Chester Crocker. Thus far, all these have tragically come to nought: The West is growing impatient, and is now moving into a position in which it can finally wipe its hands of any responsibility toward South Africa. That must be avoided at all cost.

Western Responsibilities

Diplomatic initiatives thus far have erred because they have taken too little part in an ongoing process in the country and assumed that arms-length pressure would work best. The West has a responsibility to the international community to support change in South Africa. Here I tread on thin ice.

It is possible for the West to establish a permanent, ongoing mission to South Africa as a catalyst for the kind of change

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FROM PAGE 1



Chief Buthelezi and Club Secretary Jean Auer

Buthelezi

which white South Africans and the majority of black South Africans can endorse. It is possible for a credible agent from abroad, backed by Western governments, to establish a group in South Africa which is composed of major industries and which includes local black leadership committed to the politics of negotiation. This group should be given the responsibility of spelling out the various possibilities of change which will have to be negotiated.

Such a group would have to accept that there can only be short-term compromise solutions, medium-term reduction of compromises, and finally uncompromised total equality and democracy. If such a group were to offer the South African government avenues of gaining credibility in the West during this difficult phase of South African history, its "real politik" would become evident to the majority of Mr. P.W. Botha's colleagues.

Plan for Reconciliation

Such an agent could establish a similar group outside South Africa that would include any South Africans abroad, including the exiled ANC, to begin a reconsideration of positions outside South Africa. The South African problem has been internationalized, and unless positions both within and without the country are reconsidered, total disaster is inevitable. Western governments could then have a shuttle group to move between the internal group and the external group and create the kind of dialogue that is vital to a peaceful solution of the South African problem.

Black politics need to be unfettered.

The only immediate outcome of the South African situation is an explosion of violence. If that is to be avoided, there must be an explosion of democracy and an explosion of negotiation in carefully monitored timetables. After many decades of ineffectual Western opposition to apartheid — ineffectual in the sense that apartheid grew in strength — the West cannot now expect instant solutions. Let us now do what is really necessary.

The Buthelezi Commission

I'm not boasting when I say that of all leaders, black and white, I'm the only one that has not confined my opposition to apartheid to just rhetoric. In 1980, I appointed a commission, called the Buthelezi Commission, whose aim was to get the region of Natal/KwaZulu to address South Africa's problems. I reserved a seat for the ANC, and I invited the ruling National Party; the ANC didn't reply, and the government refused to participate because I invited the ANC. I invited industrialists, even Mr. Oppenheim, who was a member of the Commission. We devised a blueprint, whereby this region of Natal/KwaZulu would have one government for all race groups, voting on the basis of one person, one vote. They recommended this be diluted by a minority veto. Although my ideal is one person, one vote in the entire state, I too endorsed that, because, as Mao

Tse-Tung said: "Even a journey of 1000 miles begins with a single step."

Up Against the Wall

I've come to the conclusion that if white South Africans are put against the wall — they'll destroy us. They would be foolish enough to destroy us, even while destroying themselves in the process. Some people in America who think there are possibilities

Buthelezi

for a fight to the finish are mistaken, whether it is led by blacks or whites. Whites cannot hope that because of their military they can annihilate the blacks, and blacks, even with their numbers, cannot hope to triumph over the whites. We have come from a warrior people, and when my ancestors fought a war, they brought back beautiful women and cattle — that was evidence of their victory. What sort of war will this be with no spoils? Neither blacks nor whites can win anything except ashes.

After the government rejected our first blueprint, we continued to negotiate with whites in Natal, and together produced a bill of rights, and recently, a blueprint for a bi-cameral legislature consisting of an assembly of 100, elected by one person, one vote, and a minority chamber, composed of 10 people of English background, 10 of Afrikaans, 10 of Asian, 10 of African, and 10 not designated under any of those categories. The government has rejected this blueprint also, saying it's a road to domination. Some people may say, what is there to do now but support violence? But this Commission was not my political lifeline; my political career did not hang on it. I believe I've reached a stage where I have allies among whites who believe in the bill of rights I've produced, and that it's possible for black and white to share power.

Answers to Written Questions from the Floor:

Q. The New York Times recently quoted you as saying, "Apartheid is in its death throes." On what do you base this opinion?

A. This October a very important thing took place in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church, which has been the guardian angel of the National Party, passed a resolution saying that apartheid is a sin. In the words of a prominent Afrikaner businessman, "It is not a question now of whether or not apartheid is dead. It is dead. The question is not to embalm it, but to bury it."

Q. What is your realistic forecast for South Africa five years from now? Is violence inevitable?

A. I cannot pretend to know what will happen. The violent atmosphere in South Africa is thickening. If nothing is forthcoming, it is clear we will have mindless violence, but at present, most violence is by black people against other blacks. If Mr. Botha would release Nelson Mandela and others, the logjam would un-jam. Dr. Mandela's release is important because he does not rule out negotiations. He has said — contrary to the ANC — that there

could be no negotiations without my input and the input of Inkatha, which I lead. He does envisage negotiations, whereas the ANC says there's nothing left to negotiate except handing over the power to the people — and by "the people," they mean themselves, not all the people of South Africa.

Q. A recent issue of The Economist advocates "consociation of South Africa" described as "disproportionate power sharing minority protection." Is this

acceptable to you, to blacks generally, to P.W. Botha? Are you confident that such minority guarantees can be protected?

A. Although the blueprint that came out of the Buthelezi Commission was a kind of a "consociational blueprint," I was prepared to deviate from one person, one person, one vote because I believe this is reality. I have only seen Mr. Botha twice in five years, once privately and once officially. I told him

that if whites don't compromise, there will be destruction; if blacks don't compromise, there will be destruction. That is the only scenario I see.

Q. What specific avenues for a negotiated settlement with the nationalist government remain open after Botha's rejection of power-sharing by Kwa-Natal?

A. That was not a political lifeline for me. I've triumphed in that there are many whites now who share my ideals as stated in the bill of rights which was produced, and who are in fact determined to bring about change. I am not speaking now for just a black constituency, but for a constituency of whites, Indians, and coloreds who produced this blueprint and who will take this matter further. It is not the end of the world.

Q. Both you and Bishop Tutu seem sincere and dedicated to the elimination of apartheid. Why is he so in favor of sanctions while you are so opposed?

A. The Archbishop is my archbishop. I want to remain loyal to him as the head of my church. Last year other priests and bishops tried to bring us together, but our discussions have not come to much. The alienation between the bishop and myself was badly dramatized when Coretta King visited South Africa. She was pressured not to see me because the bishop said she would make a travesty of his invitation if she did. Later, I received a very nice letter from the bishop in which he addressed me as his brother. On a church level we get along very well — politically we're different. We must not forget that the bishop is a patron of the United Democratic Front. He doesn't only wear the mitre of the church, he also wears the hat of the United Democratic Front which fronts the ANC.

Q. How do your views compare with those of Nelson Mandela's? Is it true you won't cooperate with the Botha government until Mandela is released?

A. I have great love and affection for him; we were together in ANC. Even after 20 years of incarceration, he has remained warm toward me. In spite of the fact that his wife has been alienated from me, he has remained loyal. He has never seen me as "politically dead," as some people are trying to portray me. His wisdom and political acumen would be very important fac-

tors in the future of South Africa. He is the martyr of black South Africa, and if we want to go forward and eliminate violence, it's very important that Botha release him. I'm not saying my participation depends on whether Dr. Mandela wants to participate or not, but that he must be able to refuse to participate if he chooses. Too many people in America, Europe, and South Africa are using Dr. Mandela's name in a way which is sickening — it is high time that Dr. Mandela came out and spoke for himself.

Q. Is there any evidence that the right-wing is encouraging violence among blacks in order to maintain apartheid?

A. I don't think so. They've threatened violence, but there is no evidence that they are in cahoots with any black person at all. We're just "niggers" as far they're concerned.

Q. What have been the effects thus far of withdrawals from South Africa by

companies such as General Motors and Barclay's Bank?

A. Psychologically a lot has happened. Many people have lost jobs. When General Motors announced that it was withdrawing there were strikes that went on and on. Black workers felt insecure and abandoned by General Motors. Barclay's Bank will just change hands; I don't think it's anything more than that.

Q. What can we as individuals do to support you and your approach to South Africa's problems? Is there an organization in this country that supports your aims?

A. There is no organization, but there are people who support my cause. There is much Americans can do. I find Americans get very angry with me. When I've demolished the case for sanctions, they get very irritated because they had something that made them feel pure — like they've done their job. When I tell them the consequences, they don't feel so pure after all. The continued presence of America is vital for the whole of southern Africa and for Western civilization. It's important for Americans to help. The Rotary Club has built three schools for us. Black education is not free, not compulsory. People must be prepared to take their places. Apartheid will soon be history. Training people so they can acquire skills is a very big contribution — more important than symbolic support. We appreciate that you're anti-apartheid, but that alone doesn't help us very much.

Q. Isn't the level of civil rights and liberties possessed by black South Africans greater than that of many black-ruled African countries? Why is there no pressure for divestment from countries such as Uganda?

A. That is a very embarrassing question for me to answer. That can be answered by Americans — not by me.

Q. How is the new black U.S. ambassador to South Africa being accepted by the whites?

A. I don't think there was any specific reaction against or for him amongst whites. I don't think there will be any non-acceptance of him by whites. But as a black man, maybe our expectations for him are bigger than he can meet. We expect him to achieve more because of his black skin when, in fact, that may not be possible.

Q. Are there particular black-ruled African states whose successful post-colonial development you view as a good role model for post-apartheid South Africa?

A. Yes. Botswana is a very good country.

Q. Are natives better or worse off now in the countries under communist rule such as Zimbabwe and Ethiopia?

A. In Ethiopia, our people have suffered and are suffering. Economically, black Zimbabwe is better off today than ever. However, Zimbabwe is among the forefront who want sanctions applied — though more than 90 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and imports go through South Africa. Zimbabwe's economic growth is higher than the U.S. and South Africa at present.