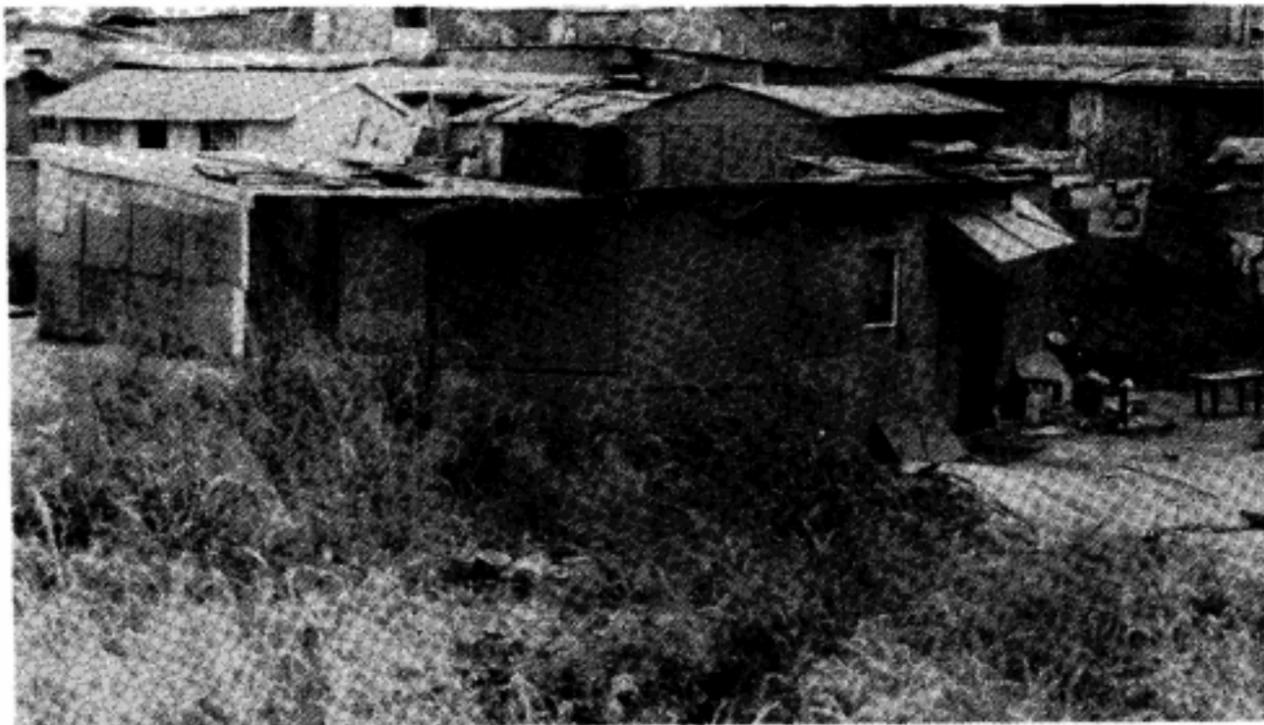


being undertaken into the shack areas.

This study is being done by the Inkatha Institute in conjunction with the Urban Foundation, the Land Surveying Department and Centre of Applied Social Sciences, Durban University.

In the very near future updated (1983) figures of shack numbers will be made available, as well as policy-related suggestions for those in authority to consider in order to effect change in the peri-urban area surrounding Durban.



Shacks in pre-urban areas.

“BLACK DISSILLUSIONMENT

an assessment by Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu to the International Collectors' Association

In the course of my year's work, I address a great many meetings such as this and speak to people who come to this country to gain first-hand impressions. All too frequently I find focussed and detailed questions are asked by those whose interests and perceptions are shaped by a framework which is not the same as my own. I think it is in all of our interests therefore that I initially paint the South African picture in broad strokes.

WORKING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK

At the core of the South African situation we have the fact that White politics has for over two generations been concerned with the protection and development of White vested interests. For over two generations something like three quarters of the population of this country have had no representation in Parliament. I rightly work from within the framework that this is an untenable situation. So untenable in fact that radical changes are inevitable. We have to accept that radical changes will come about. We can debate about how they are going to come about. We can speculate about whether changes will be brought about through non-violent democratic means or through revolution. But that there will be radical changes is, for me, one of the givens of our situation.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES

White South Africa cannot survive indefinitely in a situation in which the furtherance of narrow White interests conflict not only with growing Black opposition, but also with the good of the country at large. For me economic and political realities support Black political aspirations, whereas they militate against the kind of apartheid policies which have made South Africa a pariah in the world at large.

South Africa's economy demands the kind of social and political integration which successive National Party Governments, ever since 1948, have rejected out of hand. If we have no rapid degeneration of the situation and we do not have a rapid escalation of the use of violence for political purposes, time is on the side of those

who strive for the complete reformation of South Africa to bring about a just and open society. Time is not on the side of Whites who wish to retain White privilege, and entrench it in a central White political laager. If here is a rapid deterioration and the employment of violence escalates to become the uncontrollable factor which it inherently is, Whites will lose out in any case. They will lose out because the whole country will lose out, but having lost out and the whole country having lost out, circumstances will be created in which Black actors will be the prime actors in social, political and economic reconstruction.

To me White racist politics is doomed whether changes are brought about through non-violent means, or whether changes result from the escalation of violence beyond control.

Arising out of what I have said to important considerations emerge. One is the consideration of whether or not Black political initiatives can keep the pace of change moving at a rate which works against those who encourage the rapid development of violence as a political weapon. The other is Whites can remain in the driving seat until such time as change has taken place to their satisfaction.

BLACK INITIATIVES

When I talk about my own role, or I talk about the role of INKATHA, I talk about it within the context of the kernel issue of power-sharing between race groups in this country, and I talk about it within the context of Whites being incapable of displaying the kind of initiatives which will keep them in the driving seat through the process of radical change, and into a future where there will be no White special privileges. My own view is that Whites in South Africa have a long history of under-achieving at the political level and this under-achievement of theirs will persist well into the future. I believe that unless Black initiatives are mounted which will successfully bring about radical change through non-violent means, Black initiatives which resort to the employment of violence will be the agents of change.

1948 ELECTION

In making assessments of social and economical situations in a complex society such as ours, there is all too often a euphoria which deludes one group or another. A White euphoria swept the country in 1948 when the National Party first came to power. The majority of Whites who voted the National party into power did so because they were persuaded that a policy of baaskap and keeping the kaffir in his place would succeed. Every National Party Government since the government of 1948 has compromised the principles upon which the 1948 election was fought.

A new euphoria has swept the country in recent months, and

White South Africans are not ready to believe that the present Government's initiatives will sooner or later have to be scrapped as totally inadequate to bring about the kind of changes this country in fact needs. More of this a bit later.

SO-CALLED WHITE SOUTH AFRICA

As Black power evolved during the 1950's a Black euphoria developed in which no leader would have survived public rejection if he or she predicted the events of the 1980's thus far. In the euphoria which developed in Black society in the late fifties and early sixties, Blacks were demanding radical changes in the immediate future, and anticipated that those radical changes would in fact come about in less than a decade. Those who make assessments of South Africa, those who try to make honest analyses of our situation, have often swung back and forth with the euphoria pendulum. In my trips abroad last year, and in my discussions with visitors last year and this year, it is becoming increasingly apparent to me that too many over-optimistic assessments were and are being made. In these assessments, the new constitution for which Whites voted so overwhelmingly on November 2nd, is seen as a step of departure from White oppressive behaviour and has been hailed by some Western governments and organisations as a courageous right step in the right direction. I wish they were right and it is tragic that they are wrong. They are wrong because a core issue has been side-stepped in a tragic political under-achievement by the present Prime Minister. The new constitution does not address the core issue of the country; it does not address the questions which surround the problems of moving towards powersharing. The new constitution in fact denationalises 72 per cent of the populations, and anticipates that the Africans who constitute 72 per cent of the population, can be persuaded to seek and find fulfilment for their political aspira-

tions as citizens of ten ridiculous mini-States which are the so-called homelands to whom the Government is offering the quasi type of independence it offered to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The new constitution only makes sense to the Whites who support it if they believe that the South African government will succeed in making all so-called homelands accept "independence" and if they succeed in establishing a confederation of Southern African States. If they cannot succeed in these political designs, and if Africans continue to reject the quasi independence being offered to the so-called homelands governments, the new constitution will lead to insoluble problems within so-called White South Africa where the majority of citizens are in fact Africans.

CONFEDERATION

There are no prospects whatsoever of the South African Government's confederal plans being brought to fruition to White satisfaction. The Government may succeed in establishing a confederation linking itself and the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda. Such a confederation will however not be a meaningful development to the millions of Africans who live in so-called White South Africa; and to many more millions who live in what it pleases the South African Government to call National States.

Politics in this country will continue to evolve around the core issue of real power-sharing, and the present constitution serves only to delay the day when Whites will be forced to address the central political questions which confront us.

"INDEPENDENCE"

I as President of INKATHA head the largest mass Movement amongst Blacks which has ever been seen in the history of the country. INKATHA has a card-carrying membership of over 750,000 and beyond that membership, there are millions who have not joined INKATHA as

members but who support INKATHA's strategies, tactics and leaders. As the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, I lead the largest Black group in the whole of South Africa. Zulus alone outnumber all Whites and there are a great many more Zulus than there are souls in any other African group. We say 'No' to White racist oppression; we say 'No' to the quasi type independence Pretoria is offering us; we say 'No' to the new constitution, and even without a single ally, our adamant rejection of apartheid and the new constitution and the kind of "independence" Pretoria is trying to persuade me to accept, erects a political stumbling block for the present Government which it cannot surmount.

INKATHA ROOTED IN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES

Within this framework I have to give very careful consideration to the question of strategy and tactics and beyond my own thinking and feeling about what to do and what not to do. I have to keep my ear very close to the ground to enable me to continue reflecting public opinion. INKATHA is rooted in democratic practices. Its supreme body is the Annual General Conference and it is at this Conference that the leadership of INKATHA is given policy directives. You cannot succeed in establishing a mass Movement of INKATHA's size and breadth of representation in Black society if you do not heed the voice of the people, and express their aspirations. I can assure you that there has been a hardening of political attitudes in African society after the endorsement of the new constitution by the White electorate. There are a great many thinking Africans from every strata of society who believe that Black politics is at some kind of cross-roads and that reassessments have to be made. I would like this morning to share with you the factors I take into account as I do my own reassessing of the situation.

THE DYE IS CAST

First, I would be a fool if I avoided the reality of White solidarity

opposed to fundamental change and opposed to any real steps which will lead to power-sharing between Black and White. The dye is cast for the present Prime Minister's term of office. I realise that it is impossible for him to recover from his under-achievement and to put the country's politics on the path of real reform. The National Party under his leadership is committed to a new constitution which will not work. The implementation of this new constitution and the pursuance of the objectives which it sets White politics will consume a great deal more time than Mr Botha has available to him to re-charter the course of his own political career. He will, I am afraid, go down in history as yet another South African Prime Minister whose terms of office were characterised by a movement away from what he set out to do; and like other Prime Ministers, it will be left to his successor to charter another course.

BLACK STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

I would also be a fool to believe that there is scope in the South African political scene for the introduction of radical changes from quarters outside of the National Party as the ruling Party. There are at this stage no prospects of a White Opposition Party winning an election in the foreseeable future. I have therefore perforce to think in terms of the kind of strategies and tactics which Black democratic opposition to apartheid can mount. It is Black politics which will shape the future of this country. And as I enter the new political dispensation now thrust on us all willy nilly, I will have to consider the kind of Black strategies and tactics which will be appropriate in it.

A FULL-SCALE RACE WAR

I have during my entire political career rejected violence as a political weapon. South Africa will not be liberated by marching armies from across our borders. There will be no military leap into a Utopian future. I reject the mass

employment of violence because its employment is inherently dangerous to those involved; because it is morally wrong to resort to violence when there is any hope of alternative avenues of action; because on logistic grounds the kind of struggle which succeeded in Mocambique, Zimbabwe and Angola cannot succeed in this country, and I reject the employment of violence for political purposes because once it escalates beyond a certain threshold it will become an uncontrollable force in South Africa which will destroy the basis of economic, social and political reconstruction. I try to avoid making absolute statements; I have never said that violence will not erupt one day in this country on a scale which will amount to a full-scale race war.

DEMOCRATIC NON-VIOLENT MEANS

There is historical precedent in this sub-continent for violence and it would be naive of us to believe that change in this sub-continent, whether it be here or elsewhere, will not again occur by violence. In this country, White political recalcitrance continues to raise Black political tempers. The history of Black politics has been a history in which there has been a steady hardening of attitudes and the inability of Whites to initiate fundamental changes has had a continuous spin-off in the direction of encouraging Blacks to look at violence as an alternative to democratic non-violent means of bringing about change.

BLACK CONSUMER POWER

I would also be a fool to rush headlong into the reinaction of Black strategies and tactics which have failed in the past. In this respect, I face the question of whether past strategies have failed because they were inherently wrong in conception, or whether they were embarked upon as halfbaked schemes by people ill-prepared for the challenges which lay ahead of them. I find that those who have rejected past strategies do so prematurely, not because the strategies could not

work, but because they themselves lack the skills with which to make them work. The development of bargaining power is central to bringing about political change through non-violent means. Blacks cannot bring about change in this country from positions of inherent weakness and when one thinks about developing bargaining power through non-violent means, one must begin thinking about the effect of the development of Black consumer power and the power of labour.

SOCIALIST UTOPIAN FUTURE

The consideration of building up power bases capable of using Black consumer power and Black labour in preference to using guns and bombs leads us to the next point in my thinking. Whatever we do in our drive to bring about fundamental change in this country, we dare not destroy the economic base of the country. Social and economic reconstruction will be the burden of any post-liberational government. I believe that in our own circumstances in this part of Africa an efficient free enterprise system is an essential ingredient in the formula for success in the reconstruction of our society. White self-interest and apartheid policies of a long succession of White governments have denied free enterprise its proper role in the development of South Africa. I believe that the creation of wealth out of the very dirt of our soil must rank as one of our highest priorities. Whatever we do to bring about political change should not prejudice future governments in discharging their responsibilities to liberate this country from poverty, want and disease. Those who claim a role in the struggle for liberation must accept the responsibility of liberating the country in a manner calculated to make social and economic reconstruction possible. I simply do not believe that we must first seek the political kingdom and then all else will be given to us. There will be no leap into a socialist Utopian future for South Africa. Whatever socialism has to offer the world it does not offer us wealth as manna from

heaven. Black South Africa must shoulder the burden of bringing about radical change in this country, not only to ensure a better future for those of us here, but also to ensure that the whole sub-continent is a better place because of what we do here.

The evolution of Black power and the development of Black bargaining power must not prejudice the future.

POWER-SHARING

When I look at the future and I think about my own role and the role of INKATHA I define my role and INKATHA's role not only in terms of the core issue of power-sharing but also in terms of the need so to conduct ourselves that once having achieved a position of power-sharing, shared power could be employed for the development of South and Southern Africa.

WESTERN INTERESTS

The kind of thinking which I am talking about goes hand in hand with the recognition that the values I am expressing locate the factors of success in the orbit of the Western industrialised world. What is at stake in this country is pertinent to Western interests. In a very real sense the West has not perceived this to be the case, or if they have perceived it to be the case, they have not seen the implications, and they have not seen the responsibilities which the implications thrust on them. The West must do far more by way of support for the forces of liberation in this country than they have ever done in the past. The strategies and tactics which I could adopt in the pursuit of my ideals are deeply prejudiced by a growing sense of disillusionment on the part of Black South Africa with the West.

BLACK DISILLUSIONMENT

When you have got nothing to lose it is all too easy to commit yourself to experimentation with the unknown. In a very real sense the unknown becomes far more preferable than the known which you despise and reject. While I believe that the real factors of success in

the struggle for liberation in this country can be marshalled within the framework of the free enterprise system leading to the sharing of power between Black and White, I also recognise that we may have to face alternatives. There is in Black South Africa what one can perhaps call a natural bent towards the kind of politics which flow from the things I have said. There is also in South Africa the kind of Black disillusionment which could conceivably turn the country's back on the prospects of the kind of change I aspire to. The fate of this country is in the balance scales and the future could be tipped into one direction or another. Perhaps it is discussions such as we are having today which will lead to the tipping of the scales in what I am sure we would all agree is the right direction.