

# PRIME MINISTER & CHIEF BUTHELEZI MUST MEET

## QUOTE

"If we do not find a solution between Afrikaner people and Zulu people, we will never find any solution in this country"

As people who believe in negotiation, and because of the undeniable fact that the Afrikaners wield power in this country, Inhlabamkhosi took an initiative to get the views of the influential Afrikaners on the sensitive issue of the strained relations between the two key leaders of South Africa — the Prime Minister Mr P.W. Botha and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, a Movement with more than 984 000 card-carrying members.

By: M.J. BHENGU



*Dr Willem de Klerk – a journalist academic and political commentator. He is the Editor of Rapport, and a former editor of Die Transvaler. During his term of office, his outspoken views brought him into conflict with the more conservative elements in the Afrikaner press – the inventor of the terms verligte and verkrampte.*

Indeed, there is a great need for these two most famous South African leaders to come together to negotiate the future of this country. What must be considered is that the Prime Minister must become a true reformer and show willingness to discuss the future of South Africa outside the four corners of apartheid. Even if Chief Buthelezi does not have the full might of the State behind him, as an elected leader, he represents more South Africans than the Prime Minister, and is very willing to meet the Prime Minister privately, without any fanfare, to discuss an agenda which both of them will agree on. During the Referendum, the Prime Minister stated very clearly that Africans will never be included in Parliament and that this would not be done in his lifetime and in the life time of his children. On the other hand Chief M.G. Buthelezi wants his people to play a role in the affairs of this country. There comes the deadlock.

**Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister are the leaders of two main groups in South Africa, the Zulus and the Afrikaners**

When Inhlabamkhosi interviewed Dr de Klerk in his office in Johannesburg, he stated that "It is true

that the two leaders in South Africa at the present moment are Chief Buthelezi and P.W. Botha. They are the leaders of two main groups in South Africa, the Zulus and the Afrikaners. So it is very very important that they must understand each other and they must try to find the solutions to the problems we have in this country. Therefore, I'm very enthusiastic that there must be a close relationship between Chief Buthelezi and Mr P.W. Botha. The problem is that, one must understand, there is a difference in political philosophy between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister. Chief Buthelezi is an outspoken leader who rejects the policy of Separate Development and the homeland concept and is interested in a Unitary State. Therefore, the political philosophies are different. I think that is the problem between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister."

#### **There was a lot of personal clashes between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister**

Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's unwillingness to attend meetings jointly with other Homeland leaders, he said that "It is necessary for Chief Buthelezi to attend meetings which the Prime Minister calls, because the Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of the Zulu people — Zulus as South Africans. So Chief Buthelezi must attend to the Prime Minister's call, so that he would have the opportunity of speaking to the Prime Minister. But I can understand that there were a lot of personal clashes between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister, and from the Prime Minister's point of view Chief Buthelezi does not want to cooperate. I think the Prime Minister would be willing to meet Chief Buthelezi privately. In my articles directed to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, I usually stress the fact that the two leaders must come together. Therefore the initiative must come from the Prime Minister and Chief Buthelezi."

#### **Indians & Coloureds are not our first priority, our first priority is Black-White relationship**

"Originally and historically Kwa-

Zulu is a country with its own people," said Dr de Klerk. "I don't think that the Prime Minister takes Chief Buthelezi as a puppet of Pretoria." Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's involvement in the recent Referendum Campaign, Dr de Klerk stated that he was very shocked that Chief Buthelezi "rejected the new constitution so vehemently, because I believe there is a change of attitude in the Afrikanerdom — to create a new constitution where Coloureds and Indians are included. But I understand Chief Buthelezi's problems. But the Prime Minister is busy preparing a constitution which will also include Blacks. I think a solution must be found, not only for Urban Blacks, but for both Rural and Urban Blacks. I was shocked that Chief Buthelezi did not like Revd. Hendriekse's option for the new constitution. What is happening is the beginning of the whole process, and Indians and Coloureds are not our first priority, our first priority is Black-White relationships.

#### **Buthelezi Commission does give some solutions to our problems**

On Separate Development, Dr de Klerk said that there must be "a compromise — we cannot afford in this country to have one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State. I don't think that will be possible in this country. On the other hand the old Verwoerd concept of Separate Development is not the solution for this country. I think the compromise could come about through the formulation of a federal structure of a constitution — not a confederation, but something between the two models — in the process of negotiation. The Buthelezi Commission does give some solutions to our problems, but the findings of the Buthelezi Commission were given to the Central Government untimely. It was rejected because it was not timed. But I do not think the report is shelved forever, I think that the Buthelezi Commission report will be tabled again. Not that I agree with all that is there, but the spirit of the report is very good and I'm sure that it will be used in future because it has solutions."

#### **"Our first priority should not be to make peace with our neighbours, but to make peace amongst ourselves"**

On the Nkomati Accord, Dr de Klerk said that he was very pleased that Chief Buthelezi was positive in this regard. But "it is very important that we find a solution to our problems within the country. Our first priority should not be to make peace with our neighbours but to make peace amongst ourselves."

#### **"If we do not find a solution between Afrikaner people and Zulu people, we will never find any solution for this country"**

About the Inkatha Movement, Dr de Klerk said that "it is not a Zulu Broederbond. The Afrikaner Community is very positive towards Inkatha. Afrikaners are aware that Inkatha is a political organisation — a very well organised organisation. I do not think that the average Afrikaner rejects the whole concept of Inkatha. Between Inkatha and the Afrikaners there must be a mutual understanding. The collapse of the think-tank between members of Inkatha and the Nationalist Party was again a question of timing. The Afrikaner of 1984 has changed and a new think-tank should be formed. If we do not find a solution between the Afrikaner and Zulu people, we will never find any solution for this country."

#### **The idea of a rigidly disciplined nation/unit is a myth**

Now in his recently published book (THE SECOND (R) EVOLUTION, Jonathan Ball publishers), he cites the long history of internecine strife among his people and says it is a grave mistake to see Afrikaners as a uniform group. While there are among Afrikaners, as in all groups, unifying characteristics such as lifestyle, shared history and Calvinistic piety, he declares quite unequivocally that the idea of a rigidly disciplined national unit is a myth.

#### **The Afrikaner and his modern city culture**

He writes: "The Afrikaner has

been absorbed into the modern city culture ... exposed to multiplicity of convictions, trends and values. He is in the process of undergoing a culture change which is bringing with it major shifts in thinking patterns, lifestyle and outlook on life."

### Urban Black and rural Blacks

Contrary to the Prime Minister, Dr de Klerk states that "it is not entirely impossible that the Black people within the Republic may well become part of a fourth chamber in a Federal Parliament..." On the other side, we Blacks cannot be participants in such a Parliament if apartheid is still institutionalised. In the same book Dr de Klerk states that ... "the compromise by (r)evolution to include Urban Blacks in a Unitary State which would form a Confederal or Federal Association with the existing Black States is a pos-

sibility..." Again this is the divide and rule *at empira*. To treat Urban Blacks differently from rural Blacks is divisive. Urban and rural Blacks are one people, just like urban and rural Afrikaners, they are one people and the Central Government treats them as such.

### Federal formula or Confederal formula?

Dr de Klerk is against a National Convention, and we differ in this respect. He is again against one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State, and favours a federal formula rather than a confederation. One-man-one-vote in a Unitary State is what Blacks have been looking for, but they have opted for a consociational form of a Government, which is a compromise. Further to that, we Blacks reject confederation because it encompasses apartheid. Blacks want their democratic rights in their land of birth.

### Dr de Klerk's candour and Afrikanerdom

One may disagree with Dr de Klerk in some respects e.g. politically, but his candour in confessing Afrikanerdom's past sins and misjudgements is refreshing and exemplifies his own personal advance along this road. It is again comforting that Dr de Klerk seems to view the process of change within Afrikanersom as irreversible. Afrikaners must rest assured that Blacks do not intend taking over the reigns of the Government, but want to share power. The politics of "Africa for Africans" is no longer existant. We want a new South Africa where both Blacks and Whites will be prepared to lay down their arms in defence of their mother country.

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## INKATHA'S MESSAGE TO AFRICA

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Black politics will necessarily undergo radical changes and it is appropriate at this time to look at the whole question of the relationship between political objectives and the tactics and strategies which are appropriate to them. When we look at the question of strategies and tactics in a situation such as ours, we must avoid being futuristic in our thinking and we must be guided by an urgent sense of pragmatism.

### CONSIDERATIONS

INKATHA has, since its inception, propounded the view that no one black political party and no isolated strategy could overthrow the South African Government, or drive the South African Government into such a position of weakness that it would have to negotiate to avoid a violent confrontation leading to its demise. We have always argued, as we still do today, that strategy considerations and logistical considerations, demographic factors, geographical factors and social and economic realities, distinguish South Africa from those of its neighbouring states. We therefore have in our circumstances to develop tactics and strategies in the struggle for liberation appropriate to our conditions. Similarity of objectives do not

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imply similarity of political steps necessary to reach them. Not only therefore have we to evolve a multi-strategy approach relevant to our circumstances. I mention this because all too frequently models for radical or revolutionary change which have proved effective elsewhere are imported as guidelines to bring about change here. Also all too frequently friendly nations assisting us in the struggle tend to support the kind of tactics and strategies which had been proven effective in their own struggles for liberation.

### TACTICS AND STRATEGIES

Statemanship demands that not only do we give careful considera-

tion to the strategies and tactics we set in our own unique circumstances, but also demands that we consider these tactics and strategies in the broader context of Southern Africa and Africa beyond. Every Head of State in Southern Africa, central Africa, East and West Africa beyond our borders is beset with social, economic and political problems which cannot be divorced from general factors, and particularly economic factors, in the whole sub-continent.

The struggle for liberation in South South Africa must take cognisance of its neighbours and their particular circumstances. Our commitment should be not only to liberate South Africa but to liberate it in such a way that its liberation gives a meaningful