Mo""%(zcli¬\201*
: REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Apartheid Politicé

, Everyone, it seems, is getting in his licks against South Africa. China's president Li Xiannian expresses his $a\200\234$ utmost indignation. $a\200\235a\200\235$ Algeria, another citadel of democratic liberal~ ism, cries for sanctions. The East Bloc communists have had their say. Meanwhile, the latter-day leaders of Uganda have presided over the. slaughter of several hundred thousand Ugandans. The chieftains of Ethiopia have adopted mass starvation as their favorite political tool. The clansmen of Lebanon, in their latest deadly game, are conducting a competition to see who can kil the most innocent children with car bombs. The Soviets, it scarcely need be mentioned, conduct Gulag-as-usual. i

Let us say, at least as a hypothesis, that South Africa is not the only place in the world with political problems, — though this is hard to tell from coverage in the international press, demonstrations on campuses or bills in Congress. Casualties in South Africaâ\200\231s recent outbreak of civil violence have numbered just over 600 blacks, a fair proportion of whom were set upon by other blacks to settle tribal scores or

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ because they were too $\hat{a}\200\230$ $\hat{a}\200\230$ moderate. .- To utter an even worse heresy, let us propose that there may be less enlightened or humane national leaders than Mr. Botha. He gave a toughsounding speech last week saying he wasnâ $\200\231t$ going to cave in to either foreign or domestic radicals. But he also has invited his critics in for talks, has accomplished some reform of the most galling. features of petty apartfpid, and says heâ\200\231s willing to negotiatÃO-greater self-rule, outside the context of the $a\200\234$ homelands $a\200\231$ policy, with the permanent residents of South Africaâ\200\231s black townships. At least the evolution is in the right direction.

- We're willing to bet on democratic institutions, and would like to see Blacks brought into the South African political structure. But we doubt that the typical formula of â\200\230â\200\230one man, one vate, once,â\200\235 or any other pat solution will do much to create a better life in Southâ\200\231 Africa, where, after all, blacks immigrate rather than emigrate. Even India, the best example of post-

colonial democracy, had to undergo a bloody division from Pakistan along religious lines. .~

:-In South Africa, thÃ@re is no single black community either inside or outside the townships. In the black township of Soweto, which supplies much of the work force for Johannesburg, :, five tribal languages are spoken. *
There are 10 distinct black tribes, of

â\200\2300ne of South Africa's constitutional

which the largest by far is the Zuli; in.} itself with a population nearly a mil~

lion larger than the combined white.: tribes, British and Dutchâ\200\224who alsodonot speak the same language in either a literal or figurative sense. Then there are the Asians (mainly of Indian. descent) and the mixed-race Coloreds. .â\200\231

reforms was to-give the Asians andâ\200\231 Coloreds - their --own parliaments; . which - deal separately with:: some-* problems arid collaborate with the-na-~ tional parliament on broader issues.

Gatsha: Buthelezi, ~chief . of $a\200\234th$ A© Zulus; has at least as much claim to. speak for South Africa $a\200\231s$ blacks as the-

estimable. Bishop Tutu, leader of the- AR

Anglican Church, or Neison Mandela, the long-imprisoned nominal leader of the Marxist-oriented African. National Congress. All'would agree on the de sirability of black majority rule. In an⢠honest vote, Chief Buthelezi almost; certainly would end up with the largest single constituency. But he would agree with the others on very little

_else. In the interest of his people, for

example, he wants foreign capitalists in, not out. :

We raise such points with the idea of encouraging more humility among.â\200\231 those American politicians who arehaving so much fun reordering the social and political structure of a country 10,000 miles from home. Beating |. up on the South Africans is a lot easier than, for example, repairing the breakdown of the federal budgeting process or stopping the costly waste of tax money by the U.S. military-congressional complex. Though it's an easy cause, it may not be ylelding as many votes as some of its practitioners think.

Thomas Sowell, that most gimleteyed of all black intellectuals, blew a
whistle last week in a column syndicated by Scripps Howard: â\200\234It would
be far more impressive if the morally
anointed would put their own bank ac- |
counts in escrow to take care of the
survivors of any bloodbath, anarchy
and economic collapse that might occur in South Africa, if their bright*
ideas donâ\200\231t work any better there than::
in some other parts of Africa.â\200\231â\200\231

We haven $\hat{a}200\231t$ noticed any: volunteerst for the job of building the new Soutl: Africa. All of the volunteers seem to} be interested only in tearing down the; old one. The dangers of imposing morality on places that our dem i tors and politicans scarcely. begin understand \hat{a} is. a lesson, we should $\hat{a}200\231t$ have thought, that $\hat{a}200\235t$ might have been: learned from Iram.. AR

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THE WASHINGTON PosT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1985 A19

Meg Greenfield

who go to South Africa tend to become obeessed. 1 had not expected it to happen to me when 1 made the visit a few years ago. For one had set out with curiosity but litle excitetruth 1 felt somewhat dutiful about the mpcitwouldheynrmlislb bored and unconvinced by the rush of g out of Africa, especially that of

tatked i

Ity helpful. I had al-

enthusiasts
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an on-the-one-hand-on-view $\hat{200}24$ "God, it's tough, $\hat{200}235$ | would say when peo-

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1 have not been able to get it aut

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laminated place that reveals ever surprising truths about it-Little of this, I fear, is reflected h!hemnentptï¬\202icatgnincmoverwh.. i Sonsth Africa policy should be.

ral relationships between the the visitor. At first one is

more interesting and sclf as you probe.

races se vicwed by

h Africa

Collision Course in Sout

The races laugh about and curse each other with a peculiar intimacy, as in families that are coming

apart.

startled by two things: the unforeseen residue of animosity that continues to exist between

the white South Africans of mainly Dutch and British descent and the equally unforeseen degree of easy racial mixing that appears to exist between blacks and whites in the big cities like Johannesburg. The Jatter impression, which lasts about three days, is based on the American's false assumption that urban South Africa is strictly segregated 24 hours a day. It is not. You might go to a private home where blacks and whites are guests at dinner. Some whites prove to be deeply involved in projects seeking to help black workers and to change, even dismantle, the apartheid system.

But despite its importance and value, there turns out to be a Potemkin-village aspect to all this so far asd\esodetyaslwmâ\200\230eanditsfmdaâ\200\224 mental system are concerned. You will find that meuad(dimct-panygualanmstluveeamlo retumtothedistambhckmawheteuwym

bthloive.Youwillohaerveum
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The whites and blacks and Asians and mixedrace people of South Africa seem to know each
other pmlemnlurally well, and those who are i+
volved in the political play on all sules seem to
have known each other forever. They laugh
about and curse each other with this pecubar intrmacy akin to what you hear when families are
coming apart. When the outsider lambastes
someone's antagonust, that someone is likely to
friendly whites are seeking to improve, are com- correct the analysis, even softening some
edges

in allmale hostels, hundreds of while sharpening others.

are forbidden to These are combatants who ghare recollections and knowledge no one else has access to.

Andknowingeachothersolmgmdaowell.

each seems to know that the other is not really

i like the stereotype hurled around in internawl\emtu\sdnmlhdpeoplemybelorced tional discourse. He may in fact be worse, but
he is flesh-and-blood real. It is one of the poignant aspects of the place: South Africans, black
and white, seem to move toward a terrible destiny, fully aware of each other and full of regret, but with a stoic sense that this will be.
You hear it in President Botha's dug-in resistance. You hear it in Bishop Tutu's lamentations
of despair at what is coming.

It is no acch .lmink.um&m!hAhhha created a rich fictional literature that has points of contact with the great writings of 19th-cen-

hannesburg area, whose lot and skills those

racia) closeness to one of more predictable distance and alienation and you still arenâ\200\231t through. Fotbehindbothymvill $\[\] \] \] \] \] 202ypemivead \[\] \] \] elemml: asmngeandwhollyunexpectcdkindd intimacy between the alien$

and aking) tribes as well as be-luwRussia.caï¬\202yzwmmwlre!and.ï¬\201epst-!weenthemmdal!hemm»â\200\224bladl.bsim. CiviWatAmerianSwthmdnmdldhzh mmdâ\200\224nndï¬\202:emh:hldemh America now. It is, like those places, an almost

neurotically self-absorbed and scif-aware realm, 3 setting in which the interplay of the private individual and the larger political and cultural force inevitably comes to dominate the imagmation. The Afrikaner talking about his peopleâ\200\231s represion in the aftermath of the Boer War reminds medSmthemPrslkmwinWashinglmZO years ago who spoke of the Civil War in the same intense, resentful way, as if it had happened last Thursday. Blad(s(oop\nmi\nï¬\201ï¬\201Zdumi\abygmemnedmnSwthnmnmâ\200\230wtdpt tience, knowing their tormentors much better

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insolent shortsighted minority that has seemed driven to destructionâ\200\224its own and peopleithasrepressednrldsalgt'lto mudloouldhavebeendme...nlwam'!.

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Inoledbyattemptstomï¬\202nyï¬\202i:namï¬\201d between advanced, civilized people and savages.

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just outcome. There once was.

Â@108, Newsweek_ Inc.
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Lowery: Attack by Falwell is a \200\234an old trick in the hands of a new magician. a \200\235

Tutu a â\200\230Phony,â\200\231 Falwell Says [
- Moral Majority Leader Boosts South Africa

By James R. Dickenson Washington Post Staff Writer

The Rev. Jerry Falwell, leading a public-relations campaign on behalf of the South African government, called Nobe! peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu a \(\frac{1}{200} \) 234phony\(\frac{2}{35} \) yesterday for presuming to speak for non-whites in the racially separated na-" tion.

Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, has just returned from a 5%-day tour of South Africa and is urging increased outside investment there. He contended that nonwhites with whom he spoke, both national leaders and people on the street, told him that disinvestment in South Africa would hurt people rather than the government.

At a news conference here, Falwell repeated his charge that Tutu is a $200\234$ phony. $200\235$

* $\hat{a}200\234$ If he maintains that he speaks for nonwhites, he is a phony, $\hat{a}200\235$ Falwell said. $\hat{a}200\234$ I'm not referring to his religious experience. $\hat{a}200\235$

He quoted the black mayor of Soweto as saying of Tutu, $\hat{a}\geq00\geq34$ We did not elect him. The people respect him as a man of God, but he does not speak for us. $\hat{a}\geq00\geq35$ 1

The Rev. Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who had joined Falwell to voice support for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church, denounced Falwellâ\200\231's charge against Tutu as â\200\234an old trick in the hands of a new magician.â\200\235

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ That $\hat{a}\200\231$ s an old George Wallace, an old Bull Connor segregationist tactic to discredit civil rights lead-

ers, \hat{a} 200\235 Lowery said. \hat{a} \200\234Segregationists always manage to find some blacks who will say what they want. One distinguished Methodist leader there said he had no idea what he

(the mayor] was talking about. \hat{a} \200\235

Lowery scoffed at Falwellâ\200\231s contention that disinvestment in South Africa would cause the \hat{a} \200\2341ittle children to starve. \hat{a} \200\235

He said that disinvestment $\hat{a}\200\234$ might cause some temporary inconvenience $\hat{a}\200\235$ but that it was necessary before the country could get on with long-term economic development.

 $\hat{a}\200\234D$ isinvestment may hurt blacks but not nearly as much as dehuman-ization, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. $\hat{a}\200\234He's$ [Faiwell] identified with the immoral minor-ity there. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Falwell said he spent his time in South Africa talking to nonwhites from every walkâ\200\224in Soweto; Ulundi, home of the Zulu nation; with coloreds, Asians and others.

He said they told him that the government of President Pieter W, Botha is their only hope of reform and said Botha assured him that he is committed to abolishing discrimination.;

 $\hat{a}\200\234B$ oth the president and the foreign minister [Roelof F. (Pik) Botha] said that apartheid is wrong and that they were moving to a policy of reform, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Falwell said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Black$ leaders said that P.W. Botha is the only one who gave them any ray of hope. They expressed the fear that, if he was pushed too hard, his own government would vote him out, and all the reforms they had enjoyed would be undone, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he added.

EDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1985 A3

Tutu Scorns U.S. Criticism of His Action:

By SHEILA RULE \hat{a} 00\234] think they have refused to under- | should renounce violence and civil diso-

Spacial to The New York Times stand this man, \hat{a} 200\235 \hat{a} 200\231 he added, referring to | be dience. If you remounce civil diso-

JOHANNESBURG, -Aug. 20 - |Mr. Botha. \hat{a} 200\234He laid down unaccept- | bedience what have y ou got left for non- 2

| Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Anglican | able conditions. He said he was willing | violent opposition. I am still willing to

leader, said tonight that he could not \mid 10 negotiate provided you negotiate in \mid see him but [am not willing to see him

 $200\234$ take seriously $200\235$ criticism by the Rea- | the perameters he set. He said one under the conditions he has laid down. $200\235$ gan -

ishop Tum,
Nobel Peace Prize, said he was willing
to meet privately with Mr. Botha if the;
President retracted demands for black |
leaders to renounce civil
as a means of protest.

Execution is Postponed

BBDO Says It Sold Unitjnouth Africa

- .By @ WALL STREZT JOURNAL Staff Reporter
- =" NEW YORK-BBDO International Inc.

 $\hat{a}\200\234s$ aid that it has sold its South Africa subsidiary to five senior executives of the unit.. Terms. weren't disclosed. .

The New York advertising agency, citing operating losses at the unit, added that it expects to take a third-quarter write-off css:uaboutSOcentsasharebecalmofthe

e, â\200\230

- The decision to sell the unit wasn't ideo $\tilde{}$ logically motivated, but came after BBDO determined $\hat{a}\200\230$ it 'would be difficult to.make

chief executive officer of the parent. BBDO hadn't been the target of lobbying efforts $a\geq 0$ 0 againstit spresene map mheid Sonth Atrica, he said. - /-

BBDOsnetincomemseSl%inthesecond quarter; to \$5.9 million, or 93 cents a share, from \$3.9 million, or 62 cents a share, a year earlier. Revenue was up 16% to \$83.7 million from \$72.3 million.

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- . a significant economiic recovery' for the:
- . unit, said. Allen Rosenshine, president and-

wFrightful scenario 21 AUG #5Ch e p-soâ\200\224 Sun â\200\230imprisoned in splenetic racism must try to for South Africa By Carl T. Rowan t is so easy to be outraged by the whitesupremacy-forever speech of South Afri--can President Pieter W. Botha, as most of the world professes to be. # It is a little more difficult for Americans to mach assertions that President Reagan pposes sanctions and other meaningful acagainst South Africa because Reagan is logical â\200\234soul brother.â\200\235 American colts, editorial writers and others will il Botha for refusing to talk with Nobel admit to harborinï¬\201acismâ\200\224thnt if whites in South Africa â\200\234abdicated,â\200\235 ruling blacks would quickly bring on chaos. But Botha has, in turning his face against changes that embrace justice, guaranteed economic chaos for his country. j In less than a year the South African £ its value $i^2 201ainst$ the dollar. In country after country, sales of the South African gold coin, c..'g Bat or outlawed. Black boycotts of merchants in South Africa are having a remarkable im-Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, believ- pact. Black miners will soon strike. ing Botha thinks foolishly that he can â\200\234cut a And whether Reagan likes it or not, t $deal \hat{a} 200 235$ with black stooges. B x Congress will vote economic sanctions It would be easy for me to explode in anger against South Africa. Then, as some Ameriover my belief that Botha taken an cans see their South African investments going down the drain, they will begin a crescendo of demands for the withdrawal of the companies they partly own. Botha and his storm troopers will try to force black workers back into the mines, striking black youngsters back into the schools. Economic boycotts will be called \hat{a} 200\234treason, \hat{a} \200\235 and Botha will fill first the prisons and then concentration camps with anyone, black or white, who opposes white supremacy in any vocal or active way.

Meanwhile, we shall see that Oliver

Tambo, head of the African National Congress, was not just whistling Dixie when he said: \hat{a} 200\234Armed struggle must be stepped up.

arrogant, white-supremacy-forever stance because he does not believe, in his heart, that the Reagan administration wants anything other than $200\235$ white rule in South Africa.

But common sense tells me that both Botha and Reagan will be out of power lo before the fate of South Africa is decid Those Americans and South Africans not

fi out what the scenario for the future is likely to be, and figure out how we can influence it in ways that make for greater g human freedom.;
Botha claimsâ\200\224and wins over lots of white Americans and Europeans who would never

currency, the rand, has lost more than half $\hat{\mathtt{A}}^{\circ}$

the kruggerand, have been halted voluntarily -

\â\200\224

Many white people will lose their liï¬\201es as the

black people have been doing.â\200\235 :
Out of the bloodbath that Tutu now says is inevitable will come a desperate recommendation that South Africa be partitioned.
Partly because the Soviet Union has intervened. Blacks of good sense who want no part of Soviet tyranny in the wake of Bothaâ\200\231s repressions will say, â\200\2340K, let us end this

But embittered blacks, who have pushed

- crazy slaughter. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Tutu, Zulu chief Gatsha i and other $\hat{a}\200\234$ moderate $\hat{a}\200\235$ into the background, will remember how the white minority (15 percent) took 87 percent of the land $\hat{a}\200\224$ which contained the mines, the rich farmland, the nicest beaches $\hat{a}\200\224$ for itself and left the 13 ercent of the land, which was largely worthess, to the nonwhites (85 percent).

The blacks will offer Botha's children and grandchildren the 13 percent that is scrublands. And the bloodbath will go on.

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Nation/world

Prosecutorâ\200\231s fate up to panel

Handling of child sex c

 $_$ ST. PAUL [AP] \hat{a} \200\224A commission investigating allegations of official

Xy misconduct by Scott County Atty.

Kathlã@en Mortis in her handling of the Jordan child sex-abuse cases began private deliberations Tues-: day into whether Morris should be removed from office.

 $-\hat{A}$ « In \hat{a} \200\230her \hat{a} \200\230testimony before the

- three-member commission Monday, Morris defended her dismiss-! al ,o \tilde{A} ©ge sex-abuse charges against! 21 people and disputed the commission attorney \tilde{A} 200 \tilde{A} 31s contention that \tilde{A} 200 \tilde{A} 34the guilty went free. \tilde{A} 200 \tilde{A} 35 -

Morris was the last witness before closing arguments by her at-'torney, Stephen Doyle, and commission counsel Kelton Gage, who $a\geq 0$ 0 and commission counsel Kelton Gage, who $a\geq 0$ 0 and commission counsel Kelton Gage, who $a\geq 0$ 0 and counsel Kelton Gage, who $a\geq 0$ 0 and counsel Kelton Gage, who $a\geq 0$ 0 and counsel Kelton Gage, who can be the case against her. In her testimony, Morris said that $a\geq 0$ 0 and counsely, something went wrong $200 \leq 3$ 0 and counsely, something went wrong $200 \leq 3$ 0 and counselve Herotal Gage August 1998.

 $a\200\230$ cases. : $a\200\230$ _Asked by Doyle whether she believed she made the right decision in dropping the charges, she said, $a\200\234$ Yes, I don $a\200\231$ t have any doubt about

that. $\hat{a}\200\235$ b s, . But Gage said that 15 $\hat{a}\200\234$ and p6s-sibly more $\hat{a}\200\235$ of the child sex-abuse cases could have been prosecuted. Morris dropped charges, made in 1983 and $\hat{a}\200\23184$, against 21 of 24 adult

defendants after one couple had

been acquitted and another man had pleaded guilty in a plea â\200\230bar-gain. The coupleâ\200\231s acquittal, in the belief of many observers, showed the negligence of the prosecutor in bringing a bungled case to court. â\200\234I say she committed malfeasance, because thereâ\200\231s every reason to believe that the guilty went free in Scott County without having to do so much as defend

themselves in court, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Gage said in his closing arguments. W Malfeasance is an action or actions that, while not necessarily illegal, are $\hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\230$ unlawful in very general terms $\hat{a}\200\235$ and may include violating a code of ethics, said Anoka County District Judge Lynn Olson,

head of the panel.

- Doyle described the county attor- -

ases could lead to ouster

ney as a person who spoke for the children of Jordan and who was placed on trial to face allegations based on nonissues raised in a petition from a former defendant \hat{a} \200\234in the cases. ST " Morris dropped the charges $a\200\230$ against the 21.on grounds that she did so to protect another investigation of $a\200\230a\200\230great$ magnitude. $a\200\235$ That investigation was of charges, including eyewitness testimony, made by some of the children believed to have been abused that other children had been murdered and mutilated at sex parties. -. State and federal investigators found no evidence to support these homicide allegations, and Atty. Gen. Hubert Humphrey III later decided not to refile any charges .. Gage, citing numerous instances in which he said Morrisâ $\200\231$ statements conflicted with testimony from law-enforcement officials and other witnesses, said the removal proceedings hinged on whether the commission thought

"AP Laserphoto

Scott County $\hat{a}\200\234$ Attorney Kathleen Morris listens to her attorney $\hat{a}\200\231$ s clo-sing arguments Monday.

she was truthful.

- Olson said it would be one to two
months before the panel makes a
recommendation to Gov. Rudy
Perpich, who has said he wofild
abide by the commissionâ\200\231s find

ings.

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Editorâ\200\231s Letter Boxâ\200\224j
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South African \ sanctions opposed

Lately, western governments have been besieged by calls from their own media and academics to impose sanctions, both economic and political, against South Africa. These calls come in the wake of general pandemonium resulting from a state of emergency (i.e., martial law) imposed on the people of South Africa by President Pieter Botha.

Calls for boycotts of South
Africa and its products are
nothing new; everything from
campus newspapers to the upper echelons of Canada's academic elite have been doing
just that for many years. But
what bothers me is the sheer
hyprocrisy of those who would
strangle the economy of South
Africa while dismissing boycotts of other oppressive nations as â\200\230â\200\230fanaticalâ\200\231â\200\231 and â\200\230â\200\230extremist.â\200\235

To put it more bluntly, those who would cut off South Africa

~ would never do the same to the Soviet Union or its satellites (Cuba, Nicaragua, Syria, et al), because to these individuals some kinds of oppression are worse than others. While Afghans are being slaughtered by the Soviets and tanks roll over students in Warsaw, these self-appointed moralists would

try to destabilize the entire African continent by knocking -

the bottom out of its economic structure $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 224$ South Africa.

Are these individuals aware

- that South Africa is the only African nation to export food to its neighbors? This is quite an accomplishment when one considers the social plight of so many starving people on that continent.

Are they aware that blacks are coming into South Africa on a daily basis in search of economic and social security, and not emigrating from it? Or do all these things just hamper their cause? In questioning the motives of our academic elite, we must look at who these $a\geq 0$ and what their real motives are. I leave that to you.

One further point: If people are truly interested in helping South Africa rid itself of apartheid (and I should hope that they are), what is the best way of going about it, economic sanctions or direct aid for the education and civilization of South Africaâ\200\231s warring tribes?

Α4

Letâ\200\231s use an analogy: We

 $a\200\234$ have a human body that is suf-

fering from a very painful and humiliating disease $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 224$ called apartheid. What is the best way to rid the body of this plague? Do we hack away at its limbs and punish it for being sick, or do we nurture it and bring it back to health so that its own immure system will destroy this apartheid? The answer is as clear as the analogy is valid.

Let me say that apartheid is wrong and must be done away with, but, by the slow gradual construction of more acceptable social mores, and not by reckless pandemonium. It took the rest of us 10,000 years to civilize, so let us not expect South Africa to perform the same deed overnight. I know it is difficult for socialists but letâ $\200\231s$ look at the reality of the situation, and work toward helping South Africans â\200\224 all South Africans $\hat{a}\200\224$ build a strong, stable society through the help and understanding of allied nations, and not through ignorance and revolution.

Ken Cheveldayoff President of Young Progressive Conservatives of Saskatchewan Blaine La

The w:«f who is trul

Thr Globe and Hail

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1985

"Realism and reform -

Africa has had 72 coups dâ\200\231état since Ghana achieved independence â\200\224 the first of Europeâ\200\231s black colonies on the continent to do so â\200\224 in 1957. Thirteen heads of state have been assassinated in those 28 years, and hardly any have allowed themselves to be voted out of office. In 40 states, one-party rule or military dictatorship is the norm.

These dismal data are indices of black Africaâ\200\231s political underdevelopment, a condition which many Western liberals tend either to blame on the colonial powers or to excuse away by saying that parliamentary democracy is not necessarily suitable for all political cultures.

But liberals who are so tolerant of the one-party systems of
Tanzania and Zambia refuse to
be cultural relativists when they
discuss an appropriate political
dispensation for South Africa.
I'here they want the principle of
â\200\234â\200\230one man, one vote,â\200\235 and they
want it yesterday.

Because this outlook pervades so much Western commentary, the reaction to President P.W. Bothaâ\200\231s speech last week was conditioned by hopelessly unrealistic expectations. The immediate introduction of â\200\230â\200\230one man, one vote,â\200\235 under present circumstances, would foment political instability and (since many whites would vote with their feet and take their skills and their capital with - them) economic

chaos in the nation whose industry and infrastructure are the economic ballast of southern Africa.

This is certainly not to say that black South Africans are inherently incapable of democratic self-rule. But since they have been denied education, upward economic mobility and political experience, they would be no more successful than other Africans as instant nation-builders. Indeed, because they number 10 different tribes, they likely would be even more prone to ethnic conflict. As Globe correspondent Michael Valpy recently

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reported, $\hat{a}200\230\hat{a}200\2340f$ South Africa $\hat{a}200\231s$ 8 million non-blacks $\hat{a}200\224$ whites, Indians and coloreds $\hat{a}200\224$ there is virtually no one, liberal or conservative, who favors one person-one vote rule in a unitary state. $\hat{a}200\235$

That does not mean such a system could not evolve. Indeed, because South Africa has a size-able white tribe with experience in self-rule, its influence could eventually make the difference between black dictatorship and black democracy in a post-apartheid society. But that would depend on white South Africaâ\200\231s readiness to initiate black South Africans into parliamentary institutions now so that they could develop the political skills needed to make pluralism work.

One way would be the creation of a parliamentary chamber for blacks. The current tricameral assembly allows the white chamber to co-opt the Indian and colored chambers, but constitutional revisions or even informal accommodations could establish a new balance in which four chambers were relevant to national decisions. i

Another approach would be to try the Buthelezi Commissionâ\200\231s â\200\230â\200\234consociationalâ\200\235 model. It would unite the Zulu tribal homeland of KwaZulu with white-dominated Natal Province which surrounds it, and adopt a weighted representation vote between rural and urban communities (in effect between blacks and whites) to protect the

interests of both communities.

Such reforms would be only interim steps, and the mechanisms would matter less than the message â\200\224 a demonstrable will to open the political process to blacks. Mr. Botha claims his:
Government has the will, but he fails to announce the reforms.
For that reason, rather than because of his repudiation of â\200\230â\200\230one man, one vote,â\200\235â\200\235 his Durban speech last week was a dud. And his talks Monday with South African clerics were an exercise in futility.

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The Now York Times/Psal
The Rev. Jerry Faiwell, rigit, and the Rev. Joseph E. Lowery of the Southern Christian Lead
ership Conference at &
yesterday in Washington at the National Press Club.
a\200\230 Falwell Denounces Tutu as a a\200\230 Phony 200\231
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Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 20 â\200\224 The Rev.
Jerry Falwell called Bishop Desmond
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South Africans, Mr. Falwell said, do

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 $\hat{a}\200\230\$ he said, $\hat{a}\200\234\$ thereis now a of conser-

Richard E. Sincere Jr., a conservative who is assistant to the president of the Ethics and Public Center, a

Herbert B. Berkowitz, a

Koch Calls Falweil â\200\2300wt of Touchâ\200\231 Mayor Koch, a critic of the South'African Governmentâ\200\231s policies, issued a

statement yesterday calling Mr. Falwell $\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\30$ shockingly out of touch with the

Germany in the s, said the United fuu-mmouoninucyam $\,$

ty. - $\frac{1}{200}^234$ *Although he served our nation with distinction during World War II, Lind-recovered

bergh never completely from his association with the Nazi Gov- ** Mr. Koch said. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Mr. Falwell is likely to suffer a similar fate as a result of his support of the racist and Government in South Af-

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