

# BLACK FEAR

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# WHITE FEAR

## *The fear factor in the aftermath of apartheid*

**While all political forces are going to be re-shaped by the powerful social and economic institutional forces at work in South African society, and while these forces are demanding that political parties seek reconciliation with each other and form a multi-party democracy which will be race-free, there are threats to the successful outcome of this broad-based movement in South Africa.**

**O**bservers of the South African situation have generally tended to look at the future being decided by party political contest.

Within the scope of the major political forces already active – the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Conservative Party, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation – many have sought to assess which political organisation will outdo all the others to finally form a government.

*This is inherent in the way in which the world sees the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and the Deputy President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela, deciding the future between them.*

This amounts to a projection into the future based on past strengths of the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance as though those strengths are going to remain intact and politically as powerful in the future as they have been in the past.

It is important to note in this respect that however much Mr de Klerk sees the need to project an image of being willing and able to deal with the ANC/SACP alliance, he and his Cabinet have already publicly announced that they do not aspire to a National Party/African National Congress settlement.

It is only the ANC/SACP alliance which is attempting to make negotiations bi-polar with itself on one side of the table and the National Party on the other side, with all the other political forces ranged behind one or the other of them.

In this regard the ANC is taking on virtually the rest of political South Africa.

The ANC/SACP alliance – during several decades in exile – previously relied on military action in its efforts to return as a government from exile. Although it has now suspended its armed strategy, the ANC/SACP leaderships have recently stated that they retain the option to recommence the "armed struggle" at any stage they see fit.

The South African public at large has clearly rejected violence as a political strategy as was seen by their reluctance to support the ANC's armed struggle.

The ANC/SACP alliance has, in tandem with its past unsuccessful efforts to develop a "people's war" in South Africa, also developed a Socialist-based ideological approach to politics and has committed itself to a Socialist future for South Africa.

In contrast, and particularly with the collapse of Communism/Socialism throughout the world, all evidence appears



*The State President, Mr FW de Klerk with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. A joint committee of the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party is now working on issues involving and related to the negotiation process.*

to point to the majority of South Africans seeking an enterprise-driven economy in a multi-party democracy.

More importantly, and this is stressed by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leadership, in adopting these positions the ANC is making the strategic error of again ignoring the fundamental importance of non-party political factors in South African politics.

There is at present fluidity in South African politics. All organised mining, commercial, banking and industrial interests have long been working to establish the basis of a new multi-party democracy – as have religious and educational bodies.

Likewise institutionalised sport has long been demanding meaningful change away from apartheid and, together with South Africa's cultural institutions, all mentioned previously have provided a whole sub-strata

of thinking and feeling amongst ordinary people of the need for constructive political progress.

***The fact is that no one political party can dictate the future of South Africa***

So, while these forces are demanding change and seeking political parties to effect reconciliation and work towards a race-free democracy, other factors too are at play.

Although fear works entirely differently in black and white society, it is there in both and will have to be dealt with.

Says Dr Buthelezi: "Apartheid has for generations been drumming the notion that blacks are inferior to whites and are incapable of looking after their own interests, let alone looking after the interests of a modern country like South Africa. This basic appeal to racism has developed an altogether rational but powerful fear of black majoritarian rule."

There is a substantial minority of whites who are quite prepared to make a last-ditch stand against reform and the development of a multi-racial democracy because they see death as preferable to the kind of life they imagine they would live under a black majority government.

*Whether that minority grows in size and becomes truly problematic, or whether it can be reduced in size and made peripheral, depends upon how black political leaders define black political intentions.*

The Inkatha Freedom Party has been bold enough to accept that black leaders who ignore the white fear factor and refuse to accept the need for minority group protection, are fanning the flames of right white-wing fear and are a threat to negotiations getting off the ground, let alone a threat to the establishment of a democracy.

This makes Inkatha return time and again to the need for reconciliation now between race groups. All institutional forces at work will only be effective if society is kept relatively intact and sufficiently normalised to avoid large-scale political violence.

South Africa's right-wing minority could become a real problem if it began drawing large numbers of whites into it. White South Africans are military trained. They occupy strategic positions both in the public and private sector. They are highly mobile and they have effective channels of communication. They also control impressive transportation facilities.

If they went to war against negotiations, or if they went to war against a newly established multi-party democracy, they would take politics outside the spheres of influence of South Africa's institutionalised life.

Fear as an aftermath of apartheid is a factor which political leaders in South Africa can only avoid at their peril.

Dr Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party also recognise the black fear factor.

"White racism has bred black nationalism and it has bred a far left political radicalism," says Dr Buthelezi.

"Amongst black nationalists and among the radicals the fear factor is at work. For generations blacks have seen white political arrogance and white political brutality. They have seen this arrogance and brutality in institutionalised South Africa and for some of them it has become synonymous with the white nature of South African society and the free enterprise system in it.

"There are minorities in the black nationalists camp and in the radical left camps who so distrust whites and who so fear the power with which white society usurps democracy and justice, that they

want the kind of powerful black political victories which subjugates white society.

"White politics which ignores black fear courts awesome consequences for South Africa.

"If black fears were ignored and if political developments took place which led to the circumstances in which blacks found themselves governed the way they were not willing to be governed, it would be possible for black radicalism to destabilise society sufficiently to annul the institutionalised demand in South Africa for reconciliation and the normalisation of political relationships."

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## ***The aftermath of poverty***

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Apartheid has left vast poverty in its wake and has left a racial divide as the great divide between the haves and the have-nots.

There are backlogs in everything essential to black life. The huge backlogs that have been created by preferential government spending to favour whites will have to be overcome if a political settlement achieved through negotiations is given meaning for ordinary black people.

Everywhere in the Third World and in Africa, spreading mass poverty has become the moral enemy of democracy. No future South African Government will survive if it does not preside over the rolling back of black poverty to the extent that ordinary people perceive that they are increasing their standards of living, and increasing their prospects of occupying positions in all walks of South African life.

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## ***The new generation in South Africa***

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A whole new generation of black South Africans have never known anything other than politics dominated by violence.

They have known the violence with which apartheid had in the end to be forced on blacks by Draconian government measures. They have known the street corner violence that poverty and political anger has produced; they have been subjected to barrages of political propaganda proclaiming the justification of the armed struggle and the need for the development of a people's army.

Teenagers, and children even, have sat in

street corner kangaroo courts to pass life and death sentences over adults and then to carry out executions through the hideous method of stoning and "necklacing."

Those who have not themselves been involved in such activity, know those who have and have been subjected to socialisation forces which attempt to make this kind of behaviour justifiable and normal.

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## ***Inkatha's approach to negotiations***

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*There is a whole new generation which will have to be inducted into democratic values.*

Dr Buthelezi, in all his meetings with Government and other political leaders in South Africa and internationally, has stressed that the Inkatha Freedom Party is "adamant" that negotiations must become an instrument of reconciliation.

"There is so much to salvage in South Africa that we can negotiate towards the

definition of common cause. We will only do so, however, if we tackled the fear question boldly and accept that apartheid is so doomed that we do not need political adventurism or any form of extremism to strengthen the fight for democratic ideals," he says.

*South Africa should avoid winner-takes-all politics and negotiations should not be turned into arenas where all-or-nothing political battles are fought.*

Inkatha envisages that negotiations should be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances demand that the South African Government legislates the negotiated agreements into position as they are reached.

This would avoid winner-takes-all politics and would avoid forcing South Africans, both black and white, to agree to leap into some kind of black constitutional and political abyss.

"Apartheid is so doomed and there is so much that South Africans could discover in common cause, that the politics of negotiation should provide them with the opportunity of doing just this," says Dr Buthelezi.

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# **Let's talk – and do what is right for SA**

**D**elegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Conservative Party met in Durban recently.

The talks were held the day after the IFP held substantial talks with the State President and a delegation of the SA Government in Pretoria on how negotiations can be commenced as soon and as effectively as possible.

In a memorandum for discussion prepared for Dr AP Treurnicht and the Conservative Party delegation, Dr Buthelezi said he hoped the political relationship between the two parties would remain normal.

"It is my hope that we will be able to debate with each other and compete with each other in the political market place because that is going to be an inevitability," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was "free to campaign" for a national endorsement of his policies but Dr Buthelezi felt the Conservative Party would find it "extremely difficult" to gain any kind of substantial support for its policies across colour lines.

He told Dr Treurnicht: "For me we can avoid the tragedy of either whites combining to thrash a black government, or blacks combining to thrash a white government. We should not allow this tragedy because there is so much that we have in common.

"There really are prospects of us achieving the kind of political settlement in which the majority of every race group in this country will end up being governed in the



*Delegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Conservative Party, led by Dr AP Treurnicht met in Durban.*

way they agree to be governed, however they would like to be governed somewhat differently.

"There will have to be the give and take that will make this possible. Groups are real in South Africa and they can make real building blocks in a united South Africa.

"Group identity can remain important and we can have a multi-party democracy in which there is one sovereign Parliament and the rule of law supervised by a truly independent judiciary which guarantees the continuity of that which is negotiated into position..."