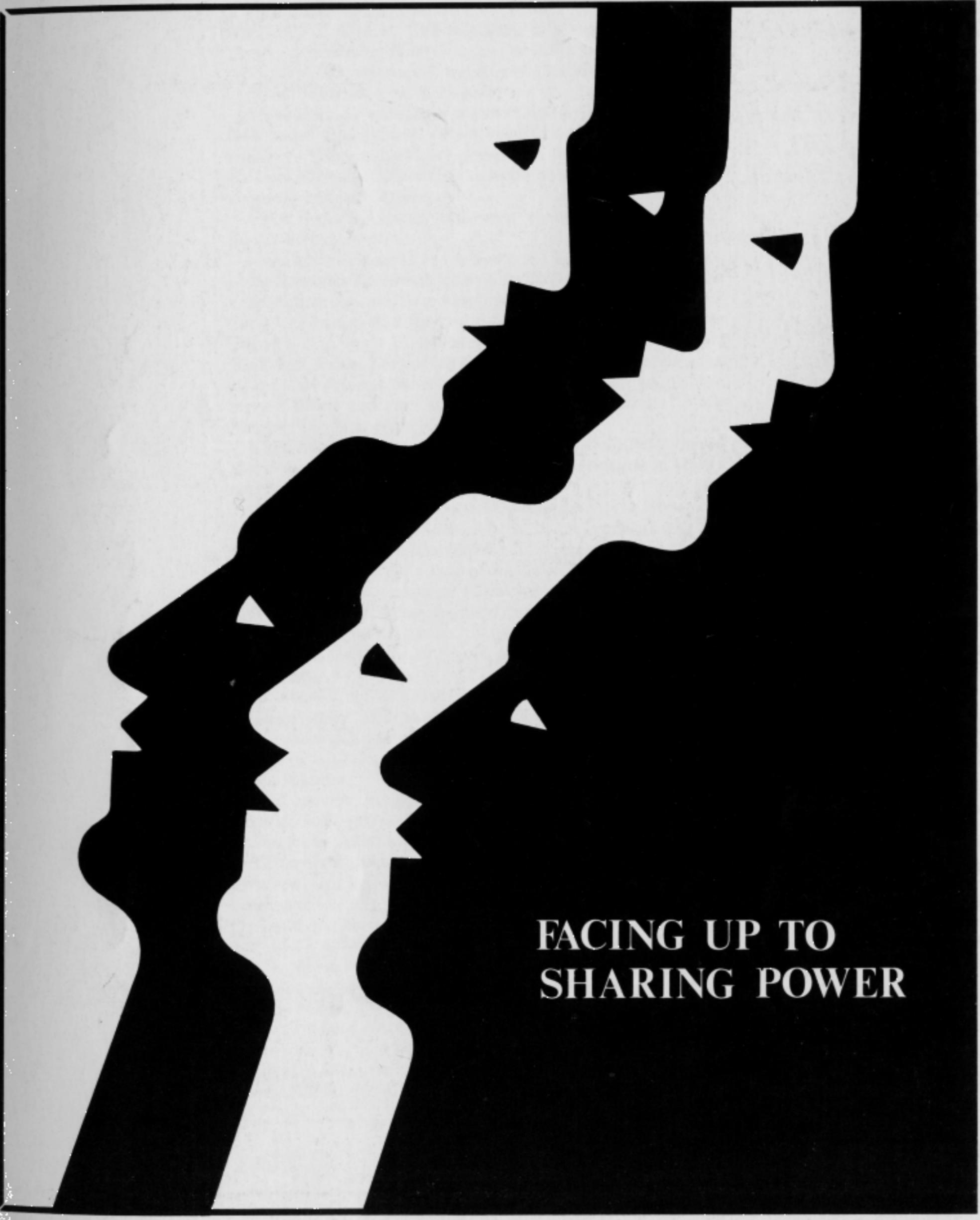


CLARION CALL

Volume 3, 1985



FACING UP TO
SHARING POWER

CLARION CALL

*Published by the Bureau of
Communications, Department of the
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Clarion Call wishes to thank Professor Lawrence Schlemmer for preparing this brief analysis of the Buthelezi Commission. Additional information added to his paper was taken, in part, from the two volume report of the Commission.

It must be stressed that, owing to space, only certain excerpts from the Commission's detailed and comprehensive political and constitutional report have been highlighted, omitting many of the findings relating to economic development, education, social and health services, agriculture and so on.

The Buthelezi Commission, Volume 1 and Volume 2, can be obtained from H & H Publications (Pty) Ltd., PO Box 50024, Musgrave Road, 4062, Durban. Price R30 plus postage or from Mrs S. Griffin, Box 783966, Sandton 2146. Tel: (011) 7833280.

This issue of Clarion Call is devoted to the crucial issue of Black White power sharing in South Africa.

It highlights, in particular, addresses made by Chief M G Buthelezi to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and to the annual general conference of the national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, of which he is President.

By publishing some of the statements at length, it is hoped this issue of Clarion Call will serve as a valuable document clearly articulating the willingness of Black South Africans to work towards a peaceful, negotiated, future for the country and how this can, in part, be achieved.

In addition, a warning is sounded that delays in addressing this issue could have catastrophic consequences for the country. Clarion Call also presents a brief synopsis of the Human Sciences Research Council's investigation into race relations in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi speaks as the most powerful Black leader in South Africa today.

He is not a newcomer to the South African political arena.

He traces his ancestry back to King Shaka, the founder of the Zulu nation and, on his mother's side, is the great grandson of King Cetshwayo and the grandson of King Dinuzulu. On his father's side he is the great grandson of Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi, Prime Minister to King Cetshwayo. As such he is the traditional Prime Minister of the six million Zulu people (the largest Black grouping in South Africa), and adviser to His Majesty the King of the Zulus.

Chief Buthelezi is the elected Chief Minister of KwaZulu and also holds the additional offices of Minister of Economic Affairs and Police.

He heads the largest membership-based political movement — Black or White — in South Africa. In ten years Inkatha has attracted more than one million (annually paid-up) members.

Inkatha dictates the policy of the Government of KwaZulu. It has successfully blocked all moves by the South African Government of foisting so-called "independence" on the region and is attempting to secure (by non-violent means) political representation for all Blacks in the central government of the country.

In addition he is the chairman of the South African Black Alliance which incorporates other Black (including Coloured and Indian) political organisations.

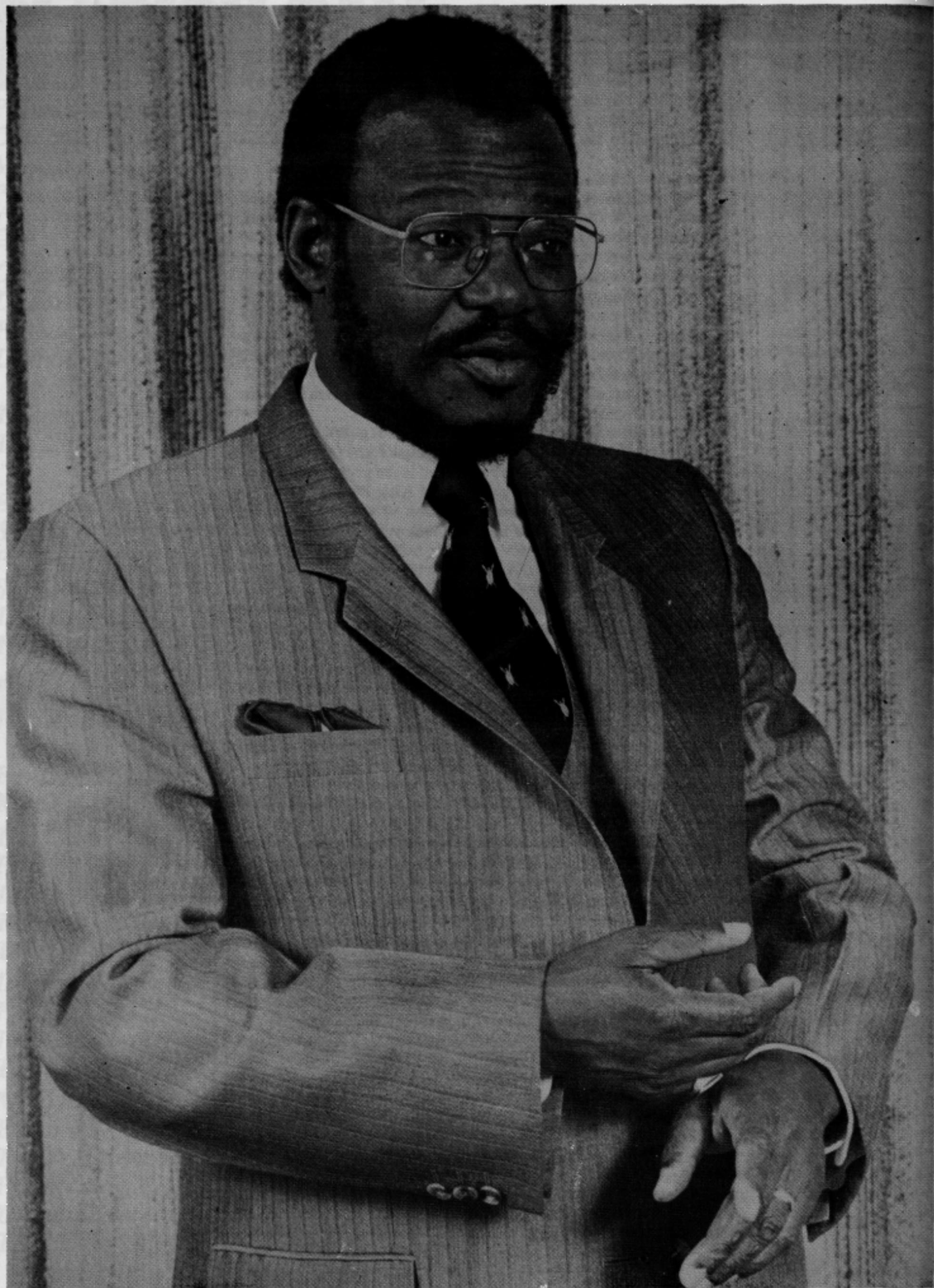
In a recent address Chief Buthelezi had the following to say about Inkatha:

"No armed struggle can be waged successfully unless Inkatha is drawn into it. No non-violent tactics will succeed unless we in Inkatha are part of those tactics.

"There will be no politics of negotiation without us being involved. We are an irradicable presence in the struggle for liberation and it is from this position of strength that we extend the hand of friendship to all...

"We do not know what heights Black anger will rise to. But this we do know: whatever course history takes, and whatever direction the struggle takes, we in Inkatha will be there in the thick of things..."

In this document, Chief Buthelezi has tabled the first draft of a Declaration of Intent as an example of what Blacks and Whites can do as the first step towards negotiation and national reconciliation.



Chief M.G. Buthelezi — Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha.

Statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly

By Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

Mr. Speaker, Sir. Honourable Members, we are living through one of this country's worst crisis situations. Violence is on the upswing in a situation which is more polarised than it has ever before and in which Black anger will remain volatile for much longer than it has ever done before.

We have reached a point in which the violent reactions to apartheid which have been so evident during the last nine months may well become endemic and a permanently present aspect of our political life. The Government has grasped the need to bring about reforms with a very shaky White hand and its lack of courage in doing that which now simply has to be done boldly, expediently and with determination, could well put the State President on the skids.

The State President in a television interview broadcast, not only in this country but in Britain and probably in other places in the world, clearly said the following things: He said he would not accept a unitary state, even if it is a federal union. He said that White South Africans would not share power with Blacks in a sovereign Parliament.

He insists on seeking solutions within a formula which accepts the rights of Whites to occupy and control 87 per cent of the country. He reiterated his commitment to the distinction between "own affairs" and "general affairs" and he clearly indicated that general affairs would only be discussed in consultative mechanisms and he confined joint Black/White decision-making to the instruments of government such as the Development Bank.

The State President told South Africa and the whole world that he has met me frequently and that while he and I both accept differences of opinion on some matters, we cooperate on a wide range of issues.

He rejected what we regard as the essence of the Buthelezi Commission report and virtually reiterated what Mr Owen Horwood originally said about it. He ruled out giving political expression to the total interdependence of KwaZulu and Natal, and he poured cold water on the prospects that the

area of Natal/KwaZulu could be an experimental seed bed for the future. He ruled out the possibility of the Government making a declaration of intent about power-sharing.

I have never had double agendas and on no single occasion have I ever negotiated with the State President or his predecessors or with Cabinet Ministers, behind the people's back.

The State President misleads South Africa and the world when he says that he has had frequent discussions with me.

I must tell the world that I have only had one discussion with the State President in four years and I have only had one private meeting with him to break the ice for this one discussion. But if Mr Botha wants to pretend to the world that I am working closely with him and that we have cosy discussions despite the fact that we have differences of opinion, then my rebuke of him misleading the world is on his head.

Within the framework of what Mr Botha said to millions of viewers both here and abroad, there is nothing that I can talk to him about. South Africa must be told that he refuses to discuss the future outside the four corners of apartheid with me.

The world must be told that he refuses to discuss even the possibility of power-sharing in a unitary state. The world must be told that Mr Botha regards my goodwill, the goodwill of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and the goodwill of Inkatha, as an expendable item which he does not really need.

I am not afraid of wilderness politics, and I must withdraw from situations in which I am represented as betraying the trust of millions of Black South Africans.

I will go to Cape Town to talk to the State President about power-sharing. I will go to Cape Town to talk to the State President about practical co-operation on a wide range of things. I will go today to Cape Town to keep the prospects of negotiation alive.

But, if my going to Cape Town to see the State President is construed as active co-operation in legitimising White

supremacist politics, I will in future rather stay here at Ulundi and fold my arms while the government squanders the hope which flows from the willingness of the majority of Blacks in this country to seek non-violent solutions.

I am not a free agent. I am bound in every minutia of my political life to what the people want. I represent a very substantial body of Black opinion, and I must say with all the responsibility at my command that if the State President's statements in the televised interview reflect all that there is in him, then I would rather go to the people for a massive endorsement of my opposition to him than go to him.

We will resist the dramatic in politics for as long as we are able to do so, but if we in this House are pushed too far, we will have no choice but to prorogue the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and go back to the people for a mandate to return here with a very much clearer focus on the tactics and strategies we will have to adopt to nurture democratic decency in South Africa.

I have a duty to South Africa today to state in clear and measured terms what Black South Africa's response to the emerging situation in the country is. I will put party political propaganda aside. In times of deepening crisis it assists nobody to obscure simple realities, which are bitter and harsh, with ideologically loaded rhetoric.

Whatever Black spokesmen have been saying in recent times in different parts of the world, every Member of this House knows that Black South Africans are prepared to enter the politics of negotiation and that I have responded to very widespread Black demands in insisting that the South African Government declare its intention to move towards power-sharing with Blacks if it has such an intention, or to declare its intention never to do so if it has no such intention.

I have said simply and very clearly that power-sharing within the framework of the present constitution is not possible. I have again and again raised the kernel issue that Black South Af-

continued over

rica will never accept an apartheid rendition of power-sharing which leaves 87 percent of the country, all its wealth, control over the country's fiscal policy, control over the army, the navy, the police, control over transport and in the final analysis, control over both internal and foreign policy, in the hands of the country's White minority. Power-sharing will only have meaning for Blacks when they begin sharing power at central Government level.

I have said again and again that White South Africa cannot dismember the land of our birth and appropriate to themselves its heartland and all the geese that lay the golden eggs and bequeath to us a Third World status. No Black leader with a real constituency in South Africa, who like me has to test his actions and perceptions against popular will in democratic procedures, will participate in any discussions with the Government to assist Whites to appropriate for themselves that which belongs to all of us.

I have also again and again reiterated that we urgently and desperately need to take the necessary steps to avoid violent confrontations between Black and White which flow from social, economic, political and constitutional racial discrimination. I have said very clearly that if we want to avoid violent confrontations, we must recognise that we will fail to do so if we insist on one-man, one-vote in a unitary state. This is my cherished ideal. This is Black South Africa's cherished ideal for which a great many Black South Africans are prepared to die.

No matter how deeply I cherish this ideal, I know that at this point in the history of our country, Whites will be driven to grave acts of desperation if we tried to ram this solution down their throats. We would have to do so with butts of guns and we would have to attempt to do so in situations in which Whites adopted a scorched earth policy in their resistance to it.

On the other hand, Whites will have to ram down Black throats, also with the butt of a gun, the notion that they as a minority are entitled to appropriate 87 percent of the country and all its wealth as their own and are therefore entitled to all final decision-making both in the realms of internal and external policy.

Just as White South Africans will, in circumstances totally unacceptable to themselves, adopt a scorched earth policy. Black South Africans, will adopt a scorched earth policy rather than submit to something they reject

totally.

In recognition of these harsh realities, and out of a deep sense of South African patriotism, I express the love of my land by taking the first step in the politics of negotiation. At great cost and with great courage I take the step towards the politics of negotiation by saying to White South Africa that I am prepared to talk about power-sharing without insisting that we talk about one-man, one-vote in a unitary state. And I ask simply that the South African Government declare its intention of talking about an alternative to a one-man, one-vote unitary state with Black South Africa.

I have praised every act of reform undertaken by the present Government. I have given praise where praise is due. I have said that the State President has now pointed his feet towards statesmanship. I have not jumped up and down screaming "Too little, too late." I have reasoned and I have encouraged, but unless the South African Government now takes a bold step forward to declare its intention to discuss the future of our country, and unless it recognises the need to share power at all levels of Government, I will have given praise where there is no praise due.

I am not prepared to mislead Black South Africa into having false hopes which rest on distortions of the realities in front of us. Black South Africans will endorse any Black leader who can deliver the goods. They are not hide-bound by party political affiliations. Their suffering is too deep and their yearnings are too strong to permit them adhering to party political affiliations out of party political loyalty when there is only party political failure.

Had I not refused to enter the Black Advisory Council which Mr P W Botha attempted to set up to legitimise the President's Council; had I not refused to sanction Inkatha's official participation in local authority politics; had I not refused to participate in Mr Heunis' Special Cabinet Committee; had I not refused to participate in the State President's informal non-statutory negotiation forum; and had I not rejected the quasi-type independence we in KwaZulu were offered, I would by now been reduced to token politics.

If I have any utility to South Africa at all it is a utility which is derived from mass support in an ever-broadening range of constituencies which break all the barriers apartheid has for so long attempted to set up in a divide and rule

approach.

It is belief in Inkatha and it is faith in my leadership which is responsible for the growth of Inkatha which has made it the largest Black constituency ever to have been seen in the history of our country.

Natal and KwaZulu would go up in smoke and there would be a vast escalation of violence in the rest of South Africa if I now did anything which dashed the faith the people have in my leadership.

Can you imagine what would happen if a violent angry Inkatha went on the rampage in this part of South Africa? The whole of South Africa must realise that we in this House and we in Inkatha have the same anger vibrating in our breasts that is so evident in Black South Africa across the length and breadth of the country.

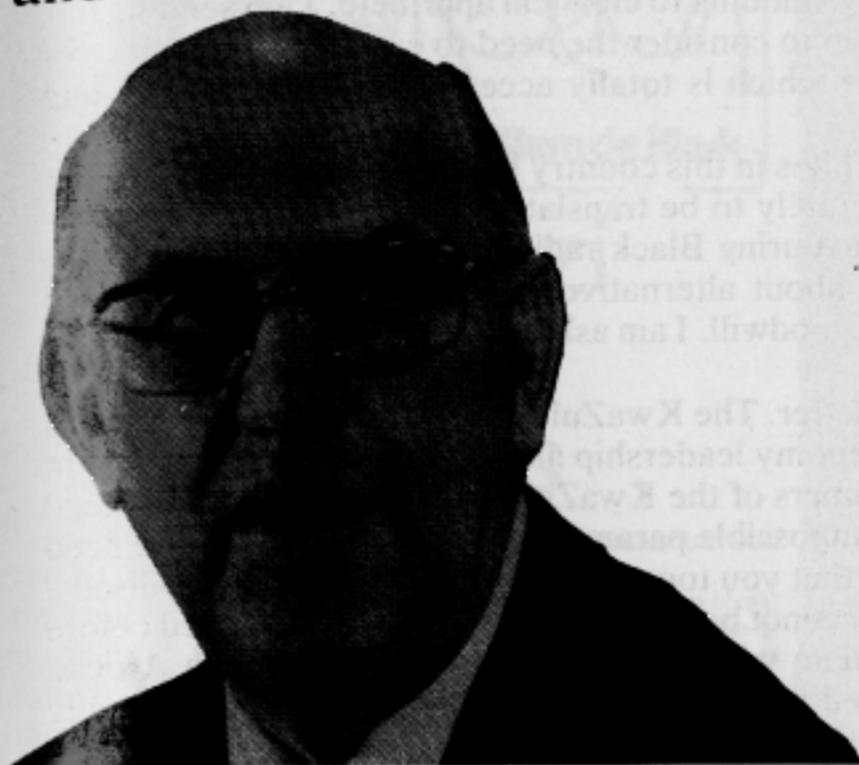
I have again and again said that anger is one of Black South Africa's greatest assets and must be employed constructively. It is this vibrating anger which leads me to make an offer of compromise. It is not a weak suing for peace. It is an act of patriotism expressing my deep disgust with apartheid and racial discrimination.

Throughout my political life I have never had any double agendas. I have never spoken out of both sides of my mouth. Of all the Black leaders in the country, I have been the most consistent. I have had terrible storms of protest because of my commitment to the politics of reason. The anger burning in Black South Africa has again and again appealed to me to lead Blacks in the politics of violent confrontations.

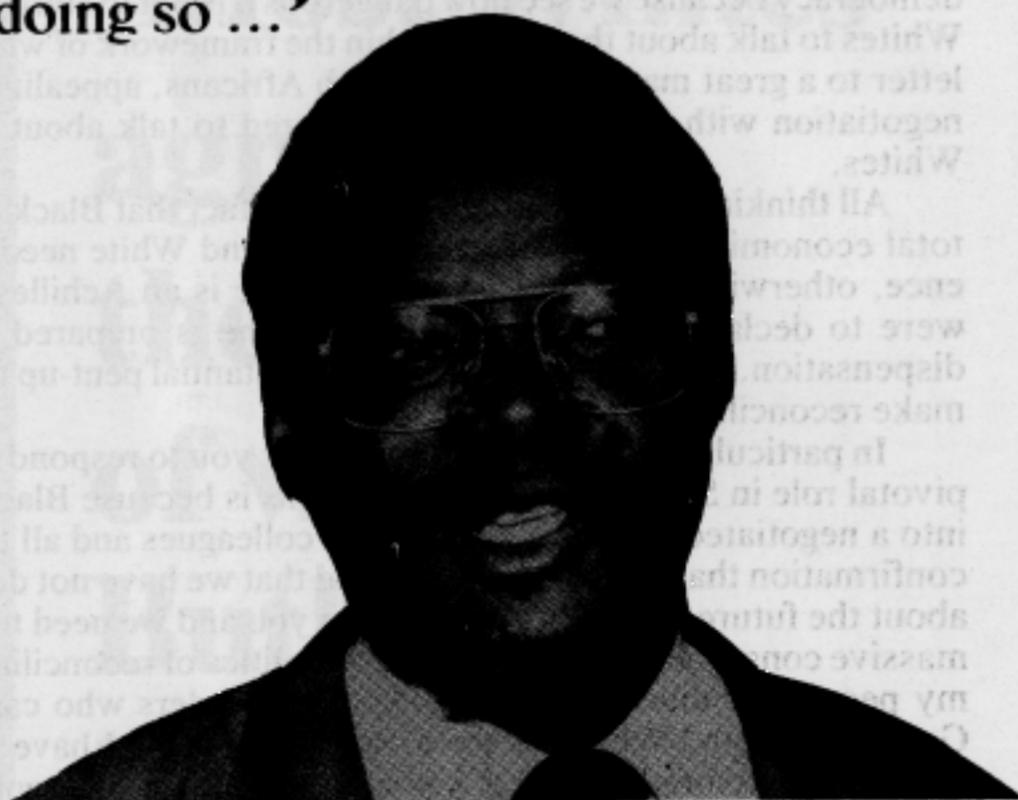
Again and again it has been said that if only I abandoned my position as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, every Black South African would follow me. I am a human being and it took all my Christian commitment, and all my statesmanship to resist the temptation of becoming a mass hero. I have again and again shown that I can do what is right, what is responsible and what is good for South Africa, regardless of the costs that I pay personally for doing so.

In the same way I have resisted terrible pressures exerted on me to adopt the politics of violence in confrontationist politics. I have resisted the terrible pressures exerted on me to betray my people's trust to work within the system, as the rather shallow cliché goes, to legitimise apartheid. Both Black and White South Africans can believe in my political integrity because I have betrayed neither Black nor White in a lifetime of politics.

‘The crucial question of Black/White power-sharing needs to be tabled and the State President has avoided doing so ...’



President P.W. Botha



Chief M.G. Buthelezi

Because I know how each one of you shares my burden and bears the same cross that I bear; because I know how each one of you is reviled at times because you are true South Africans standing tall in your commitment to non-violent tactics and strategies in democratic opposition to apartheid, I wrote to something like 5 000 influential South Africans asking them for an expression of appreciation of what we are doing as patriots.

I wrote to South Africans of all race groups, and I think it is important that I read into the record of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the wording of this letter. This is the letter I wrote, Mr Speaker:

In his opening address to Parliament this year the State President took a definite step towards national reconciliation. He accepted that the question of South African citizenship had to be settled, although he still needs to be encouraged to think of citizenship in terms of a country with one kind of passport for all its people. The State President accepts the permanency and desirability of Blacks in so-called White areas and he intends giving expression to this recognition that Blacks are a permanent part of White South Africa by introducing freehold title rights, and by increasing the mobility of workers between one area and another without them losing Section 10 rights by which they are entitled to remain in urban areas. He also announced the establishment of new structures which will give urban Black communities a collective say in what he regards as their own affairs. Most important of all, he now recognises that Black political aspirations simply cannot be accommodated in what had hitherto been a rigid homeland policy. The State President went further than any of his predecessors in recognising the need to normalise our society.

I find myself, however, in a position in which I have to reject the State President's invitation to Black leaders to discuss matters of mutual concern in an informal non-statutory forum. It seems tragic to me that at this time of greatly heightened Black unrest, (leading to the dangers of reaction and over-reaction as we saw in Uitenhage) Blacks and Whites cannot find each other. Blacks and Whites are as yet unable to reach out to each other across the political chasm which racial fears and prejudices have established.

This letter to you is in part a statement of my position and in part an appeal to you to respond to the growing demands for reconciliatory politics. I enclose an excerpt from my Policy Speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in which I discuss the role of KwaZulu and the need for the South African Government to make the kind of declaration of intent which would have the effect of joining Blacks and Whites together in a determined effort to eradicate violence in our midst and to move purposefully into a new future.

I founded Inkatha on principles that all civilised Western industrialised countries respect. All my life I have stood for the politics of negotiation and for bringing about change through non-violence. A massive Black force is amassing itself behind me in support of these principles and in support of my non-violent, democratic tactics and strategies. Inkatha has now nearly a million paid-up members and I enjoy very substantial support beyond those who have actually taken out membership cards. I have a track record of having mobilised Black South Africa to employ democratic decency in facing our problems, and I am writing to you as a fellow South African who is concerned that both Blacks and Whites will under-achieve and participate in a very tragic degeneration of goodwill in this country.

Sometimes when one is so near an important goal the vital last step is so difficult to take. I believe the State President has difficulty in taking the one step which would mobilise vast goodwill. That is the step of making a declaration of intent together with Black leaders who really do matter. The State President needs to go beyond addressing the converted, so to speak. He needs to go beyond a forum in which Blacks have to undertake to talk about the future in terms which are totally unacceptable to the vast majority of ordinary Africans. The crucial question of Black/White power-sharing needs to be tabled and the State President has avoided doing so in his address to Parliament.

continued over

We in KwaZulu and Inkatha accept one-man, one-vote in a unitary state as an ideal and we share this ideal with many millions of Blacks. But for the sake of reconciliation we are prepared to think about alternative forms of democracy because we see how dangerous it is not to start where a start can be made. I think it is just as dangerous for Whites to talk about the future within the framework of what really amounts to classical apartheid. I am sending this letter to a great many influential South Africans, appealing to them to consider the need to establish the politics of negotiation with leaders who are prepared to talk about a future which is totally acceptable to both Blacks and Whites.

All thinking South Africans accept the fact that Blacks and Whites in this country have a common destiny. The total economic interdependence of Black and White needs desperately to be translated into political interdependence, otherwise economic interdependence is an Achilles heel favouring Black radicalism. If the State President were to declare with Black leaders that he is prepared to talk about alternatives to the present constitutional dispensation, he would liberate a very substantial pent-up force of goodwill. I am asking you to use your influence to make reconciliatory politics a reality.

In particular I am writing to you to ask you to respond to this letter. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly plays a pivotal role in South African politics. This is because Blacks accept my leadership and accept that I will lead them into a negotiated future. I, my Cabinet colleagues and all the members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly need confirmation that our role is valued and that we have not defined impossible parameters for the discussions we need about the future. We need to hear from you and we need to know that you too understand that if I have mobilised a massive constituency in support of the politics of reconciliation, I cannot be expected to stand empty-handed before my people for much longer. Blacks want leaders who can negotiate with the State President, the South African Government and Whites. I am supported because I have promised to do so. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly needs to be assured that what we have achieved has not gone unnoticed.

We may well be at a crossroads right now and the appeal I am making must be seen against this realisation. It must also be seen against the efforts I have made to defuse Black on Black confrontations on the Reef. It will be recalled that on the 25th November 1984 I had to go to Soweto to appeal for calm. There was a rapid de-escalation of violence there after the mass meeting I held. It will also be recalled that I had to go to Soweto in August 1976 to put an end to violent Black on Black confrontations. And also that it was I who got the Transvaal children to go back to school in January 1978.

There is a great deal of unrest around us and I can no longer guarantee that in this situation of escalating violence we see before us that my pleas for calm will be heeded in future, unless there is a definite statement of intent about power-sharing between Blacks and Whites in South Africa.



Buthelezi se drie stellings

DIE politiek van assosiasie en momentum bou steeds op.

Dit beteken dat gemeenskaplike doelstellings blank, bruin en swart al hoe meer saambind. Dit sny weerskante toe: in die UDF kom al dié groepe saam om konfrontasie af te dwing, maar die ideaal van onderhandel en konsensus trek ook alle kleurgroepe na mekaar toe.

'n Berig in vandag se Rapport bevestig hierdie saambinding rondom onderhandel.

Die Buthelezi-verhaal is 'n sprekende voorbeeld.

'Most Whites agree with the essence of what Buthelezi is saying...'

Dr W. de Klerk

Responses to my letter are beginning to flow in and the love for my country is being justified by the kind of responses I am getting. Amongst others, I wrote to every member of the Tricameral Parliament we reject so vehemently. I wrote to Professors of all our universities, to our chambers of commerce and industry. I wrote to churches, to the Urban Foundation, to the Institute of Race Relations, to City Councillors and to businessmen. This letter has gone far and wide and even the Editor of the Afrikaans newspaper "Rapport" on the 19th May 1985, which is known to be a mouthpiece of the National Party, had this to say:

The politics of association is rapidly building up in momentum. This means that communal interests are increasingly uniting White, Black and Coloured people. This cuts both ways: in the UDF all these groups unite to force confrontation, but the ideal of negotiation and consensus also draws people of different colours together.

A report in today's "Rapport" substantiates disunity around negotiation.

The Buthelezi story is an eloquent example.

He — Chief Minister of the largest South African nation and leader of the influential Inkatha movement — has spoken to the State President (and other influential people) on a number of occasions. In an open letter to influential South Africans he made the point that we in South Africa must get together.

In a television programme on Thursday night he once again made his point. In essence he said:

- He is against violence and revolution as a political strategy. In the place of that negotiation is the only alternative.
- During the negotiations a compromise model will have to be found, because both a one-man-one-vote state and an apartheid state are equally impossible in South Africa.
- He can only officially enter negotiation once the Government has made a statement of intent on power-sharing with Black people.

Now a couple of questions. Are Buthelezi's three proposals isolated from the opinion of the mass of Black South Africans? No. In addition to the Zulus and Inkatha who stand firmly behind him, he also represents the large group of Black moderates of all ethnic origins. Identified Black leaders in national and independent states support his standpoint. Other elected leaders at local level support him. The silent majority — informed opinion suspects — will unite under the banner of his three proposals.

Is the White electorate willing to support his three propos-

als? Yes. "Rapport's" opinion poll (that has proved its accuracy over the years) says that 75.5 percent agree with the essence of what Buthelezi is saying.

Will the Government issue a statement of intent and in so doing draw Black support for co-operation and negotiation? This I cannot answer. The Government has, however, compromised itself enough in this direction. It has been said in almost as many words, as long as self-determination is not subjugated by communal determination.

Yet, a further clear indication from the Government that it is willing to put this matter firmly on the agenda will do no harm.

Naturally there will be people who are very unhappy with the course of events. These are the revolutionaries who will do all in their power to stop this initiative. Consequently industrial unrest and unrest in Black townships will continue to smoulder and break out.

There will also be people that will say that these proposals of Buthelezi's are not tame enough. They must know that these three proposals are the tamest that will ever be made by Black South Africans.

To associate with so-called sell-outs is a dangerous waste of time. But the Chief Minister of KwaZulu is no sell-out. He stands firm on his proposals and is consequent about his demands. Good for him: if he allows himself to be taken in tow by the Government, he will face increasing rejection from his own people.

Association does not mean bed-mates and back-scratching. It means putting standpoint against standpoint and hard negotiating to reach an acceptable compromise.

The less negotiable the Chief Minister makes his proposals, the greater his chance of success in negotiation. It is not only Whites with whom Buthelezi must associate. No, the most important is that he wins over a considerable body of Blacks to his position.

And to get that, he has to stand firm."

'I call on Mr Heunis to reconsider his words...'

Chief M G Buthelezi

After I had sent my letter to influential South Africans and it had been widely talked about, Mr Chris Heunis held a press conference to which he invited not only the media but foreign diplomats as well, where he announced an eight-point plan for a new South Africa. These are the eight points he committed himself to:

1. Commitment to a negotiated search for peaceful solutions
2. The maintenance of democracy
3. Political participation for everybody in all decision-making processes affecting their lives.
4. Determination to prevent domination of one group by another
5. Rejection of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion
6. Determination to remove it
7. Endorsement of the principle of sovereignty of law
8. Pursuit of a joint declaration of intent to emerge from negotiations

To the uninitiated, to the naive and to foreigners, these may sound like beautiful words, heralding a new approach by the government, but we here who know the score, read Mr Heunis' position rather differently.

We know that his point 3 which reads: "Political participation for everybody in all decision-making processes affecting their lives" is a classical apartheid statement.

We know that the constitution has enshrined in it the so-called difference between "own" affairs and "general" affairs, and we know that the new constitution renders the words "decision-making processes affecting their lives" as meaning decision-making in what the Government calls "own" affairs.

We know that even without having to argue or justify our position that these words are a clear rejection of power-sharing.

This declaration denudes what the Government is doing by way of bringing about reforms of any real deep meaning for Blacks. This is even seen by the National Party mouthpiece

"Rapport". In an editorial yesterday, 26th May 1985, Rapport says this of Mr Heunis:

"On Friday, Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, made the most clear statement yet about the Government's intention to extend meaningful political rights to all the people in the country. This includes Black people.

He explained why a definite statement of intent is not possible at this stage. Whatever may be achieved must be the consequence of negotiation, so it cannot be said that the Government is acting prescriptively.

Nevertheless he said the government is bound to the "realisation of democratic ideals" and that the Government's point of departure is that "only progressive democratisation of the South African society ... can ensure honest and lasting peace."

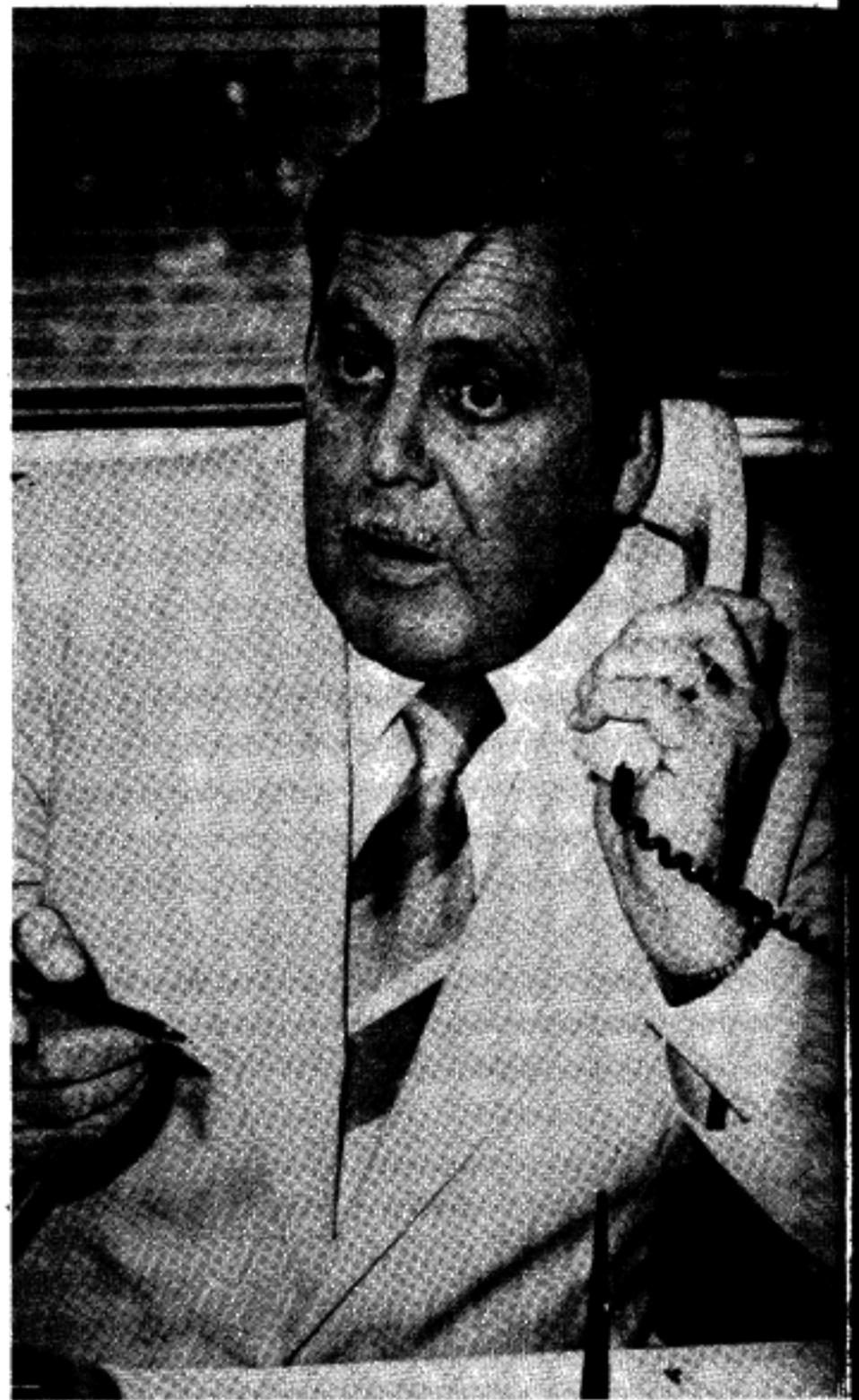
With these words he expresses himself more clearly than has hitherto been the case and leads to the question: What is meant by "realisation of

democratic ideals" and the "progressive democratisation of the South African society"?

The problem is that most of the peace-seeking Black people must be helped to talk to the Government. Can the quoted statement of Minister Heunis in his press conference mean anything else than Black people must be put on the same footing as others in the decision-making process in the Government of the country?

In other words, that methods must be found through negotiation which will give them full participation in the formulation of policy which will be aimed at the greatest opportunities and security for all people? We believe this is the Government's intention. It will eliminate a great deal of suspicion if this was said openly — without being prescriptive."

Mr Heunis's statements tie my negotiating hands. Mr Heunis say that a joint declaration of intent will only emerge after negotiations. I say to him quite clearly that I am not prepared to



Mr Chris Heunis

enter negotiations unless I know what I am negotiating about.

The word negotiation has no meaning for me if it is no more than going in blind to talk about I know not what. I am not prepared to enter any negotiations which will legitimise the new constitution which denationalises 72 percent of the population.

I am not prepared to enter into any discussions which could be construed as endorsing White South Africa's right to 87 percent of the country and all its wealth.

I will rather fold my arms and watch the South African Government make failing attempt after failing attempt to do without me and to pursue whatever they are trying to pursue on their own.

I do not say this because I think I am all-important. I say this as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. With that hat on I say that if the Government thinks it can go ahead regardless of what over six million South Africans, who are Zulus, think, then time will prove them wrong.

And with my Inkatha hat on, I say that if the National Party thinks it can go it alone without the endorsement of the largest democratically rooted Black political constituency ever seen in this country, it simply has its head buried in the sand.

I am simply a peasant and as Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, I am nothing. But let no man trample on me as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and let no man spurn me as President of Inkatha because then they trample on a people with a deep sense of history and a deep commitment, and they trample on an organisation which has vast constituency support. It is beginning to appear as if the Government wants its cake and wants to eat it.

Mr Heunis' press conference and his eight point plan for South Africa, must be seen in the context of his other statements. He has said in Parliament that he is not prepared to talk about a federal solution. Federalism is one alternative to a one-man-one-vote unitary state and in refusing to talk about federalism, Mr Heunis is writing the agenda for the negotiation table in advance. I do not say that that is the only thing we can talk about, but it is certainly one of the things I insist we talk about.

It appears that he just does not realise the extent to which Black and White South Africans are alienated from each other and this is tragic in the face of the tremendous problems which beset our country. These problems are such that they demand a

national response in which all the population groups of the country can join in.

The problems we face, both inside the country and abroad are insoluble for Whites acting on their own, just as they would be insoluble if Blacks adopted a go-it-alone attitude.

The statements made by the State President about reform call on all South Africans to join hands in making this country a place of progress and a country in which civilised standards can be maintained while we put our house in order.

That we need to do so is patently clear to everybody and that the present constitution, which denationalises 72 percent of the population makes it impossible, it is also clear to everybody. In his opening speech to Parliament this year, the State President clearly stated that there would have to be constitutional reforms and constitutional developments for Black South Africa and this necessitated making consultation and negotiation one of the country's highest priorities.

Mr Heunis' statement that a classical federation could never work in South Africa because majorities would only increase and swamp minorities, throws a spanner in the constitutional works. Whether or not we end up with a federation of one kind or another, or whether or not we end up with a constitutional model, negotiations cannot even begin if the government rules out discussions about the merits of a federal formula.

I have not adopted this formula as an ideal, and no Black leader of any repute that I know of has adopted this formula as an ideal.

But I amongst a great many others are quite convinced that if we are to avoid bloodshed we need to make compromises both on the Black side and on the White side.

I am prepared to look at a federal model as providing a possible formula for compromise politics.

I do not know what Mr Heunis regards as a "classical federation." There may be classical federal principles, but the American model of federalism is vastly different to the German model, or to the Nigerian model, or say the Russian model. There is no such thing as a "classical federation" and for Mr Heunis to rule out federal principles as having any relevance to our negotiations is shortsighted in the extreme. It is more. It is outright provocation.

Mr Heunis must think very seriously about the implications of what he has

said. Black South Africans read the statement as one which says that after the White baas has told us what to think and after the White baas has decided what can and cannot be done, the White baas is prepared to negotiate with us to gain an agreement for what he has said as the White baas.

There is a desperate need for us all to be flexible and as the Cabinet structure makes Mr Heunis a key figure in any political negotiations, he more than anybody else needs to give evidence of flexibility. I call on Mr Heunis to reconsider his words and to give us the assurance that the word negotiation really does have meaning. Without that assurance a great many Blacks who could be key actors in the politics of reconciliation will remain alienated from the political process and will exercise their leadership qualities elsewhere.

I have a deep sense of history in what I am saying today. The refusal of the Government to say simply that it is prepared to talk about power-sharing is tragic. The inability of the Government to say to me that because I have taken the first step towards reconciliatory politics by expressing a willingness to talk about alternatives to a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state, it is prepared to take its own step towards negotiation, is also tragic.

The refusal of the government to take a meaningful step towards negotiation and the refusal of the government to recognise that negotiation must be about meaningful power-sharing, throws a gauntlet down before us and challenges us to show whether or not we are serious in what we say. It is the wrong time to throw down gauntlets.

I could not have been simpler and clearer about the real kernel issues which confront our country than I have been now for a considerable period of time. But lest there be any possibility that I have been misconstrued or not understood, I feel that I should table a first draft of the kind of Declaration of Intent about which I am talking.

I do this very reluctantly, and I emphasise that I am only giving an example of the kind of Declaration of Intent I have been talking about now for many months.

There are Whites who are misled about what Black South Africans demands. We do not demand to dominate as Blacks over Whites. We seek only to share in a way in which Whites can join in. If we cannot do this, then what is there to do?

Declaration of Intent

... I emphasise that I am only giving an example of the kind of Declaration of Intent about which I am talking ... there are Whites who are misled about what Black South Africa demands. We do not demand to dominate as Blacks over Whites. We seek only to share in a way in which Whites can join in. If we cannot do this, then what is there to do?

We the undersigned hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together:

Recognise that:

- The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.
- Nations which have managed to avoid the use of violence in the achievement of national objectives are the nations which have grown in wisdom.
- Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgement in the mainstream politics in both the Black and White sections of our society.
- The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing civilised ideals in the practical social, economic and political affairs of our country.
- The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of White opinion.
- The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.

We therefore accept:

- The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: "To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples" to include the notion that this can best be done by sharing power. We need to share power in such a way that no one can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination, and we also need to share power in a formula within which the hallowed values of good government are not compromised.
 - The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country.
- We will therefore together seek:
- To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it more acceptable to all groups.
 - To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word 'apartheid' and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.
 - To give expression to the common citizenship of all South Africa's peoples without qualifying the meaning of citizenship for any group.
 - To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first, second and third tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in exploration of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.

We therefore pledge ourselves:

- **To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.**
- **To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.**
- **Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.**

Having thus declared we stand together to defend our right even with our lives to take the steps and the time needed to establish consensus between groups and to win support for our joint efforts in the South African family of nations.

And furthermore to stand together to defend South Africa from external onslaughts and to stand together to resist any use of violence which threatens the politics of negotiation aimed at national reconciliation.

I make only one thing totally non-negotiable. South Africa is one country, and there must be one citizenship for one nation.

The following pages cover statements on power-sharing made by His Majesty the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhhekuzulu, the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, the leader of the official opposition (Progressive Federal Party) in SA, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the PFP in Natal, Mr Ray Swart. It also reports, in brief, on the results of the Human Sciences Research Council's investigation into race relations in South Africa.

The annual general conference of Inkatha, held at Ulundi from June 28-30, celebrated the 10th anniversary of the movement which now has an audited paid-up membership of 1 155 094.

In his annual report the Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr O D Dhlomo, said an analysis of the membership figures had revealed the following: 38 percent of the membership was contained in Inkatha's Youth Brigade, 34 percent in the Womens's Brigade and 28 percent in general membership.

"The secret of Inkatha's power is the dominant role played by the young people in the movement," said Dr Dhlomo.

"The statistics also explode the myth that the President of Inkatha is supported only by the older generation and not the young people..."

With more than one million members and over 2 000 branches throughout the country, Inkatha was the largest membership-based political organisation — Black or White — in the history of South Africa.

Dr Dhlomo said that "in essence" Inkatha believed that South Africa belonged to all its citizens, regardless of race, colour or creed.

It was convinced that a "multi-strategy approach" would ultimately "win the day" in the liberation struggle. Constituency politics was the corner-stone of the successful mobilisation of the oppressed Black masses and that young people, women, workers and peasants were the vanguard of any liberation struggle.

However, privileged Whites in South Africa thrived on Black disunity.

Non-violence was not only a noble cause in its own right but was also the key to the eventual establishment of a non-racial and democratic political order.

Eleven MP's from the Progressive Federal Party's Parliamentary caucus attended the conference including the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, who is the chief opposition spokesman on Black affairs. Others included Mrs Helen Suzman, spokesman on law and order and Mr Graham McIntosh, spokesman on community affairs.

Representatives from Coloured and Indian political organisations (opposed like Inkatha to the present tricameral Parliament) also attended along with political science students from the Rand Afrikaans University and members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

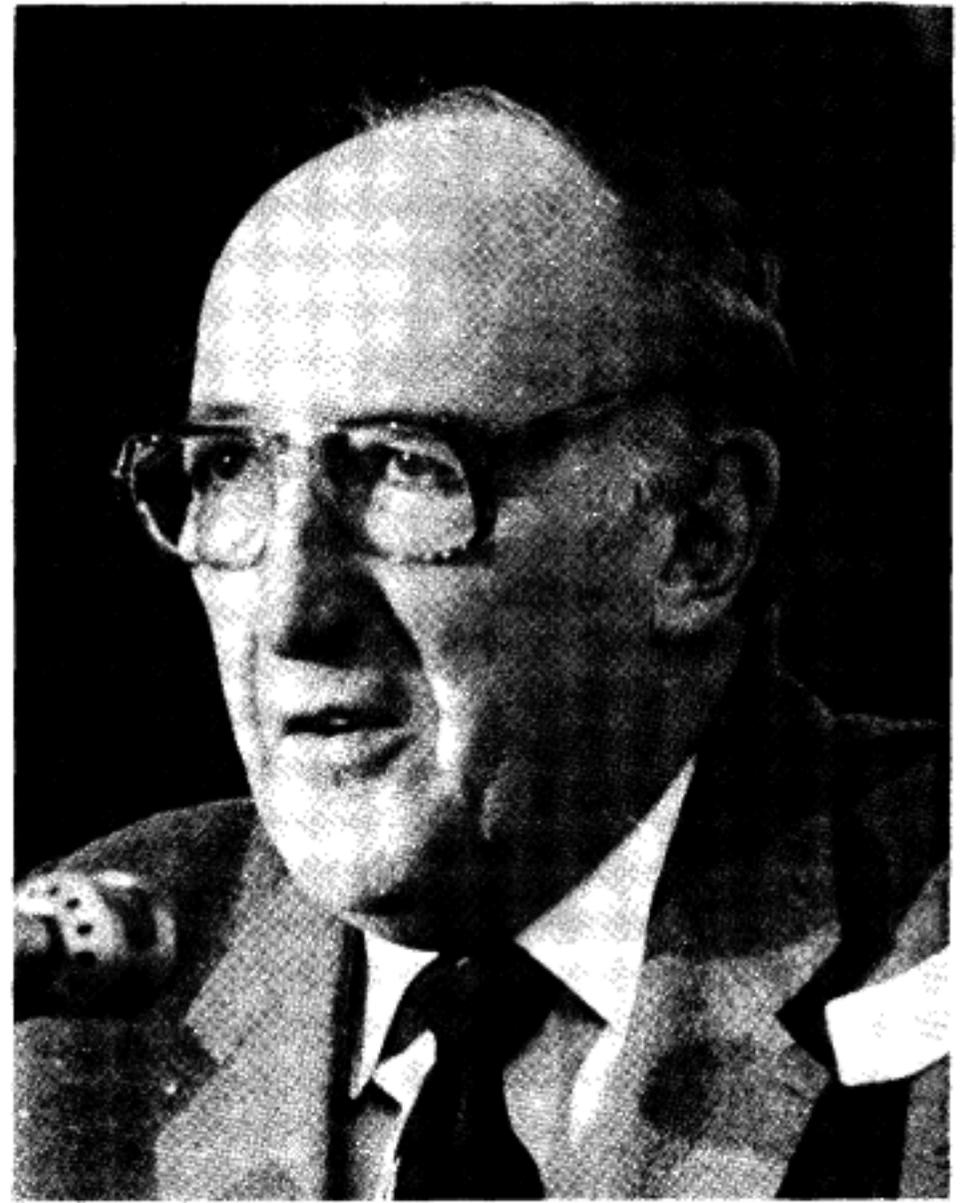
More than 12 000 delegates packed the huge marquee which served as the conference centre.

Mr Swart said in an address that the Progressive Federal Party was an "ally" with Inkatha in its fight for peaceful change in South Africa.

"My party and Inkatha have been associated for many years as friends and allies," he continued. "We regard this as a valuable association ... we both believe in one constitution for all the people of South Africa. We both believe that all South Africans must be represented in the central Parliament of this country..."

In a television interview filmed for a US documentary being made on Inkatha and its role in South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman also supported the role Inkatha was playing in trying to bring about negotiation and peaceful change.

Questioned about derogatory comments repeatedly made (and reported abroad) about Chief Buthelezi by Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Suzman told the interviewer she felt they were "harsh and unfair..."



Mr Ray Swart



Mr O D Dhlomo



Chief M G Buthelezi, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, His Majesty the King of the Zulus and the British Consul-General in Durban, Mr Simon Davey, share a joke during Dr Slabbert's recent visit to Ulundi

War or peace?

In a recent formal address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, called once again for a national convention which would structure a new constitution for South Africa.

"There must be one constitution for our country, one system of franchise and citizenship for all," he added. To loud agreement from members he emphasised that there should be no distinction (as there is at present) between urban Blacks and rural Blacks.

There was "common cause", he said, between the PFP and Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi in his reply, said that KwaZulu was aware of the "vitally important" role the PFP was playing as the official Opposition. He also spoke at length on the reality of violence if the politics of negotiation did not succeed.

"The PFP is not there (in Parliament) as a result of co-operation," he said, referring to the new tricameral Parliament which now includes Coloured and Indian members in separate Houses and excludes Black par-

ticipation. Inkatha and the PFP campaigned unsuccessfully, against the "yes" vote for the new constitution.

"The PFP is a genuine opposition and it is seen as such across virtually all political boundaries. We in Inkatha see the PFP as a scattering of political common sense across the length and breadth of South Africa.

"Because we here in Natal/KwaZulu are engaged in forging a new endeavour to bring about real change, we ask ourselves the question of whether or not the PFP will be able to establish a regional base in Natal which it has not got in any other Province — and which it has not got in Natal at present."

Chief Buthelezi said it was the view of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and of Inkatha that future peace and prosperity would not be imposed on the country by Parliamentary Acts but would emerge in South Africa in groundswell first and second tier government developments.

"We do believe that we will progress through Acts of Parliament designed by National Party political archi-

tects," he continued.

"We will progress as reality shows the poverty of traditional National Party thinking and as it does so at the local and regional levels.

Central Business Districts in cities could not survive National Party ideology. Mining, banking and commerce could not survive National Party ideology. The manpower requirements of the country could not be met with National Party ideology. The market place forces which showed National Party ideology to be untenable, best emerged at local and regional levels.

Chief Buthelezi told Dr van Zyl Slabbert that he became "uneasy" when people praised him for the relative quiet which has prevailed over KwaZulu/Natal during the past months — when there had been so much unrest elsewhere in the country.

"I become uneasy because it is a false analysis which says that it is my restraining hand that controls Black anger here in this part of the South Africa," he added.

"This is just not true. I become more than uneasy when I am asked about the

relative quiet in this part of South Africa by people who think of the Zulus as being more submissive than our brothers and sisters elsewhere.

"They fail to understand that our quietness, if it can be called that, is the quietness of the strong. We understand the meaning of violence. We ourselves have been subjected to the violence of wars.

"The Battle of Blood River in 1838 did not annihilate the Zulus and they were not destroyed when they were conquered in 1879 by the full might of the British army. And before these events, KwaZulu controlled virtually the whole of Southern Africa.

"We know the meaning of war. Were we to unleash the kind of vagrant violent forces we see everywhere in South Africa, this country would never be the same again — not for us, or for our children, or for your children Dr van Zyl Slabbert, nor for their children after them..."

**'I have built up
a vast constituency
which will not
simply melt away
in the face
of failure'**

Chief Buthelezi said the relative quiet of KwaZulu and Natal had to be traced to the very widespread Black view that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had gathered the kind of power Black South Africa needed to negotiate real change with the Government.

"There are some who actually think in the idiom that Buthelezi will keep the kaffirs of Natal quiet," he said.

"Nothing can be further from the truth. The most I can do which is at the same time the very least that I must do, is to fulfill the promises of this House and Inkatha to make progress through the politics of negotiation and the use of non-violent tactics and strategies."

He warned that lack of progress in this direction and disillusionment with the politics of negotiation would show present levels of Black outbursts in the country to be "mere dabblings" in violence.

"I have built up a very vast constituency which will not simply melt away in the face of failure," Chief Buthelezi continued.

Zulu King speaks his mind to SA leaders

His Majesty the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, recently made history when he became the Black in South Africa to address the President's Council.

Although he is a non-political figure, King Goodwill's address carried important political overtones as he did not hesitate to lash out against the present constitutional dispensation for Black South Africans.

He declared the President's Council as "this exclusive enclave of the new constitution in which Black voices are not heard" and he called for "co-operation across all barriers."

The king continued: "In this White holiest of holy places, I speak as the head of of a disenfranchised people and I cannot hide the fact that these thoughts are crossing my mind."

He then went on to say that the beauty of the country and the development going on which he had seen as he had travelled from KwaZulu to Cape Town had deeply affected him.

"In all this I see a vast network of human interaction and human co-operation," he said.

"I see the totality of an economic system, a veritable labyrinth of coinciding concerns with success.



"Whenever I travel across our beautiful country, I wonder why we have such difficulty in producing the same labyrinth of coinciding concerns in our politics and in our social life.

"Our bridges would collapse, our roads would disintegrate and our industries would fall apart if we ran them in the idiom that we run our politics.

"I am often deeply saddened that we are much more efficient at making wheelbarrows than garnishing the goodwill that lives in the human breast.

"When I think these thoughts my heart cries out for reconciliation in this land of ours."

King Goodwill said he was not an active politician and his Royal station demanded that he stretched his arms to all people.

Technology belonged to all mankind and all those who were blind to this were also blind to the contribution that Black people had made to the development of the country.

"South Africa is one place for all its people," he said.



Inkatha's strength

Negotiating role recognised, says Chief

There has not been one single reform in South Africa to date which has even hinted at power sharing, Chief Buthelezi told the 10th annual general conference of Inkatha in Ulundi recently.

"There has been no movement against White domination at the national political level and I still find it impossible to talk to the State President formally about the future of our country because he refuses to talk outside the corners of his new-style apartheid..."

Chief Buthelezi added that the State President, Mr P W Botha, could not as yet publicly admit that South Africa was one country with one people who shared but a single destination.

"He has given no indication that he is prepared to talk about power sharing within this context."

Chief Buthelezi continued that he felt the "possible bridging" of the impasse which has existed between himself and the State President for four years — which emerged after his informal discussions with him late last year — was now beginning to appear illusory.

He then emphasised Inkatha's negotiating strength to the delegates and said the movement had "matured into an employable political force."

Black South Africans, he said, wanted leaders who were capable of negotiating with the government about real change. They wanted leaders who could hold their own once negotiations started. They wanted leaders capable of bringing the National Party to the negotiating table — kicking and screaming if necessary. Inkatha could do that.

Inkatha's negotiating position was rapidly being recognised and the movement was drawing support across racial barriers.

He then warned the conference "of the fact" that the ANC Mission-in-Exile were "actually committed" to the annihilation of Inkatha.

"They too perceive that the politics of negotiation is becoming a probability in South Africa and they recognise that Inkatha will play a dominant role in representing Black South Africa around any negotiating table which may be worth attending," Chief Buthelezi said.

"Every step of true reform which leads to Black/White power sharing is a step which threatens them and outdates all the things they are committed to."

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile is not sustained by the hopes of non-violent advances in South Africa. They are sustained by the hope that they alone can play a meaningful role in circumstances where violence is absolutely essential."

"They are trying desperately to create those very circumstances which we are working so desperately to avoid."

Chief Buthelezi emphasised that Inkatha, unlike the ANC, was not fighting to take over the reigns of the South African Government. It was not, like the ANC, striving to obliterate free enterprise.

"Every one of our successes is an ANC Mission-in-Exile failure," he said.

"We must be aware of these hard truths and we must be aware that every time the National party kicks and screams because we are dragging them to the negotiating table, the ANC will encourage Black South Africa to think that the National Party's resistance is proof that there is no prospect of negotiating a South African settlement between Black and White."

SACC

DECISION

CHALLENGED

The stand taken by the South African Council of Churches at its recent conference to support disinvestment and economic sanctions against South Africa was unanimously criticised and challenged by more than 12 000 Inkatha delegates.

A strongly-worded resolution said Inkatha "deplored" the stand taken by the SACC at its conference held in Johannesburg on June 28.

The SACC, said Inkatha, did not have a mandate from "the Black masses" to serve as "arbiters in these life and death issues..."

The Inkatha resolution continued: "Most of us who are delegates to this conference belong to churches that are affiliated to the South African Council of Churches."

"We want to point out that our churches are affiliated to the SACC through their synods — which make decisions for our churches."

"We wish to challenge ministers and other heads of affiliated churches to report to their synods whether the SACC's decision was taken on behalf of individual Christians who belonged to churches affiliated to synods."

"We further question the morality and sincerity of the SACC resolution in view of the fact that it was reportedly piloted by Dr Alan Boesak. We note that in South Africa the Coloured group to which Dr Boesak belongs is not affected by laws such as influx control which hinders the African people's ability to acquire the few available jobs in the labour market."

"Consequently, we dismiss the SACC resolution as grossly insensitive and as a calculated strategy to worsen an already alarming situation in the African labour scene."

In another resolution the conference said Black South Africa "welcomed" international pressure on the South African Government, but those pressures should not be exerted at the expense of suffering Black South Africa.

"Those who champion the disinvestment cause are not constituency leaders holding responsible positions in membership-based organisations, and have no right to speak on behalf of the country's workers and peasants."

The ANC does not consult Blacks in South Africa

The congress held in Zambia recently by the ANC Mission-in-Exile — its second since the 1960's — was not a "people's" congress where South African Blacks were represented.

Chief M G Buthelezi told the Inkatha conference delegates — to loud applause — that the ANC congress was a conference "of those who claim to be our representatives..."

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile's delegates ... are faceless nobodies we not whom. They do not report to us because they disown us," he said. (The ANC Mission-in-Exile has opted for an armed struggle, Inkatha for non-violence and peaceful change.)

It was all a "deep Black South African tragedy" because having met in secret about secret agendas, the ANC members in exile would "strut about the capitals of the world puffing out their chests as though they have consulted with Black South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he did not deny the Mission-in-Exile's role in the struggle for liberation.

"But we hate White supremacy as much as we would reject Black supremacy if it were to replace White supremacy".

He had never sought confrontation with the Mission-in-Exile ... but the fact of the matter was that the ANC had now turned to killing those who disagreed with them.

Chief Buthelezi then read to the Inkatha conference messages that the ANC Mission-in-Exile has recently been broadcasting to Black South Africa.

He said the ANC Mission-in-Exile's message to Black South Africa was "no more than a declaration of war on Inkatha..."

No matter what media-created leaders proclaimed, Inkatha, with its more than one million paid-up members, remained the most authentic voice of the

people in South Africa.

In an address immediately following the Inkatha conference, Chief Buthelezi said he believed the United States, "the greatest democracy in the world", looked as though it was heading towards "unforgivably" mismanaging its influence.

Speaking to a group of influential American visitors at Ulundi he said:

"I fear that the United States is rapidly approaching the point when it will join the South African Government in mismanaging the factors of success."

"It can run rampant over neighbouring States without the permission of the electorate. It does not seek mandates to destroy democracy. It does not need mandates to fly against every accepted norm which Western civilised countries so value."

Americans did not hear him, he added, when he said that there were very real prospects of White South Africans driven to scorched earth policies.

Whites in South Africa should, instead, be steered away from traditional White tolerance of Government action — "which has for so long relied on police brutality".

"This cannot be done by brutalising them in the same way as South African Governments have always brutalised Blacks.

"The escalation of violence, both on the part of the State and by those who oppose the State, can only lead to ever diminishing prospects of salvaging this country from destruction.

"I am not heard in the United States when I say that we must increase White dependency on Blacks. That we must tip the scales even further in favour of the politics of negotiation. That we must increase Black bargaining power and that these things must be done by increasing the rate of industrialisation in South Africa.

"I am not heard in the United States



when I say that those who are bent upon destroying democracy with violence; those who are bent upon making political killings every-day events; those who favour the armed struggle and that those who favour the employment of violence to make this country ungovernable, are the ones who scream out disinvestment slogans to the West."

Violence was flaring across the length and breadth of the country. It was what some called "constructive" violence against apartheid.

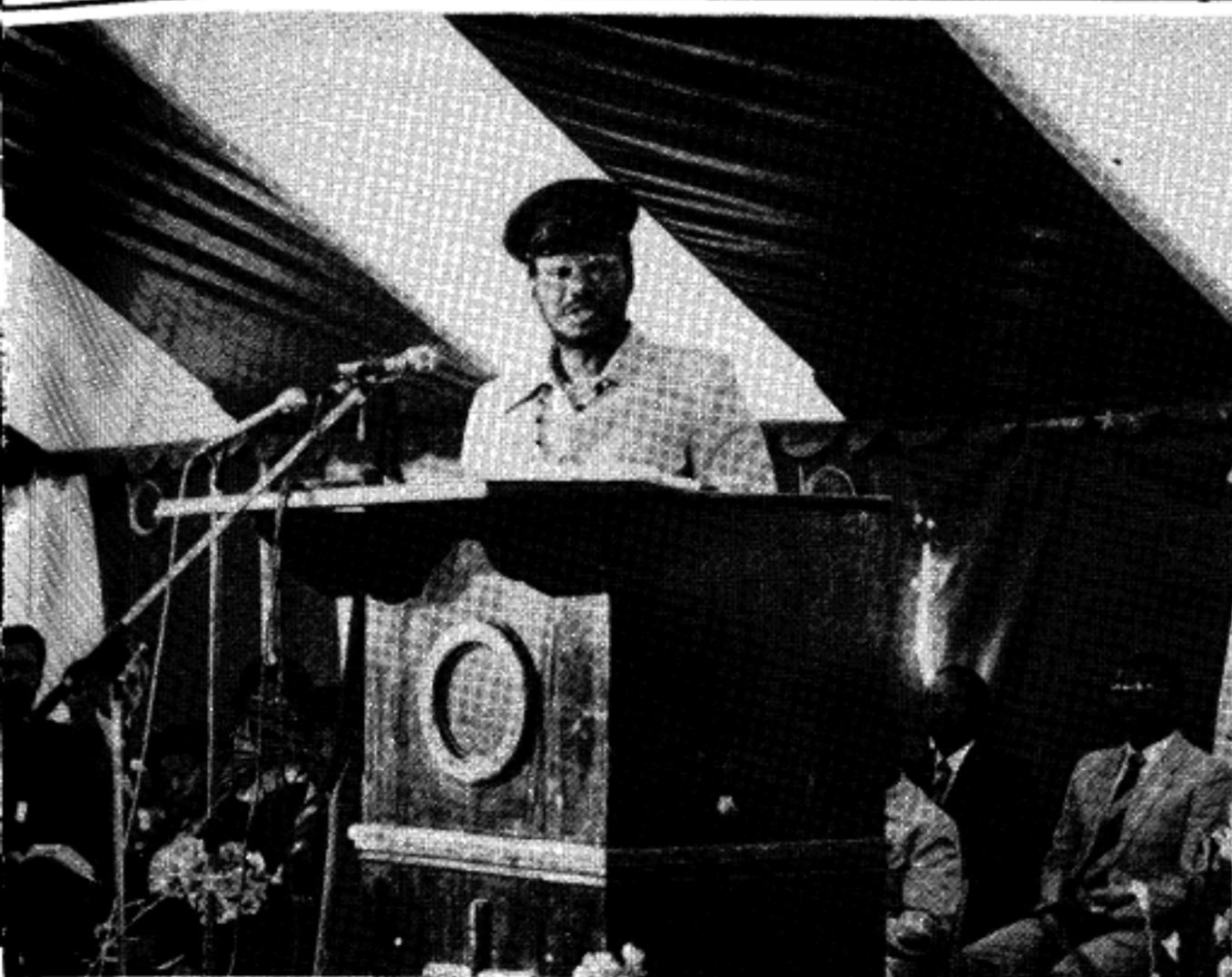
"The majority of acts of political violence in South Africa today are acts of violence by Blacks against Blacks," Chief Buthelezi emphasised.

"The ANC's Mission-in-Exile is daily broadcasting and exhorting our youth to kill for political purposes. Our youth are daily being exhorted to kill town Councillors and others with whom they disagree politically."

There were fronts in the country committed to making the country ungovernable and that Americans should not be blind to the fact that they were not going to do so by increasing the forces of democracy.

"Scripts are now being written for the destruction of democratic decency in this country," he said.

"There are forces right now driving to destroy the economic growth base of our country and the end product of the undermining of democracy and the destruction of the economy will be ungovernability in the true sense of the word — not ungovernability for the National Party but ungovernability for



whoever may seek to govern.

Chief Buthelezi said that he was also not heard in the United States when he said that those who called for disinvestment and the politics of violence did not have membership-based organisations.

Americans did not listen to him when he said he held mass rallies at which tens of thousands of people — the majority of whom were workers — roared their support for his stand against disinvestment and violence.

If democracy was ever to become a reality, if South African society was

ever to be normalised, the politics of national reconciliation would have to succeed.

He pointed out that history had shown that in their struggles, Black Americans did not seek to destroy American society. They sought entry into it.

"Black Americans did not seek to destroy civilised values, they sought to implement them. Black South Africans seek the same," he concluded.

He added that he was not heard in the United States when he said that

apartheid was far more vulnerable to democratic opposition now than it had ever been before.

Apartheid was certainly far more vulnerable to democratic opposition than it was to the politics of violence.

"I am not heard when I say that the scales are tipping in favour of the politics of negotiation and that America — more than any other time in history — should be strengthening the democratic process.

"The United States should be strengthening the circumstances which favour the continued growth of democratic opposition to apartheid. It should be strengthening those who have made it their task to hold political violence at bay and to employ the forces of democracy to bring about real change..."

He was speaking, among others, to: Mr W Keyes, Chairman, Black Political Action Committee (BLACKPAC), Mr J Parker, President, Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, Mr J Kendricks, Executive Vice-President Gencore Corporation, Secretary BLACKPAC, Mr J Watkins, Executive Member Ben Franklin Society and Mr E Alexander, Managing Director of the Jet Engine Testing Corporation.

Chief Buthelezi said that in South Africa racial prejudice had authored one of the most rejected forms of society known in the modern world.

It was worthwhile noting, however, that Marxist ideologies appeared to be an anathema to the average American. Vast amounts of American emotional energies were poured into the condem-

Inkatha to investigate opening to all races

The decision by the PFP to open its membership to all race groups was applauded by Inkatha, said Chief Buthelezi.

Its parliamentary role demanded that this be done.

Inkatha would now have to think deeply about whether or not to throw open its doors to all races following the scrapping of the Political Interference Act.

"The history of the struggle for liberation has shown the difficulty with which Black organisations open their doors to all races," Chief Buthelezi told the conference.

"In part the split between the ANC and the PAC had its roots in this issue. In part the difficulties which the External Mission of the ANC has experienced for so long have roots in this issue. In part the very real difficulties between AZAPO and the UDF have roots in this issue."

Hinting at the possibility of a future alliance he said the PFP, with a new multi-racial membership, may yet find that it needed partnerships with Black organisations which elected Black leaders.

The National Party could also find such partnerships necessary "if ever it turns to facing up to the need for fundamental change..."

"My own political initiative sense tells me that it would be foolhardy for Inkatha to rush into hasty decisions in this regard. I believe we must feel our way into the future as a Black organisation.

"Inkatha is adamantly opposed to any form of racism in government. I have no objection basically to Inkatha opening its doors to all races right now, but I think we need time to make up our minds. There is a role that we have played as Blacks and we will have to decide when it is wise for us to open our doors to all race groups."

The Central Committee of Inkatha was mandated by the delegates to "carefully examine" the difficulties which Black organisations had experienced in the past when they had thrown open their doors to other race groups and to advise next year's conference of their findings.

The conference called in another resolution for the PFP and Inkatha not only to continue with their dialogue, which had been ongoing for years, but to "deepen it and broaden it." This would include exploring ways and means of increasing constituency contact between the PFP and Inkatha.

nation of apartheid while neighbouring Mozambique pursued Marxist ideologies immune from American indignation.

Apartheid was condemned, quite rightly, throughout the world. For him the "stark horror" of unnecessary suffering surpassed all other horrors.

"The world is justified in condemning South Africa beyond condemning all other places, simply because continued suffering and continued oppression which produces suffering is so much more unnecessary here than in other places," he added.

"Mass suffering which can be traced to colonial periods and the balkanisation of Africa and which can be traced to the inhuman task some African Governments face in improving the living standards amongst their people, cannot be condemned in a way which suffering in South Africa must be condemned.

"Here there is no need for it..."

South Africa had vast natural wealth, technology and working partnerships with Western industrial

**"Those who favour
the armed struggle
... are the ones
who favour
disinvestment..."**

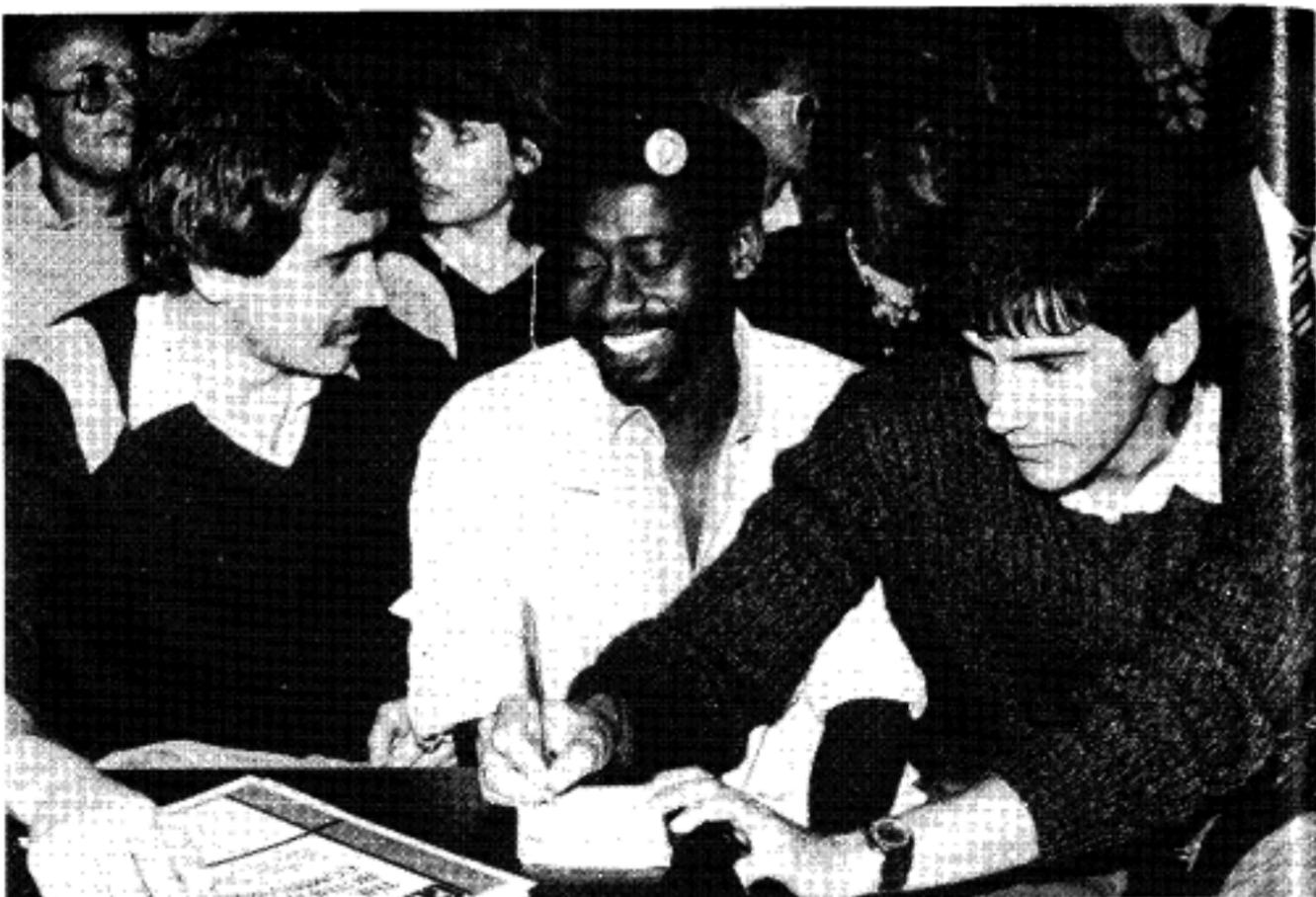
countries which could act as conduits for further development. The South African economy had passed the "take-off" point and could be managed into massive growth rates.

"The natural resources we are blessed with, and the know-how which could turn those blessings into realities for ordinary people, make it totally unnecessary for the politics of apartheid to continue..."

Chief Buthelezi said he was making these points because during two trips to the United States this year, he came to appreciate ... how, the US was, perhaps, heading for an unforgivable mismanagement of its influence.

"I am not heard in the US when I say that apartheid is far more vulnerable to democratic opposition now than to the politics of violence..."

The South African "regime" did not require majority support for the brutality which its police and army could inflict on dissidents. It did not need majority support to continue the oppressiveness. It could brutalise in commands which were never heard of in public.



Mr Z Khumalo, Personal Assistant to the President



Two of the RAU students with Mr Ntwe Mafole



Mrs Helen Suzman

Power must be shared — HSRC

Apartheid has reduced opportunities for spontaneous and

A major Human Sciences Research Council report

The report says r irrelevant concept of

A major human Sciences Research Council report on group relations has slated South Africa's apartheid system for fuelling racial friction and violence and calls for drastic changes in the political, social and economic order of the country.

The HSRC recommended that active steps be taken to reduce conflict by guaranteeing free association of individuals and equal opportunities — while recognising group rights.

The main committee report is based on 11 studies which take a critical look at all aspects of South African society, ranging from the legal system to the representation of history.

Clarion Call has based this article on the many newspaper reports on the findings of the HSRC, published in the Johannesburg Star, the Sunday Times, Business Day, The Natal Mercury, The Daily News, the Cape Times and the Argus.

The HSRC singled out entrenched separation, population registration, a racially-bound legal system, unequal education and economic and job restrictions as contributing to mistrust and resentment.

It described classical apartheid as a failure and advocated a new approach to group relations.

The four year-old study by the semi-Government body involved more than 200 researchers, 11 work committees and a main committee.

The most important findings and recommendations of the report were:

- The need for the sharing of political power and a broadening of democracy. Freedom of association with individuals and groups as well as the right to non-association should be guaranteed.
- There was a serious communication problem in that many Blacks could not speak either official language (English or Afrikaans) while the other race groups could not speak African languages. A third official language on a regional basis should be considered.
- The legality of South Africa's racial and ethnic categories was questioned by the judicial work committee. It found that "race can never be a legally relevant ground for justified differentiation."
- The legal system was held in deep

suspicion by many Black South Africans and was in need of reform. Security legislation was also criticised.

The report said that apartheid had reduced opportunities for spontaneous

Apartheid was supposed to prevent friction between the races. It did the opposite and became the main reason for conflict. This is the essence of the Human Sciences Research Council's latest report.

The investigation is dramatic both in scope and directness of language on politically sensitive issues. Its conclusions are that apartheid has infected every aspect of our lives: religion, law, education, labour, history and politics. Nowhere has apartheid done any good.

Although there is much to be gloomy about, the findings still give reason for hope. Whites need to be educated in tolerance; Blacks need education itself.

It is alarming, but regrettably predictable, to discover that 63 percent of Blacks support a violent solution to political problems, compared with 30 percent of Whites. Had Blacks been included in the new constitutional set-up perhaps more would have supported the peaceful option...

The bottom line of the report is that the government should allow free political association instead of imposing race-based group identification. The HSRC implies that racial classification is idiotic, indefensible and sociologically harmful. Apartheid and colour are no longer the great dividers; economic differences are. People should be educated to understand the differences; to negotiate peacefully; to resolve conflict with consultation...

If the Government takes the unsolicited advice of the HSRC, a new era could begin.

Editorial, The Star, Johannesburg.

and close contact to be made between groups in South Africa and had given rise to mistrust and suspicion.

The sharing of power and a broaden-

ing of democracy was crucial for the development of a stable social order.

A study of intergroup relations revealed that conflict was increasing, mainly due to rivalry between political and economic groups.

The HSRC report said there were "positive" signs that a democratic social order could be established in the light of the government's recent reforms.

Analyses of factors such as attitudes, stereotypes, communication and the ambivalent roles of religion, historiography and the mass media, confirmed that South Africa was a divided and polarised society.

Polarisation, bureaucratic control and government rigidity had created much suspicion and uncertainty and as a result group relations had become a "permanent source of conflict."

"... most important, though, is the finding that there are signs of a greater willingness among people of different groups to join forces and face the challenges together," the report noted.

It added that reform would "inevitably be inconvenient for Whites..."

The key issue was whether forces active in society in South Africa were sufficient to ensure, separately and collectively, that the country would develop a stable social order with an inescapable but minimum of social disruption and conflict.

The conclusion reached in the report was that the political ordering of intergroup relations according to the original apartheid model had reached an impasse and that constructive relations could not be developed further along these lines...

It was clear that moderate forces would have to be mobilised if intergroup relations were to develop positively in a conciliatory and mutually positive way.

The study said that it was possible to build constructive human relations in South Africa if general religious values were followed, civil rights in terms of common law were accepted, the individual's right to economic freedom was guaranteed and the right to democratic participate in decision-making was accepted.

Religion dividing, not uniting, SA society

Religion contributed to the divisions in South African society instead of playing a cohesive and integrating role, according to the Human Sciences Research Council's report.

The council's religion committee also found that Black church members who were presently apolitical could soon be motivated into political action.

It found that church members who were normally "politically passive" had a stronger identification with the South African Council of Churches than with the Progressive Federal Party.

"It seems that people who are apparently politically uninvolved, due to a pietistic concept of religion, nevertheless have the ability for politically radical action at a later stage," said the report.

The report added that it found that the use of religion depended on the needs of the group. The link between religious values and group interests carried a considerable potential for conflict.

It noted:

"The fact that South Africa is increasingly represented as a polarised society also has an effect at the religious level. The cohesive function which religion is supposed to fulfill comes under increasing pressure when people are forced to take sides in the socio-political debate.

"In general Whites regard religion as a source of stability in a changing world, while Blacks, Coloureds and Indians see

religion as a stimulus towards the improvement of their lot."

The important role that religion played was underlined by the "current debate on the alleged association of Afrikaans churches with apartheid and the prominence given to the theology of liberation in debates on the religion between church and society."

The report stressed: "From research undertaken it appears that the role of religion is considerably more complex than is generally thought and that several of the current concepts concerning it will have to be revised..."

It appeared that a common value system was vital for South African society to accomplish reconciliation between individuals and groups.

The religion committee's report concluded:

- The legitimacy of particular group interests should frequently be tested against shared religious criteria to ease areas of conflict.
- The restriction of religion to the personal sphere, and the inability to relate religious values to other fields of society, prevent religion from making a constructive contribution towards socio-economic unity.
- Religious movements have a special task of building bridges in a polarized society and finding a common vision for a "new South Africa."
- The relation between Church and State calls for urgent attention.

ALTHOUGH unrest had increased since 1976 and had inhibited the tolerance of Whites, the HSRC report concluded that most South Africans believed the country would change considerably during the next 20 years.

Whites expected greater power-sharing with all groups and many — 47 percent of Blacks and 68 percent of Coloureds — foresaw better race relations by 1990.

The report stressed the need to recognise individual rights, which it said had been forsaken in the past for policy of group recognition. Group-based legislation, such as the Group Areas Act and other discriminatory laws, had also given the concept of group rights a negative connotation.

MANY people expected a broadening of the basis of democracy to all race groups and most believed that race relations would improve within the next five years, said the HSRC report.

It noted, however, that lack of contact between the races could cause "conflict and even violence..."

The report noted that the little contact that there was between groups occurred mostly at work or in commerce.

"Contact is limited to formal contact is limited to formal topics ... and there is little or no contact in spontaneous social situations on the basis of equal status," it said.

The report noted that with the opening of sport and entertainment facilities, there would be more spontaneous and informal contact.

THE REPORT said political power should be shared among all race groups in a "plural" society.

The researchers suggested guidelines along which society and government could move to avoid a "conflict" racial situation and stressed time was vital.

"Delays in addressing the issue could have catastrophic consequences," it added.

The report called for the establishment of a democratic political structure, negotiated and participated in by all races, a newly-formed legal system that would not be "suspected" by certain race groups and better communication at all levels of society.

Seven fields were specified where government and other leaders could take action to ameliorate racial tension.

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