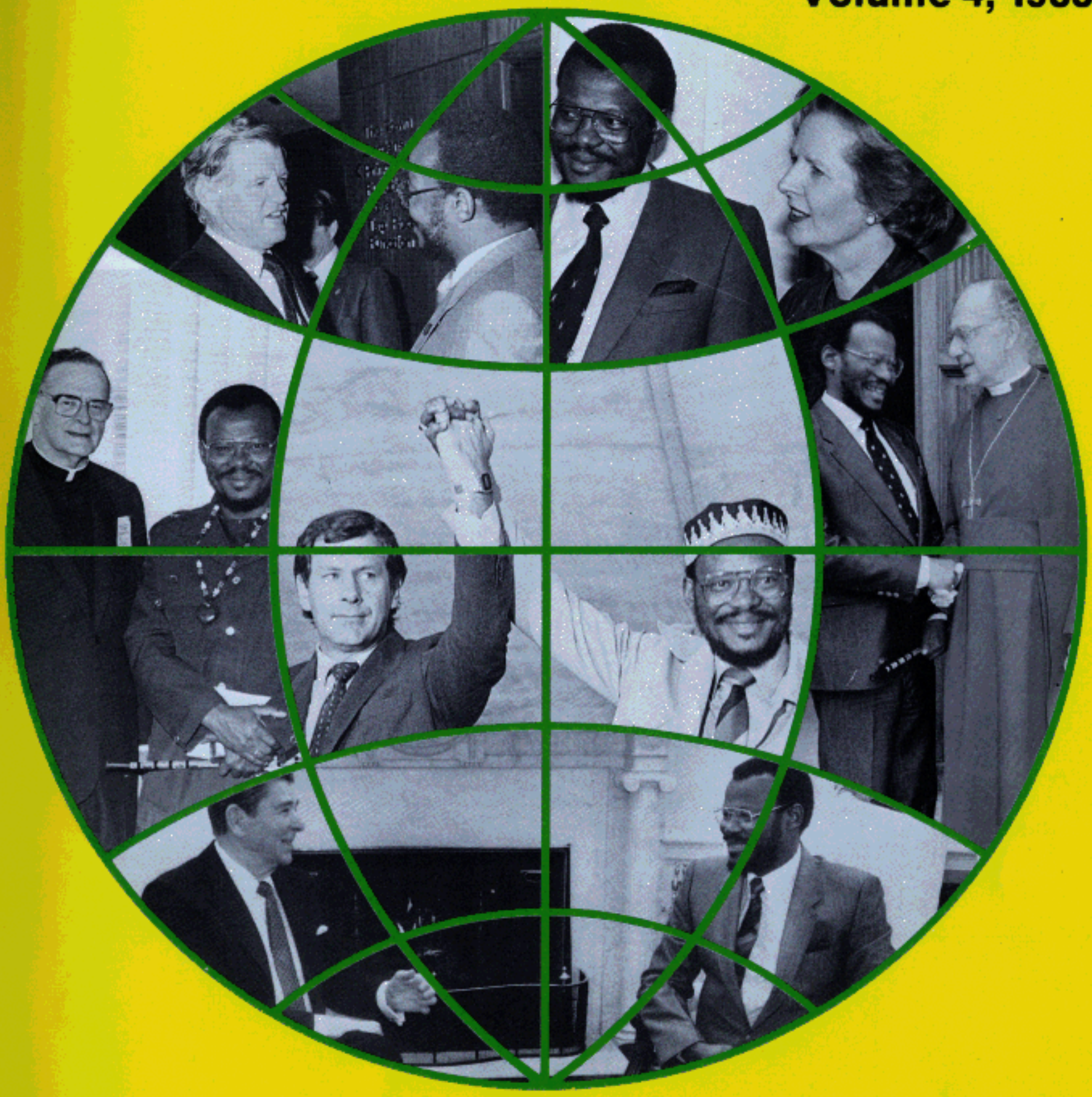
CLARION CALL

Volume 4, 1985



SOUTH AFRICA : WORLD SPOTLIGHT

CLARION CALL

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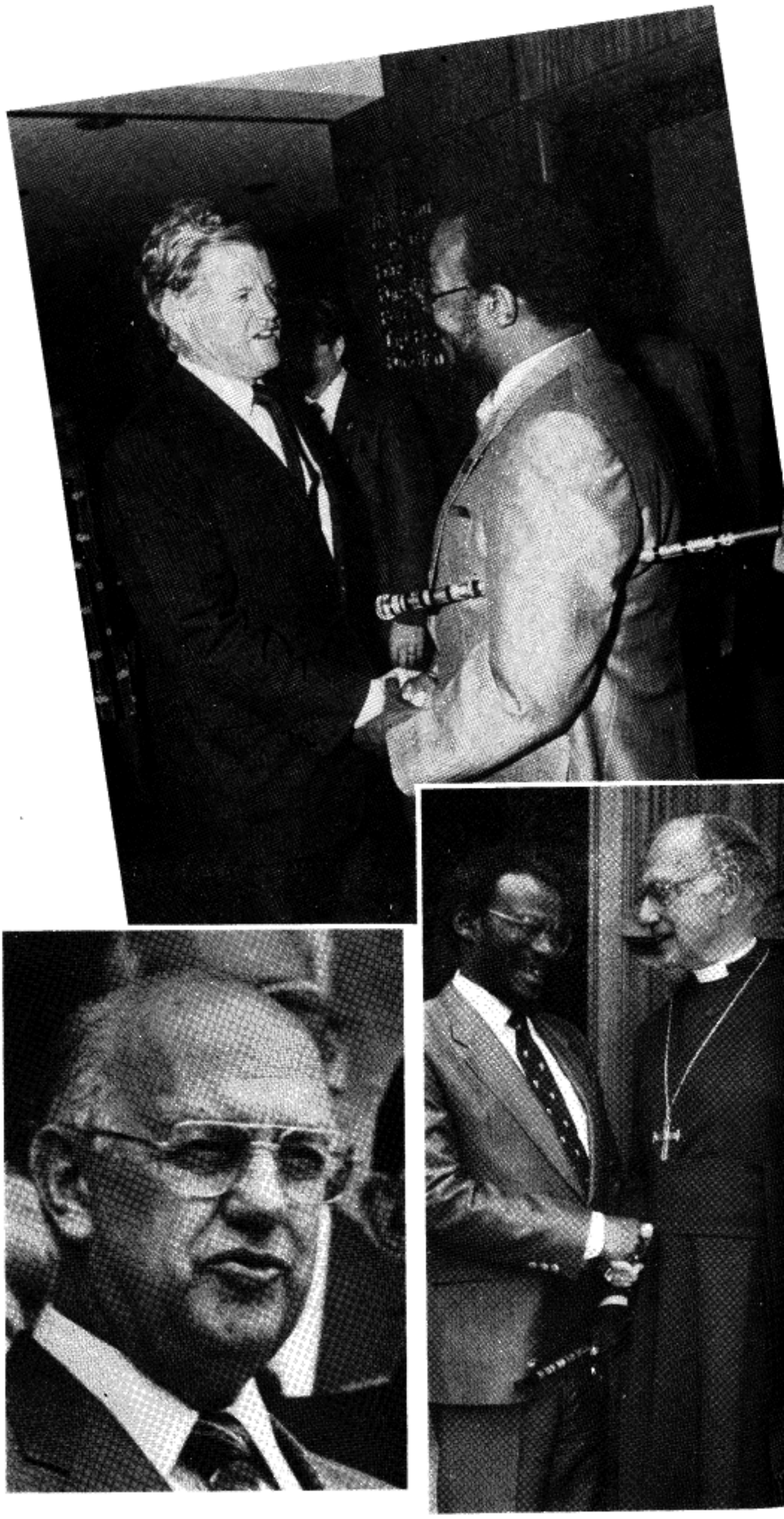
Pictured: Some of the leaders Chief Buthelezi has met during the past year: US President Mr Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Robert Runcie, the Prime Minister of Israel Mr Shimon Peres, President P W Botha and Senator Edward Kennedy.



For more than two decades Chief Buthelezi has travelled throughout the world articulating Black opposition to the policies of the South African government.

In more than a thousand speeches, in South Africa and abroad, he has called for support for non-violent strategies to bring about change. In building up Inkatha — the largest membership-based political movement, Black or White, in South Africa — he has concentrated the efforts of its one million members into working towards peaceful negotiation and national reconciliation.

In the past 12 months alone Chief Buthelezi has, among others, held talks with President Ronald Reagan, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Archbishop Robert Runcie, the US Secretary of State and the Foreign Ministers of the UK and Israel, as well as various US congressmen and senators and members of parliament from the US, UK and various European and other countries.

In addition he has met, in South Africa, the State President, Mr P W Botha, members of his cabinet, foreign ambassadors, religious leaders of many denominations, and numerous international and local heads of commerce and industry.

He has addressed tens of thousands of Blacks from throughout the country (at his last rally in Soweto the Jabulani Stadium was packed with more than 30 000 people) and is constantly in demand to address various conferences of both the English and Afrikaans-speaking political, academic and business communities.

This issue of Clarion Call highlights, in detail, exactly what Chief Buthelezi has been saying to these world leaders and his fellow South Africans during the past year.

He has been totally consistent in his belief in non-violence, the politics of negotiation and the promotion of a "spirit of peaceful political co-existence beyond ethnic and racial boundaries..."

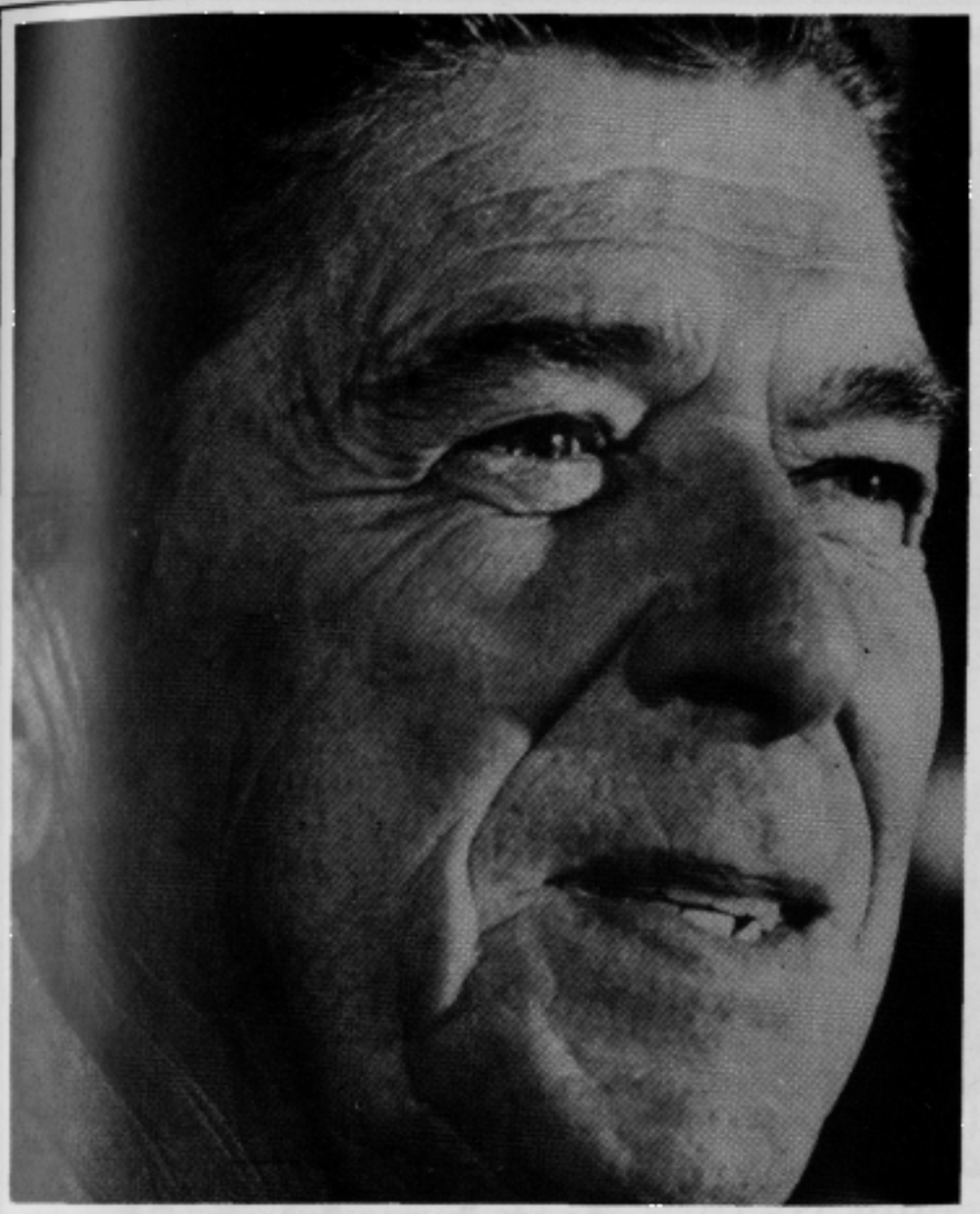
Time magazine correspondent, Peter Hawthorne, said in a recent article: "When I compare my notes, Chief Buthelezi is propounding now what he was saying 15 years ago — which makes him something of a rarity in South Africa..."

In an August issue of Time, the magazine placed strong emphasis on the likely future role of Chief Buthelezi. Its cover story on South Africa focused strongly on the Chief, describing him as the one leader with whom Blacks and Whites might be able to talk.

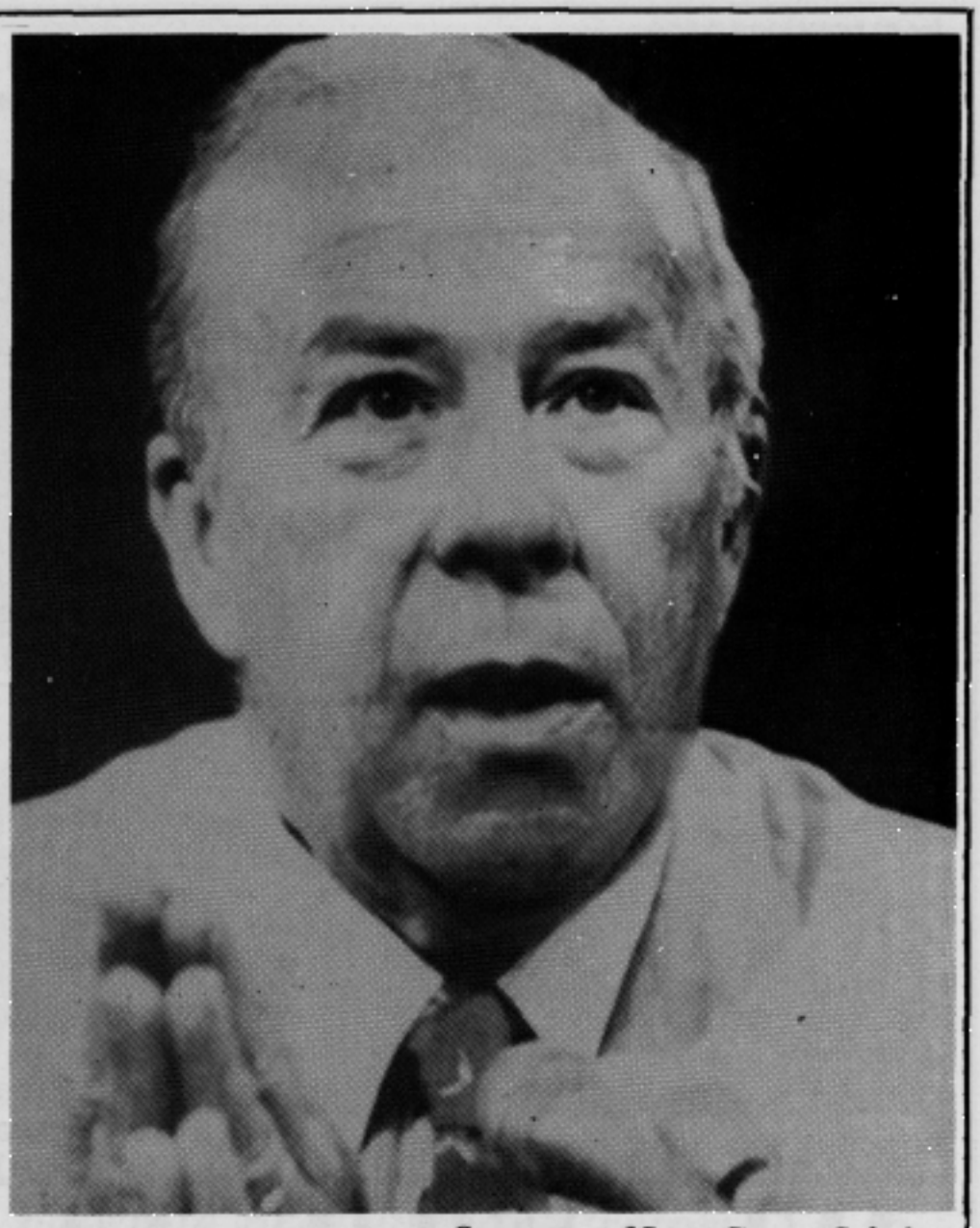
"Without Chief Buthelezi's consent, a solution to South Africa's problems is virtually inconceivable," said the Time report.

"He is pragmatic, articulate and dynamic. When Buthelezi speaks, both Whites and Blacks listen..."

For reasons of space and presentation only edited versions of Chief Buthelezi's speeches and memoranda appear on the following pages.



President Ronald Reagan



Secretary of State George Schultz

Disinvestment lobby slammed

"Attempts to isolate SA favour those who advocate violence..."

At his meeting at the White House with President Ronald Reagan this year, Chief M G Buthelezi made it clear that the ongoing campaign to isolate South Africa economically, politically and socially, favours those who advocate violence to bring about change in the country.

If the country's growth base was damaged now by disinvestment, he said, resultant Black mass poverty would reduce South Africa to "ungovernability" in the future.

He also criticised those in the US and elsewhere who were "making a political football" out of Black suffering in South Africa.

He told President Reagan:

"The indiscriminate economic, social and political isolation of South Africa, applied mindlessly and regardless of consequences for each action, will deeply and adversely affect the non-violent democratic struggle to bring about radical change.

"The total isolation of South Africa will favour those who aim to bring about change by violent means and to establish a socialist or even marxist state."

While the struggle needed Western inputs, it was primarily a Black South African struggle which Blacks were waging for their own future.

"I speak for millions when I say that we see tactical and strategic advantages in a rapidly growing economy.

"The West, Mr President, must allow us to determine our own tactics and strategies and to charter our own course into the future of our choice.

"Black South Africa knows that there are no easy solutions to the apartheid problem and we certainly know that an armed struggle which continues to fail and which exacts terrible prices will destroy the foundations on which we will one day have to build a future."

Western leaders should not, he said, gamble the future of South and Southern Africa nor should they jeopardise the role that the West could play in developing and stabilising Southern Africa as a region.

There were too many "strident and dubious voices" expressing radical rhetoric which was often amplified by the media.

History had taught him and Black South Africa that past Western democratic posturing and verbal condemnation had left apartheid intact.

"I see today in the United States an upsurge of genuine concern about apartheid. But I also see a great upsurge of verbal condemnation of apartheid and the kind of posturing which has been of little significance in the past.

Some were making "a political football" out of Black suffering in South Africa.

"Apartheid has a kind of evil virulence and it has a proven durability. There are many who are making the tactical error of attempting to encapsulate this virulence in an isolated South Africa shut off from Western influences."

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He continued that White political apartheid was now under very real siege by economic realities. The non-violent transition from the present apartheid society to one based on the principles of open democracy, would be greatly enhanced by a sustained high rate of economic growth.

"Disinvestment and the economic isolation of South Africa will bring about increased immediate hardships and starvation and will increase disease in the short term, without medium term and long term gains to balance deprivation and suffering."

He told President Reagan that while he believed the responsibility to liberate South Africa was a Black one, he also believed that the West should not under-estimate the desperate need to provide humanitarian aid to suffering communities within the country.

"When ordinary suffering humanity is sustained by aid programmes, more morale in the struggle for liberation rises," he said.

"The raising of Black South African morale is something the West can do and should do and will I hope accept as a very important input to the struggle."

He added that the value of educational and other aid programmes

"I see today in the US an upsurge of genuine concern about apartheid. But I also see ... the kind of posturing which has been of such little significance in the past."

backed by the United States would have a greatly diminished value if they were based on partisan American assessments of the "Who's Who" in Black South African politics and not on needs and opportunities.

"The need to be blind to Black party political affiliations cannot be over-emphasised. I plead for aid for Black South African organisations across a broad front of Black South African activity and I ask you Mr President and your administration to do everything that can be done to remove aid to Black South Africa from the American party political arena..."

Newspaper reports considered Chief Buthelezi's meeting with Mr George Schultz "one of the most important discussions of his current visit to the United States" and they described the US Secretary of State as "... the dominant figure in the shaping of US foreign policy."

Chief Buthelezi told President Reagan and Mr Schultz that he believed the US was right in formulating a South African policy but, as yet, the vast majority of Black South Africans were not yet aware of anything meaningful in their own lives which had happened because of constructive engagement.

He urged the US to "give more flesh" to the policy of constructive engagement by increasing US assistance to Blacks.

Who will the US promote in SA?

In an address to the Council of Regents of the University of California, Chief MG Buthelezi asked Americans to think "very carefully" about what kind of political forces they desired to promote in South Africa.

He said he felt the question of the growth of democracy in Black opposition to apartheid had not been adequately debated in the US.

The Reagan Administration's constructive engagement policy had placed the question of apartheid and the question of disinvestment on the American foreign policy agenda.

Apartheid had become a rallying word which was not only used to challenge the American nation at large to do something about racial discrimination in South Africa. It was also, unfortunately, being used in inter-party rivalry.

Moral indignation against apartheid was sweeping the United States but not every expression of that indignation was in fact assisting the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Americans were receiving "different signals" from Black South Africa.

"From the ANC Mission-in-Exile they are told that South Africa should be totally isolated politically, culturally and economically so an armed struggle can succeed in overthrowing the government," Chief Buthelezi said.

"Lobbyists from this section of Black South African opinion demand that the US divest itself from any economic ties with South Africa," he continued.

Other Black organisations, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), were avowedly bent on making South Africa ungovernable as a means of bringing about radical change.

They also lobbied for the isolation of South Africa and called on Americans to divest.

"However, contrary to the signals received from these quarters, the signals from Inkatha are that Americans should increase their investment in South Africa.

"Inkatha makes this call because contrary to the ANC Mission-in-Exile and other organisations ... Inkatha aims to bring about radical change through non-violent means and through the politics of negotiation.

"Inkatha sees foreign investment as weighing on the side of the scales in favour of the politics of negotiation.

"Inkatha sees that Western influences which come about with imported capital, management and technology have an uplifting effect and promote Black advancement.

"It believes this uplifting and this promotion is desirable in a situation in which the dependence of Whites on Blacks is beginning to create the climate for the politics of negotiation..."

Americans should realise, Chief Buthelezi emphasised, that the "different signals" they were receiving were because there were radical differences in tactics between the groups.

The ANC Mission-in-Exile, the UDF and AZAPO were anti-capitalist and did not see the need to preserve the economic foundations already laid down by free enterprise in South Africa.

"Thus, whereas Inkatha sees the need for negotiation and continued economic growth which favours negotiation, the other three organisations see the need for economic disruption which favours the politics of confrontation."

On the basis of this, Chief Buthelezi said he believed Americans should "think very carefully" about what kind of political forces they desired to promote in South Africa.

"I find it somewhat anomalous that America, as the greatest democracy on earth with perhaps the most effective free enterprise system on earth, should now very seriously be debating the weakening of free enterprise and democracy in South Africa.."

Plea for positive Western pressure

South Africa's new constitution was a "prescription for violence," Chief Buthelezi told Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during a recent visit to London.

In a separate meeting with Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, he emphasised that the politics of negotiation were being threatened by Black political groups, led by the ANC's Mission-in-Exile, who were seeking a bloody and violent showdown in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi presented Mrs Thatcher with a detailed memorandum covering among other issues, the new constitution, existing Black democratic strategies for change, disinvestment, the use of violence within South Africa and from abroad and the vital future conciliatory role of the West.

In it he reminded Mrs Thatcher that before Mr P W Botha visited Britain and Europe in June last year, he had written a memorandum to all the Heads of State Mr Botha would be seeing.

In that memorandum Chief Buthelezi said he felt it was important for Western Heads of State to know that the South African government was continuing to pursue policies which would lead to disaster. It was in Western national and international interests that these leaders tax Mr Botha on some issues — which he spelled out.

Chief Buthelezi told Mrs Thatcher: "I believe that events in South Africa since mid-1984 have shown that my concerns expressed in that memorandum were fully justified.

"Instead of buying time for progress towards normalising South Africa, the new constitution has done the opposite.

"During the Referendum campaign I did everything I could possibly do to warn White South Africa that a "Yes" vote in favour of the new constitution would deepen Black anger and would widen the chasm between Black and White which successive apartheid Governments in South Africa have created.

"I am asking you Madam Prime Minister to exert every possible pressure on Pretoria ... to insist that the State President declare his intention to negotiate with Blacks..."

Sir Geoffrey Howe

"I warned that the new constitution (incorporating a tricameral Parliament of Whites, Coloureds and Indians but excluding Blacks) was a prescription for violence.

"It is obvious that nothing in the new constitution addressed the central question in South Africa which revolves around the disenfranchised of 72 percent of the population and their exclusion from any meaningful participation in the government of their country."

He added that these warnings were not heeded and today there was ample tragic evidence that his fears were fully justified.

Black anger had risen sharply across the length and breadth of South Africa and had reached unprecedented heights.

The vast range of repressive measures — made available to the Government through Draconian laws which had been passed over decades of National Party rule — had proved insufficient to contain this anger.

The State of Emergency in dozens of magisterial districts throughout the country had resulted in between eight and nine million South Africans living in circumstances which characterised the worst of Police States.

"The upward spiral of violence employed for political purposes in South Africa will only be broken if the South African Government now turns to address the fundamental issues which White South Africa needs to face up to.

"The government needs to address the question of giving Blacks a say in the Government of their country. Unless this is done, and done boldly soon, the forces working for non-violent,

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democratic solutions leading to politics of negotiation will suffer irreparable harm," Chief Buthelezi continued.

The State President had not, however, ever indicated that White South Africa was prepared to share power with Blacks. Mr Botha "confused" the division of power with the sharing of power.

Chief Buthelezi told Mrs Thatcher why he pursued policies of democratic opposition to apartheid and remained committed to non-violent tactics and strategies.

He believed, he said, that unless Black South Africa won the struggle for liberation through these means, the country would be left with an aftermath of bitterness and hatred which would take generations to dissipate.

"Despite the upward spiralling of violence in South Africa, there remains even today the kind of goodwill among Black South Africans which has resulted in my leadership and Inkatha's aims and objectives being supported by a card carrying membership of over a million people," he emphasised.

Beyond these numbers there was also further vast Black South African support and sympathy in areas throughout the country.

He saw South Africa "locked into a north/south axis" by history and he saw the natural destiny of the people of South Africa as a destiny within the international Western industrial sphere of interest.

Britain had a role to play as an "honest broker" in international diplomacy and he had faith that it could fulfill that role in South Africa and between South Africa and the West.

He had admired the extent to which Mrs Thatcher and her Government had refused to bow to pressure to take indiscriminate action against South Africa — simply because apartheid was morally repugnant.

"In a sense, there may now be a ripeness of time in which diplomacy could be more effective than it was in the past," he added.

Black South Africans had always seen the West as "toothless" when it came to dealing with apartheid ... and it would be tragic ... if Britain and its allies failed to make the combined weight of Western pressure on the South African Government an ever-increasingly positive factor in bringing about meaningful change.

He had no doubt that there were many in Mrs Thatcher's party and in the Labour Party and other British parties who were genuinely indignant about apartheid and in whom indignation gave rise to "irresponsible action in supporting the forces of destruction" in South Africa.

"This has become very apparent in the disinvestment debate in the United States and it is very apparent in much of the activity of pressure groups in Great Britain and Western Europe.

"There is too much at stake, not only for millions in South Africa, but for the whole sub-continent of Southern Africa for Western indignation to give rise to indiscriminate action against apartheid..."

"Black South Africans have always seen the West as toothless when it came to dealing with apartheid. Apartheid under the National Party has grown vigorously and has thrived for over 37 years, despite all the moral and diplomatic pressures which has been exerted on successive National Party Governments."

"It would be tragic for South Africa and the whole of Southern Africa, if Britain and its allies failed to make the combined weight of Western pressure on the South African Government an ever increasingly positive factor in bringing about meaningful change ... now that there is greater fluidity in the South African situation."

"Statesmanship demands that apartheid is condemned and that opposition to apartheid is strengthened in such a way that the politics of negotiation are furthered. There are those who are genuinely indignant about apartheid and in whom that indignation gives rise to irresponsible action in supporting the forces of destruction in South Africa."

Mrs Thatcher was asked by Chief Buthelezi to "exert every pressure available to you" on the South African government to begin formal negotiations with Black leaders.

He said he believed that Mrs Thatcher and other heads of Western Governments should be made aware of the following:

That whatever reforms were being introduced in South Africa, and however meaningful those reforms were, unless the Government was prepared to begin meaningful negotiations with Black leaders, there could only be an escalation of violence.

Whites would have to relinquish the monopoly of power they enjoyed in South Africa.

He was daily being made aware of the fact that unless the South African Government took early and bold step towards normalising South Africa — as a modern, industrialised, democratic state — there would be increased radicalisation in Black politics and the upward spiral of violence now being witnessed would succeed in making South Africa ungovernable.

"Not only for the National Party but for any future Government — whether it be Black or White."

He added: "I am asking you Madam Prime Minister, to exert every possible pressure on Pretoria to strengthen the politics of negotiation by insisting that the State President declare his intention to negotiate with Blacks about the future of South Africa as one country, with one people who share one destiny."

He then added that he believed that President Reagan had embarked on a course of action in his constructive engagement policy which could accumulate the kind of pressures which were "badly needed" in South Africa.

However, whether or not the American party political "scene" would permit this policy to evolve into anything meaningful remained to be seen.

He then went on to tell Mrs Thatcher that he was "concerned" about statements which were increasingly being made by the Labour Party in Britain and some Democrats in the United States.

They were "adopting stances and making statements" which if continued would, he stressed, accumulate advantages for those commiting South Africa to civil war and to the solution of South Africa's problems through the armed struggle and through generalised violence.

First phase of civil war has started

The remains of a Ciskei soldier, Corporal Mnyamezeli Bless, who was killed and burned near King William's Town in August. He made the fatal mistake of driving in a Government car past the funeral of a civil-rights activist. When the crowd spotted his car's Ciskei Government number plate, he was ambushed. Thousands looked on as he was stoned and burned to death. A United Democratic Front (UDF) spokesman said the soldier had "no business" to be near the scene of the funeral.

"Blacks have turned to killing Blacks for political purposes and the ANC's Mission-in-Exile has encouraged internicine Black strife in the hope of destroying the negotiating bases of Black leaders who are capable of mobilising the kind of power which will bring Whites to the negotiating table. In a very real sense the first phases of civil war have begun..."

Chief M G Buthelezi, 10 Downing Street, London.

The ANC Mission-in-Exile is not interested in compromises and is seeking a bloody and violent showdown in South Africa.

This was the stark message brought to Prime Minister Thatcher and her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, by Chief Buthelezi.

He said "one of the harsh realities" which Western Governments had to accept was that the politics of negotiation were not only threatened by the National Party.

Ever-increasingly, the politics of negotiation were being threatened by Black political groups, led by the ANC Mission-in-Exile.

"There is in South Africa a significant body of Black opinion which has already finally concluded that there are no prospects of bringing about change through negotiation," he said.

"This has already resulted in South Africa having entered the first phase of civil war. The unprecedented current levels of violence used for political purposes is expressing itself more and more in Black/Black confrontations than in Black/White confrontations or Black confrontations with the government.

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile is seeking to make South Africa ungovernable by encouraging Black South Africans, and particularly the youth, to kill any Black who opposes them and who is prepared to work towards compromise solutions.

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile sees the armed struggle as the primary means to bringing about change,and it intends using the resources for violence at its disposal to further revolutionary aims which will in the end ensconce it as a post-liberation government."

Chief Buthelezi warned that those committed to the armed stuggle would become increasingly intolerant of any success in the politics of compromise and of negotiation. The ANC Mission-in-Exile was not seeking a compromise solution.

"It is driven by winner-take-all revolutionary fires and we face the tragic reality in South Africa that the destruction of the politics of compromise and negotiation is becoming of prime concern to the ANC Mission-in-Exile," he added.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed there could be no reform in states of anarchy and there could be no reform while the South African Government relied on the horrendous Draconian measures available to the State President once he had declared a state of emergency.

"The upward spiralling of violence in our Black townships and the upward spiralling of Government violence in opposition to the violence, work to negate compromises which would be acceptable to both Black and White," he added.

Western Governments now had to do whatever they could to strengthen the arm of those who were committed to the politics of negotiation.

"I believe that Britain in particular has an international responsibility to do this," he stressed.

Politics in South Africa would "gyrate" around the central issue of power-sharing in a unified state.

Sanctions could result in brutal SA backlash

Western industrialised countries which were moving towards banning future investment in South Africa — or withdrawing existing investment — seemed to regard Black opinion among rank and file workers and peasants as irrelevent.

Chief Buthelezi told Prime Minister Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe that the above had become obvious because, in spite of the fact that the issue of disinvestment had never received mass Black support, certain groups abroad totally ignored the mass of Black opinion.

It was a fact that every leader of an organisation working to make South Africa ungovernable and who was prepared to use violence, whether mob violence or armed violence to bring about political change, argued for disinvestment.

At the same time, Blacks in South Africa who had jobs with foreign companies had made it clear that they would never be persuaded to relinquish their jobs to further the aims and objectives of the disinvestment lobby.

The memory of sanctions-busting involving Rhodesia (as it then was) was, also, still fresh in the minds of many Blacks.

The "cheating" carried out by the West and Russia on chrome, as one example, was "still vivid" in the minds of Blacks. The South African economy, with the measure of self-sufficiency it had reached, could survive for much longer than the Rhodesian economy did.

"I support constructive investment in South Africa because I believe that we should never conduct our liberation struggle in such a way that we destroy the foundations for the future in the process of doing so," Chief Buthelezi added.

"Every Western Government knows that economies are not malleable things and cannot be turned on or off at will... they can only be directed towards political ends with very limited success.

"The naivety of some who think they can damage only part of the economy, is to me alarming.

"The West should also realise as soon as sanctions do begin to bite, it is Black South Africa which will bear the brunt of the burden.

"The West should realise too that the South African government is quite capable of taking retaliatory measures of the most despicable kind.

"If sanctions begin to bite, and Blacks begin to suffer the burden of those sanctions, Pretoria would have no scruples about repatriating more than a million workers in South Africa who come from impoverished neighbouring States...

"I plead with the West not to push the whole of Southern Africa into an abyss because they underestimate the brutality of the situation with which Pretoria could respond in a situation in which very real threats became unbearable realities."

He asked Mrs Thatcher what the international community would actually do for the citizens of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique if the threat of a Cabinet Minister, Mr Louis Nel, was actually carried out and these people were deported from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi went on to say that he was not saying that pressures should not be brought to bear on the "South African polecat..." All he was saying was that all who were working for the destruction of "the apartheid polecat" should not be blinded by anger to the extent that they failed to examine carefully the consequences of every act taken.

He had become very sceptical, he said, of whether the West would come to the rescue of the more than a million citizens he had mentioned ... if South Africa decided to expel them.

The options: war or compromise

Slamming down the equivalent of an iron curtain between the West and South Africa would not help the cause of peaceful change and negotiation in the country said Chief Buthelezi.

He told Mrs Thatcher he believed that, in part, President Reagan's policy of constructive engagement held some promise for South Africa because it was objective-orientated.

"If you, Madam Prime Minister, and other Western leaders, were to direct your opposition to apartheid to seek to bring the State President to the point where he can make a declaration of intent (regarding power-sharing with Blacks) which leaders like myself could co-sign with him, you will achieve something of historic significance," he said.

"I isolate the State President's unwillingness to make such a declaration of intent as by far the most negative aspect of his whole political career and his current leadership of the country.

"I have been pleading with Mr Botha to make a declaration of intent ever since he took office as Prime Minister.

"Until he declares his willingness to negotiate about the future of Blacks on terms they can accept — and which Whites will also accept — there is no hope of breaking the upward spiral of violence."

"There would be no Utopian leap into the future for South Africa and if the country was to avoid a bloody, racist, confrontation, it must be accepted that there would have to be compromises on all sides.

"It is for us a matter of war or compromise," he said. "If it is war, it will be the kind of war which will lead to scorched earth policies on both sides — and there will be no winners...

"I have said that I am prepared temporarily to shelve my cherished ideal of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state, if Whites are prepared to sit down with Blacks and look at alternatives and examine the merits of federal or other solutions.

"There is a vast amount of Black goodwill which could still be mobilised to support compromise solutions and there is the equivalent goodwill amongst Whites..."

The nature of the struggle

"Forces working for violent confrontation are often rewarded with Christian acclaim..."

Churchmen who felt personally constrained to support violence in South Africa should add courage to their convictions and "cross the lines" to administer to people in insurgent camps, Chief M G Buthelezi told the Archbishop of Canterbury in a meeting at Lambeth Palace recently.

Discussing the nature of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and the role of Churches, Chief Buthelezi said he felt "the Church's witness must be an open witness..."

As a Christian he had no problem in accepting that some churchmen in South Africa felt constrained by their conscience and convictions to involve themselves in violence.

"I understand that God is with the oppressed and in an unjust war Christ is equally present on both sides of the firing lines," he said.

However those churchmen in South Africa who felt personally constrained to support violence should add courage to their convictions and cross the lines to administer to people in insurgent camps.

"They should venture out into the world and persuade international Christendom to support violence," he said.

"For me there is something hypocritically dishonest about unstated commitments to violence and about conferring and negotiating with agents of violence beyond the sight and hearing of ordinary congregations.

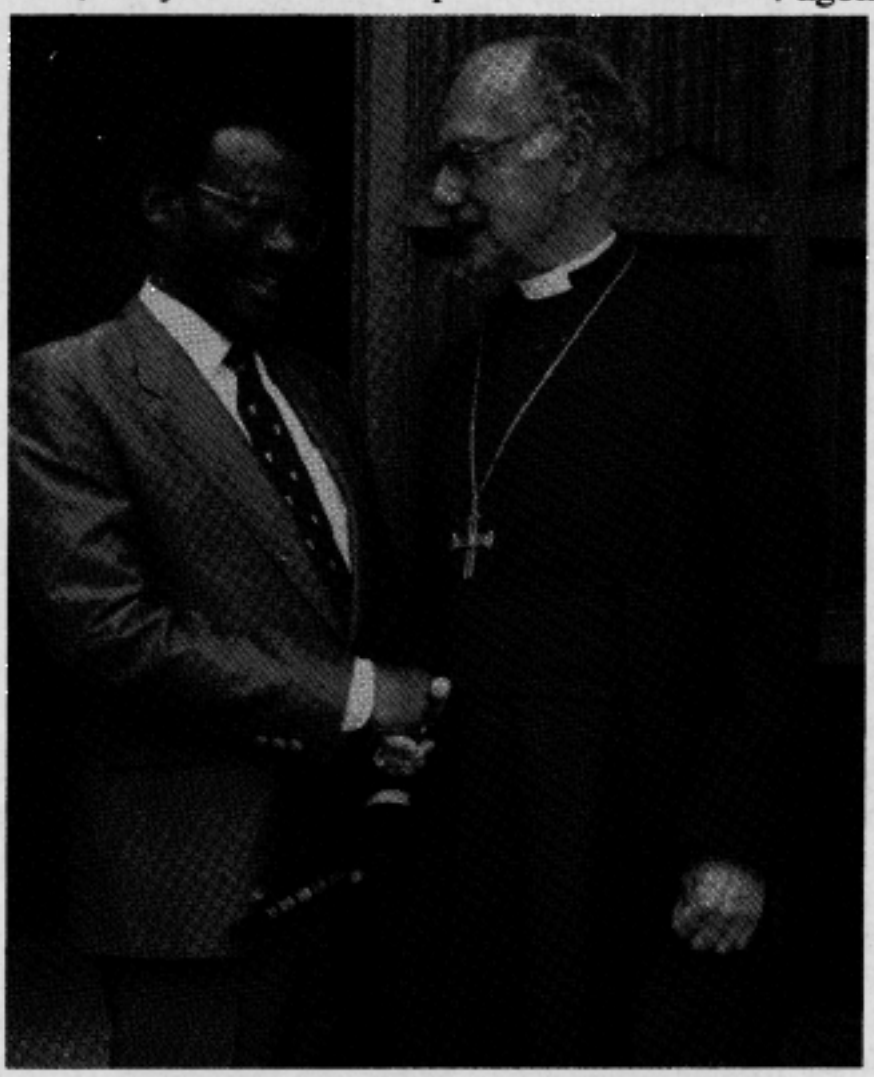
"The church's witness must be an open witness and if there is a partnership between some of our churchmen and, for example, the ANCMission-in-Exile, then that partnership must be an open and proclaimed partnership which is stripped of the hypocrisy which talks in terms of distinguishing between the spiritual needs of insurgents and the intent to kill for political purposes which directs them..."

Chief Buthelezi said that he was "totally convinced" that if ever violence in South Africa was to be judged as "just retributive violence", that judgement could only be made after every stone of non-violent action had been turned over and after every Christian act of reconciliation had failed.

There were, he added, still a great many stones to turn over.

"There is still profound hope, born out of Christian commitment in my heart, that while we may be failing in South Africa, we have not yet finally failed. There are things to do which we must do, which we and others before us have failed to do."

In the context of this thinking, Chief Buthelezi went on to express his dismay to Archbishop Runcie that the forces working for violent confrontation in South Africa "are so often rewarded with Christian acclaim in the Western world..."



The Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England and Metropolitan, the Most Rev. and Right Hon. Robert Runcie, with Chief Buthelezi

Meanwhile, those who were struggling on the ground to salvage the country from a consuming fire of violence, and who were pursuing aims and objectives by popular Black demand, were stigmatized as "sell-outs" because they spoke out against the employment of violence...

Inkatha, for instance, had received no encouragement from the British Council of Churches for the role it had played in fighting apartheid.

There were vast political differences between groups in the country. Some denied there was any possibility that constituency politics — attempting to penetrate the institutional life of South Africa — had an important role to play.

They branded those who were involved as "collaborators."

However, non-participation as a principle lead to confronting apartheid society from without and was the domain of those who employed violence.

"I believed that there is an urgent need now for international Christian agencies to look carefully at the implifully at the implications of non-participation," he added.

"Assesments should be made of the extent to which the Church in any society must neccessarily be a participant in the institutions of that society if the spirit of Christ is to be spread across the fabric of society."

Chief Buthelezi said he was in daily contact with South Africa's suffering Black masses. Every day he was made intimately and deeply aware of Black suffering and the anguish it produced.

He was "deeply aware" of the anger which had been generated by this suffering — as much as anybody else in the country.

"I understand the forces which are generating violent reactions to apartheid. For me you cannot claim that the Church has failed to be correctly involved in the process of bringing about change and in the same breath justify the violence which is consequent on that failure in theological terms..."

When travelling abroad, Chief Buthelezi said he often found himself in discussions with those who could not understand why Blacks, who had suffered so terribly under the yoke of apartheid, were not drawn together in common cause by their shared political, social and economic deprivation.

"They do not understand that the intensity of suffering, and the anger which flows from it, heightens political debate among Blacks.

"It deepens differences of opinion and dramatises these differences in opposing political action."

Blacks in South Africa who were

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politically involved had deep convictions about the merits of the various courses of action open to them.

These courses of action were about life and death issues and there was a lot at stake. Because there was no consensus about what could and what should be done, every dispute about tactics and strategies was intensified.

"Also, because every action of a political nature aimed at bringing about political change is put under police surveillance, all Black leaders in the struggle for liberation experience one or another form of intimidation.

"Only those who believe fervently in what they are doing find the strength and resolve to carry on," Chief Buthelezi continued.

"The leadership which does not rise up to meet oppression and to defy intimidation, is only found among those who have a single-minded purposefulness which is not always an asset for debate and the politics of reconciliation."

Not only were there stark issues to be faced in life and death issues in a complex situation in which there was little consensus, but action on the part of the State continually disrupted the democratic process by which people selected their leaders and exercised choices among options.

"The jailing and detention of leaders and the intimidation and the banning of organisations destroys the whole process by which people eventually get together in positions in which there is a multitude of choices."

Action by successive National Party governments over the last 37 years had so disrupted the democratic process for so long that Chief Buthelezi said he feared for the future.

"This fear has driven me to be intensely democratic in my own approach and has led me to do everything in my power to make Inkatha a democratic organisation," he added.

"After the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1961, there was a widely felt despair in South Africa about the merits of consituency politics and the utility of membership-based organisations.

"After the massive crackdown and the jailing of hundreds of Black leaders, those who escaped the net either went underground or fled the country to act as leaders in exile.

"It was only in the mid-1970's that the perceived failure of underground leadership and leadership in exile led ordinary Black South Africans to once again demand visible political organisations. It was in the years of the early seventies that both Inkatha and the Black People's Convention emerged to fill the vacuum that had been created by police brutality."

Chief Buthelezi then described to Archbishop Runcie how he established Inkatha to pursue the "hallowed" aims and objectives of the old ANC which was founded in 1912.

The Black People's Convention, he added, was essentially established as a protest political movement which was not membership-based and this "duality" in Black politics had persisted ever since.

Inkatha was today the only membership-based Black political movement in the country.

"That Black South Africans feel the need for a democratic membership-based organisation is shown by the fact that in the short space of ten years, Inkatha has grown to have a card carrying membership of over one million people..."

It was significant that when the growth pattern of Inkatha was studied, it was found that its growth surged after protest politics produced confrontations and violence which were crushed by police.

People were left counting the cost of this confrontation in terms of lives and property — and assessing these costs against gains made.

"During the 1976-1977 period of violent unrest in South Africa, when Inkatha was a year old, a great many friends warned me that I should abandon what I am doing because Inkatha had no future in an angry South Africa which demanded immediate political action for immediate gain...

"I was again and again told that if I was to to survive as a political leader, I would have to relinquish my position as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and would have to join in with other leaders in the protest movement.

"It was during 1977-78 that Inkatha doubled its membership and this pattern of upward surges of Inkatha membership after violent confrontations has been evidenced ever since."

All Inkatha's policies, all its tactics and strategies, and all its leaders were decided upon by the movement's annual general conference.

No stance was taken, either at home or abroad, which was not dictated by Inkatha's mass membership.

It was therefore "with a solid Black mandate" that Chief Buthelezi told the Archbishop of Canterbury that Black South Africa's first option was an option to pursue non-violent democratic tactics and strategies in opposition to apartheid.

Black South Africans were aware of the fact that the ANC Mission-in-Exile had been pursuing an armed struggle for 25 years without any tangible evidence that they would ever succeed.

Black South Africa was also aware that the South African government commanded the mightiest police and army force on the continent of Africa and that it would not hesitate to use its full might — both within the country and across the length and breadth of Southern Africa.

"The fact that the majority of Black South Africans would only turn to violence if all else failed has always given me the courage to continue in my pursuit of non-violent solutions," Chief Buthelezi continued.

"As a Christian, I am deeply convinced that ... while there is as yet one stone unturned in the pursuit of non-violent tactics and strategies, there is no Christian justification for the pursuit of objectives through violence."

He was aware, however, that there was a body of theological opinion in Christendom which was beginning to look at violence as a necessary instrument of God in bringing about the downfall of unjust Governments.

The recent call by the Western Cape region of the South African Council of Churches for Christians to pray for the downfall of the government on June 16 was an example.

In this time in South Africa's history, Chief Buthelezi said the Anglican Church in particular had an historic role to play.

"While the Church of the Province of South Africa is guided by God Almighty as a separate entity, it is nevertheless true that it has historic links with the British which in the Act of Union established apartheid South Africa after having ruled as a colonial power..."

What role should the Church play?

In various addresses to church leaders and at prayer meetings throughout South Africa in the past year, Chief Buthelezi has consistently highlighted the need for Christian reconciliation in the country. The church needed to find ways and means of establishing "fellowship" between Black political opponents, he has told his audiences. There were inadequacies in South Africa's Christian life and the Church was tragically divided.

Millions of Christians in KwaZulu were suffering because Western donor agencies had been persuaded by his political opponents not to render humanitarian aid to the region, Chief Buthelezi told a group of German churchmen visiting Ulundi recently.

And at a prayer breakfast in Durban he told distinguished church leaders from throughout the country that too few people appreciated just how difficult it was to retain a sense of Christain balance in Black politics in South Africa.

At another meeting of ministers from throughout Natal and KwaZulu he called upon churches to mount mechanisms of mediation and to act as the kind of reconcilers Christ would expect them to be in the circumstances which prevailed.

The Church had to date not been able to curb the violence in the country or been successful in mounting mechanisms of mediation between Black and Black and Black and White.

Over and over again Chief Buthelezi has sympathised with the complex spiritual and political dual roles in which churches find themselves participants in South Africa.

There was in South Africa force and counter force, he said in one speech. There was violence and counter-violence.

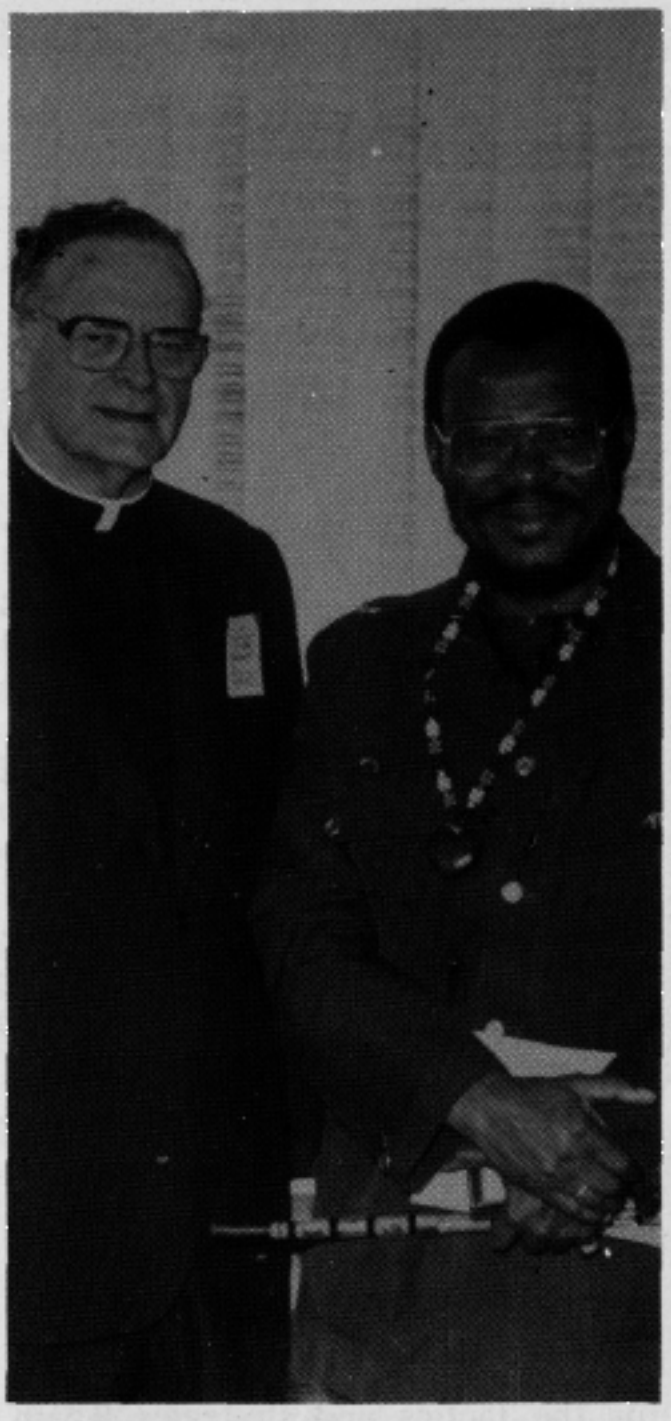
The Church in South Africa suffered from impediments cast before it by the nature of the society in the country.

This gave rise to a situation in which one Christian campaigned against another and made the Church tragically and truly divided.

However, he believed that were it not for Christianity in South Africa, the country would have long since torn the very fabric of its society apart.

There was, nevertheless, a kind of dualism in the Church. The South African Council of Churches (the SACC) was a kind of showpiece of Christian fervour behind which Church leaders hid when the accusing finger of international Christendom was pointed at them.

SACC spokesmen accused him of being "something most vile" — they accused him of Christian and political treachery in a sustained and orchestrated campaign because he had chosen to work with his people in KwaZulu. It was forgotten that he opposed the South African Government at every turn, that he had blocked so-called "independence" being foisted on the region.



The Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev. Denis Hurley, and Chief Buthelezi at a prayer breakfast held in Durban.

The Joint Screening Committee of the SACC was the primary tool used by the SACC to block Christian aid for the programes of self-help development which KwaZulu and Inkatha were attempting to foster.

This issue of Clarion Call will now highlight one particular address by Chief Buthelezi on the issue of the church in South Africa's apartheid society.

In it Chief Buthelezi describes the opposition he, as a Christian, is confronted with by other Christians and the suffering this causes his people.

Speaking in Ulundi to the vice-president of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany, Mr H E J Kalinna, and the chairman of the Toronto Confederation of Church and Business People, the Rev Charles R. Plaskett, the Chief said he often pondered upon the meaning of Christ for South Africa.

He saw again and again how people used and abused the Gospel as "some kind of personal passport" to their own perceptions and desires.

Turning to the issue of Church aid for Christians situated in Government-created homeland areas, Chief Buthelezi said he believed the Lord loved them where they were.

History had placed them where they were to suffer where they were in circumstances which neither they or he (Chief Buthelezi) had created.

They desperately needed the helping hand of Western Christendom and Western donor agencies.

Because of this he found it "incomprehensible" at times that the Church "took sides" with those who sought

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his ostracisation because he elected to serve his people being the Chief Minister of KwaZulu as well as the President of Inkatha.

"Surely Western Churches can see how wrong it is to attempt to hold me to ransom by blocking humanitarian aid to the people of KwaZulu?" he told the churchmen.

"Does the Church really judge me as incapable of rendering humanitarian aid in partnership with them? Does the Church really wish to penalise local congregations and communities because some oppose me politically?

"It is simply a fact that my people suffer because my political opponents

"Does the Church really judge me as incapable of rendering humanitarian aid in partnership with them? Does the Church really wish to penalise local congregations and communities because some oppose me politically? I appeal to Western churches ... to respect the wishes of ordinary people ... and to avoid being drawn into Black/Black South African conflicts

successfully persuade many Western donor agencies not to render humanitarian aid here among us.

"I appeal to Western Churches as a leader and as a Christian to respect the wishes of ordinary people and I particularly appeal to them to avoid being drawn into Black/Black South African conflicts."

Chief Buthelezi said he had never asked for exclusive support for Inkatha. He had never claimed that Inkatha was the only liberation movement in the country. He had never asked Western churches to assist him to annihilate his political enemies in South Africa.

"I and Inkatha accept a multi-strategy approach in which there is a multiplicity of tasks which can only be formed by a multiplicity of organisations.

"All I ask of the West, and Western churches in particular, is to assist Inkatha to pursue those things in its aims and objectives with which the West agrees."

Governments may change — but policies remain

The policies of Western Governments towards South Africa are largely determined by national interests.

It was for this reason that he had to be a "practical politician" and deal with whomever was in power in Western countries, Chief Buthelezi told the former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, and former Defence Secretary, Mr Robert McNamara, during a meeting in July in Durban.

At a dinner with members of the Ford Foundation, Chief Buthelezi said he had, over decades, been made "painfully aware" that Western Governments national policies towards South Africa remain remarkably constant whoever is in power.

"The same thing applies to the United States. And the real American indignation with apartheid will express itself whoever occupies the White House and express itself roughly in the same manner.

"Foreign policies in the West are determined by national interests and powerful lobbies which do not change with change in government.

"As a practical politician I must deal with whomever is in power in Western countries.

"I must accept the best they are doing and reject the worst they are doing.

"I know that the best and the worst that they can do will continue to leave the South African Government as a law unto itself until internal developments dictate otherwise..."

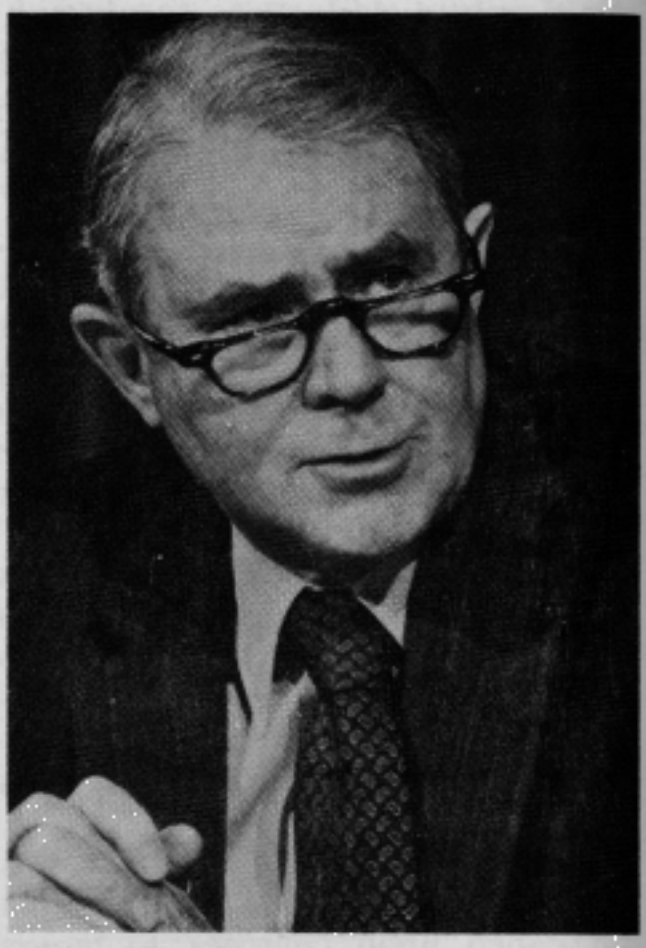
Chief Buthelezi said that beyond those in South Africa who postured about wanting to bring about a Marxist and Socialist state, there was now a deep yearning across all race groups for the normalisation of the country.

If there was any hope at all for South Africa, it was that this normalisation would actually take place.

If there was any role that the West could play in the country, it was a role which supported the normalisation of South Africa as a civilised industrial democracy.

Ultimately that support would have to be for the options which Blacks elected to serve within the country and for the tactics and strategies which would produce the kind of society which Western democracies upheld.

"All too frequently foreign governments, government agencies and church and private organisations seek to take sides in Black/Black political disputes in South Africa," he added.



Former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance

"But there is something very wrong when foreign forces aid and abet those who want to turn democratic disputes into internicine strife and blood feuds."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed that Americans should back up what they believed in...

And he believed that it was in the interests of South Africa and the whole of Southern Africa that all Americans avoided heightening Black/Black confrontation in which Blacks were now killing Blacks for political purposes.

Whenever he took issue with some Americans, he did so with an "underlying faith" that in the end the great principles on which America was founded would emerge triumphant over pettiness and over party political considerations.

For him the future would hold close ties between South Africa and the United States because the only thing which would ultimately work in South Africa was an open, democratic system of government — within the framework of a free enterprise economic order.

Israel to take tough SA stand

Following a meeting with Chief M G Buthelezi, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, pledged that his country would take a tough stance against South Africa.

"Israel should never support discrimination," Mr Peres told reporters after meeting Chief Buthelezi in August.

"It goes to the depths of our tradition, our convictions. We shall surely express our views, in ways that are open to us..."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed Israel had "something vital" to offer in support of the politics of negotiation.

Israel knew the horrors of racism and no Israeli would tolerate "the inhuman circumstances in which millions of Black South Africans have to live..."

In a memorandum to Prime Minister Peres he said that Israel was committed to the "free enterprise system and to an industrial way of life" — which South Africa desperately needed.

"Not only this, But Israel is also versed in the techniques of developing self-help schemes for those who are not fully utilised in the country's industrial way of life."

Chief Buthelezi said he was in Israel because the Jewish community in South Africa had made its own very distinctive contribution to the development of the country — to its industrial base and to its growth potential.

However, they now needed to make a very distinctive contribution towards the rapid inclusion of Blacks in the free enterprise economy and in the democratic institutions of the country.

He stressed that the Black population of South Africa was now increasing at an annual rate of three percent.

Mr Shimon Peres, Prime Minister of Israel, with Chief Buthelezi

Already over half the total Black population was 15 years and younger.

"A huge population bulge is moving towards the market place and the prospect of there being a sufficient number of jobs is slight or non-existant..."

Chief Buthelezi also met Israeli's Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir. Israeli officials later reported that Mr Shamir would be working on Chief Buthelezi's requests for agricultural and other assistance for his people.

He told Mr Shamir that too frequently Western observers only saw the extremes of the South African political spectrum.

In fact, the mainstream of White politics and the mainstream of Black politics were grappling with the question of reform.

There would be no Utopian leap into the future which the far left dreamed of. And there would never be a return to the Vervoerdian era that the right dreamed of.

"There will be no victory for those committed to the armed struggle and the ANC's Mission-in-Exile will in fact never return to form a Marxist government," Chief Buthelezi continued.

The left and right did not command the forces of change. He was, however, not underestimating the forces they did have.

"They do command forces of destruction and unless there is meaningful change, the forces of destruction will be strengthened...

"The politics then generated by the extreme left and the extreme right could result in a conflagration of violence..."

"Israel is a very distinctive country and the fire that burns in every Israeli breast would never tolerate the inhuman circumstances in which millions of Black South Africans have to live..."

"The Jewish community in South Africa has made its own very distinctive contribution to the development of South Africa ... they must now make a very distinctive contribution towards the rapid inclusion of Blacks in the free enterprise economy and in the democratic institutions of the country..."

"The State President knows that there will be no negotiation with me unless he makes a declaration of intent with Black leaders — and unless we have an agenda within which Blacks could find it possible to negotiate. The statement I am calling for will not tie hands but open doors..."

Sanctions:

Reagan makes the first move

Warning of American impatience, President Ronald Reagan has ordered a series of limited, selective. sanctions against South Africa.

The sanctions were imposed under emergency powers the President invoked on the grounds "of the threat posed to United States interests by recent events" in South Africa.

The move was part of a bid to head off the congressional sanctions bill the Senate was scheduled to debate in September.

The President said his policy remained one of active, constructive engagement.

"I am signing an order that will put in place a set of measures designed and aimed against the machinery of apartheid, without indiscriminately punishing the people who are the victims of the system — measures that will disassociate the US from apartheid, but associate the US positively with peaceful change," President Reagan added.

The US Ambassador to SA, Mr Herman Nickel, said in an interview with Business Day that the stage had been reached where mere statements of intent were no longer adequate.

Negotiations would have to be seen to begin and "some key features of apartheid have to be seen to be abolished".

Mr Nickel said it was important to persuade the American people that there was a distinction between the US sanctions imposed by President Reagan — aimed at the "instruments of apartheid" — and "an indiscriminate kind of sanction which damages the prospects of people who live under this system".

The following are the anti-apartheid measures announced by President Reagan:

- A ban from October 11 on the export of nuclear goods or technology to South Africa except where they are needed to implement nuclear proliferation safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency or to protect health and safety.
- A prohibition on US loans to the South African Government except those that improve economic opportunities or educational, housing and health facilities open to South Africans of all races. With effect on November 11.
- A possible ban on the importation of Krugerrands depending on the legality of the step in terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- A directive that the US Treasury report on the feasibility of a one-ounce American gold coin to be minted as an alternative to the Krugerrand.
- A ban, effective from October 11, on the importation into the US of any military goods manufactured in South Africa.
- A ban on export assistance to any US company employing more than 25 people in South Africa but failing to adhere to the Sullivan Code by the end of this year.
- Creation of an advisory committee of "distinguished Americans" to report within 12 months on recommendations to encourage peaceful change in South Africa.
- An increase of $8 million in scholarship funds for Blacks South Africans and an extra $1,5 million to support human rights programmes, one-third to be used for legal assistance.
- A directive that US agencies in SA buy more goods and services from Black-owned businesses.

Chief Buthelezi has revealed that US Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz, gave him advance details of President Reagan's selective sanctions plan.

The Central Committee of Inkatha has recorded its "appreciation" to Mr Schultz for having "the courtesy and goodwill" to inform Chief Buthelezi of the proposed move.

REACTION TO REAGAN SANCTIONS

Buthelezi warns of sanctions snowball

Commenting on the sanctions move, Chief Buthelezi said that the SA Government could count itself lucky that President Reagan had been so restrained in reacting to the indignation apartheid had aroused.

Chief Buthelezi said President Botha's recalcitrance had prompted the international community to express itself strongly in opposition to apartheid.

He accused the National Party of delivering one body blow after another to the SA economy.

He said the Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel was on record as saying Washington should have calculated the consequences of US pressure on SA for the whole of Southern Africa.

But the real culprit was the SA government — its refusal to enter into negotiations with Blacks about power-sharing and the fact that it persisted in holding a whip over neighbouring States.

Reiterating his rejection of disinvestment, he said: "I see the measures which President Reagan has announced as warning measures, foretelling of hardening American attitudes if meaningful change does not take place in our country within the relatively near future.

"I cannot see the measures which President Reagan has announced as damaging to the growth base of the South African economy, and, given the ingenuity of the SA business community, the measures announced will not have a very great impact on the country's daily economic life."

He called on President Botha and the government, "to do something on their home front which will stop the Reagan Administration's measures from snowballing into internationally co-ordinated action."

Every Black South African and the whole world wanted to know where President Botha was leading the country.

"He talks about negotiations with Blacks, but he does not establish the necessary climate in which those negotiations can take place."

What will the State President do next?

In one informal and one formal meeting with President P W Botha, the first in four years, Chief M G Buthelezi has stated the desperate need for power-sharing in South Africa.

Power-sharing within the framework of the present constitution was just not possible, he told Mr Botha. The Government had to declare its intention of sharing power with Blacks.

He was not asking for a statement of intent which was a thinly disguised White capitulation to Black demands, he said. All Blacks required was a commitment to search for acceptable ways of moving towards power-sharing.

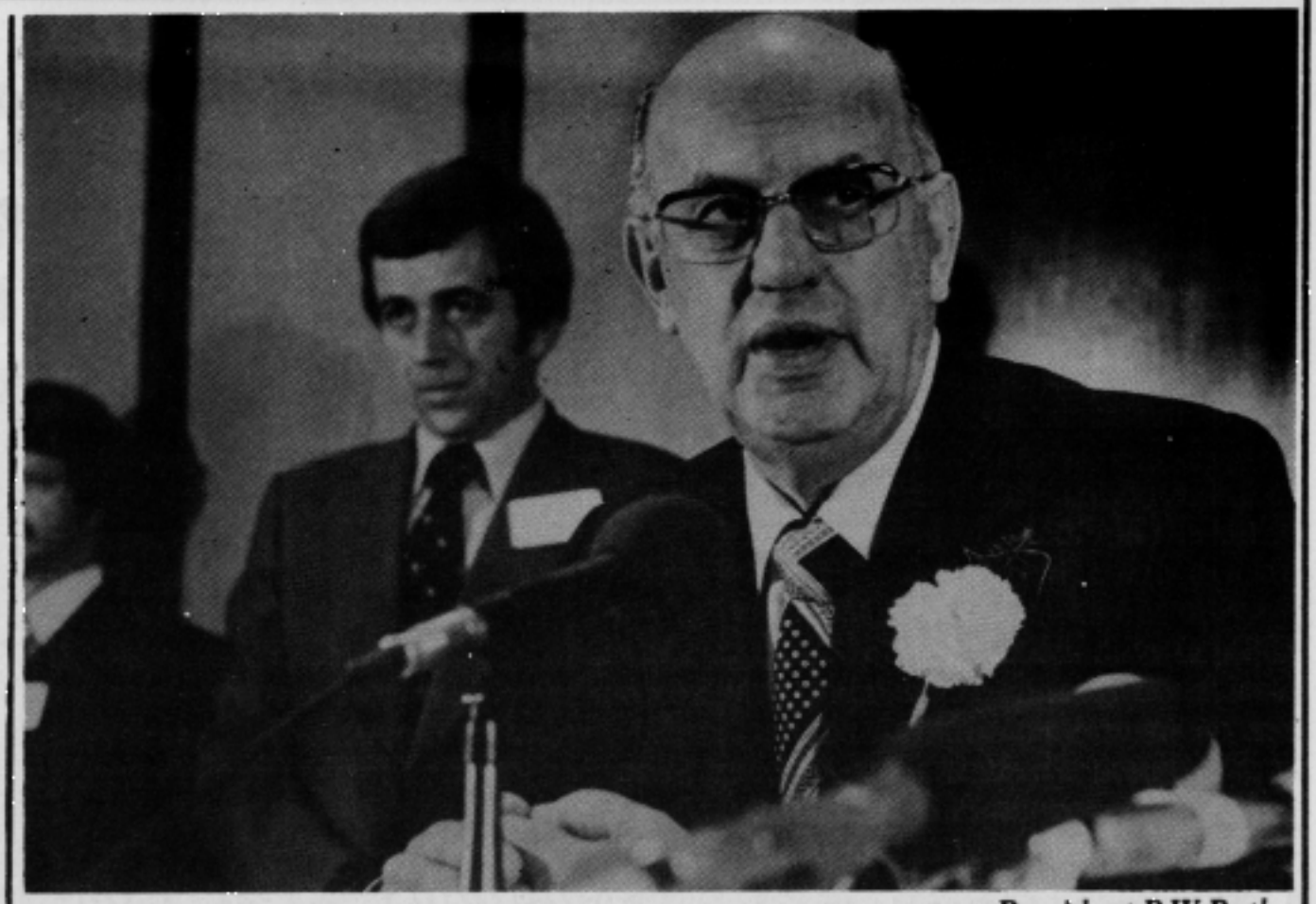
In a recent statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi made it quite clear that, within the framework of what Mr Botha had said in recent speeches and television interviews, there was nothing he could talk to him about.

He said he would only go to Cape Town to see the State President about power-sharing and practical co-operation — 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 supremacists politics, I will in future rather stay here in Ulundi and fold my arms while the government squanders the hope which flows from ... Blacks willing to seek non-violent solutions."

If the State President's (recent) statements reflected all that there was in him, he would rather go "to the people for a massive endorsement of my opposition to him than go to him..."

The State President needed to go beyond "addressing the converted" and he needed to go beyond a forum in which Blacks would have to undertake to talk about the future in terms which would be unacceptable.



President P W Botha

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

In a recent speech Chief Buthelezi said he was "more estranged" from the State President than at any previous time.

He told the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond at Stellenbosch that he could make no further concessions in the search for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

He would not describe the sort of system he foresaw, as this would be "prescribing" a solution in the same way as Mr Botha was "prescribing" by rejecting both a unitary and a federal system.

"In our circumstances, a government of national reconciliation is urgently needed and both Black and White leaders need to recognise the necessity of moving away from government by racial domination..."

However, he believed a federal system with a Bill of Rights which entrenched civil liberties was "one of the things" which should be looked at.

He had been prepared to shelve, for the time being, his ideal of a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state, but President Botha had created a logjam by also rejecting the possibility of a federal system.

"What is then left to talk about?" he asked.

Asked if he was sure he and Mr Botha were not misunderstanding each other, Chief Buthelezi said he had also had discussions with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

He (Heunis) had also dismissed the suggestion of a federal system.

Chief Buthelezi has described this meeting with Mr Heunis as "... one of the most unsatisfactory meetings I have ever had in my life..."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed that there was no such thing as "a classical federation" (rejected in these terms by the government) as no two federations were the same. It could be possible to devise one "peculiar" to South Africa.

In one meeting with the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, he bluntly stated:

"You are a political opponent ... you oppose what we strive to do and we oppose what you strive to do..."

In another he said: "I have been in politics virtually my whole life ... I want to assure you that my opposition to much of what this and previous governments have adopted as policy is dictated not only by my sense of political morality, but by the harsh facts with which I am surrounded in Black politics.

"Apartheid puts you and I on different sides of a political fence, and I hope that we can recognise this fact — while also recognising that that fence needs to be demolished and that we have to deal with each other while this is being done."

PFP leader calls for a Convention Alliance to bring together all orga

WHO WILL STAND U

An appeal for the people of South Africa to come together and find "the middle ground" between repression and revolution has been made by Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Dr Slabbert made headlines throughout the country recently when, in an address to Inkatha's Youth Brigade conference, he called for the launch of a "Convention Alliance or Movement" and for various organisations to bury their differences and participate.

The time had come, he said, to go further than calling for a National Convention.

"Let us demonstrate to the Government and the world that an Alliance for a National Convention can be formed," he said.

To a standing ovation he added there could only be peace in South Africa and violence could only be prevented if there was one constitution based on one citizenship in one country.

He asked: "How are we going to achieve such a constitution?"

Many statements supporting such a convention — to negotiate such a constitution — had been made by prominent South Africans including Chief M G Buthelezi, Archbishop P Russell of the Anglican Church, Archbishop D Hurley of the Catholic Church, the Rev P Storey of the Methodist Church, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, President of Nafcoc, spokesmen of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Bishop Desmond Tutu and many others.

"I believe the time has come to go further than just calling for a National Convention," he said.

"Let us explore the launching of a Convention Alliance or Movement ... committed to one constitution for all South Africans, based on a common citizenship in one undivided country."

Such an Alliance, he stressed, should not exclude any body, movement or organisation committed to a National Convention.

"For example, it could include Inkatha, the PFP, the UDF, the Churches, Commerce and Industry and student and youth movements."

The proposed Alliance would not compromise any organisation or body in terms of its policies, principles or strategy except in its commitment to a convention.

He went on to state that in his view the Alliance would not belong to or be controlled by any one party, movement or organisation and the members of such an Alliance would decide on their own agenda and programme of action.

"The people of this country want something positive to support away from violence and repression," he continued.

"The vast majority of South Africans reject apartheid and all it stands for. Let us find out if we can come together in an Alliance to demonstrate our commitment to one country.

"I appeal to the President of Inkatha and to all the spokesmen and leaders of organisations, bodies and movements who have in the past declared their commitment to a National Convention: Let us explore whether we cannot come together in an Alliance to demonstrate our commitment to our try and our rejection of apartheid..."

Dr Slabbert said that while making this appeal he was aware of the deep differences, suspicions and even hostilities between organisations, movements and personalities in South Africa.

He believed that a commitment to a convention and to South Africa should transcend those differences.

"A convention does not bring together those who agree with one another, but precisely those who have to talk about their differences.

"Let us demonstrate that we are prepared to do so in a Convention Alliance which no one, especially the Government, can ignore."

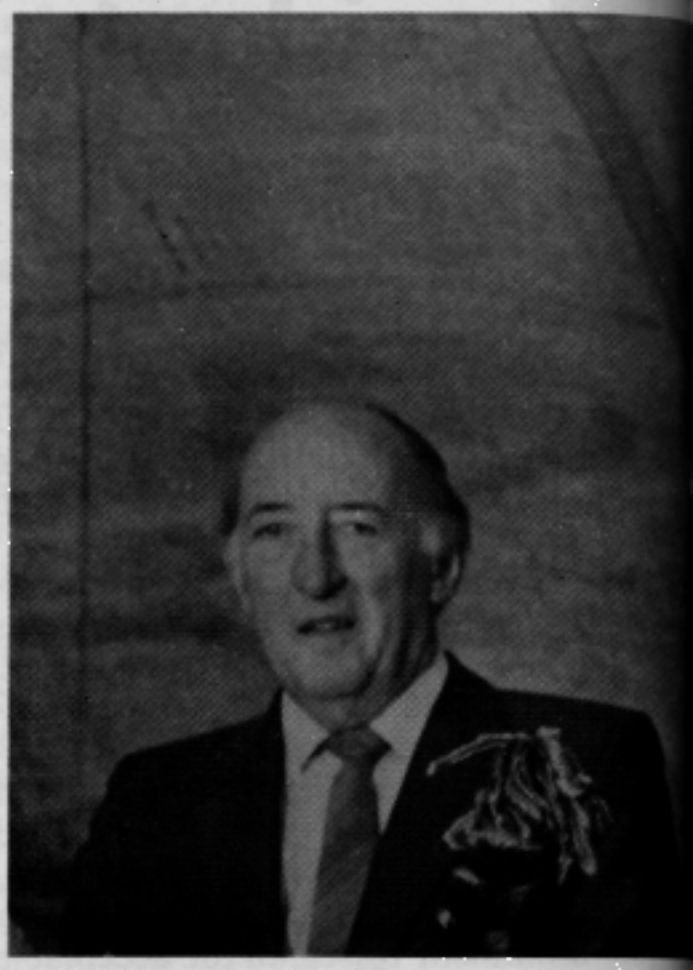
Responding to Dr Slabbert's call, the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, said it had his movement's "whole-hearted" support.

"Let there now be a national movement in which all forces opposed to apartheid come together and present this country with a viable alternative," he added.

"Right now, all we have is the bloody road to escalating violence which is mapped out by the Government's insistence to work within the four corners of political apartheid and by the tragic disarray that exists between forces opposing apartheid.

"There is too much at stake to continue to feed the flames of disunity amongst the forces which oppose

"The purpose of a National Convention is precisely to differ entiate between those who don't want to renounce violence and those who want to search for peaceful solutions ... a Convention does not bring together those who agree with one another, but those who have to talk about their differences..."
— Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert



tions opposed to apartheid and committed to peaceful change.

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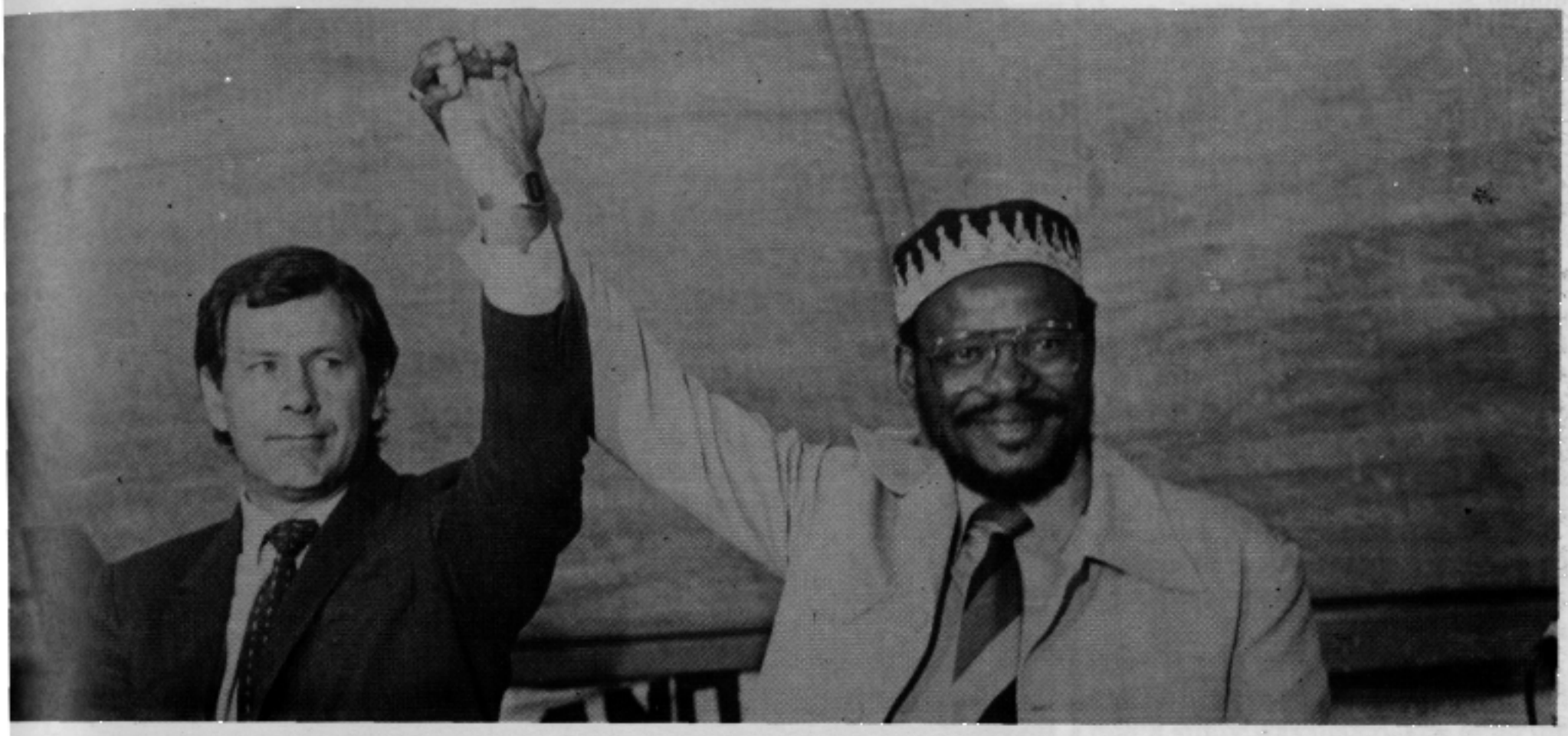


apartheid."

Early reaction has been interesting in that radical groups immediately indicated they would not participate in this national exercise aimed at negotiation and national reconciliation.

Dr Slabbert's call seems to have brought out into the open for all to see who, on the one hand, desire peaceful change through negotiation and who are committed to violence.

The African National Congress said in a statement from Lusaka that Chief Buthelezi and Dr Slabbert were "opposed to any meaningful action to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa ... and continue to advance the empty perspective of dialogue..."

The President of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said his organisation had stated previously that a National Convention avoided the question of the transfer of power to the Black majority.

Dr Slabbert has made it clear that the refusal of some radicals to participate will not prevent the PFP from going ahead with its plans.

"The purpose of a National Convention is precisely to differentiate between those who don't want to renounce violence and those who are prepared to search for peaceful solutions.

"I have talked to a wide spectrum of leaders about this. The reaction was positive — otherwise it wouldn't have been worthwhile to go ahead with the idea of a Convention Alliance."

His initiative, he added, was also a way to determine how many people were really prepared to take part in a National Convention.

> *"Let there now be a national movement in which all forces opposed to apartheid come together and present this country with a viable alternative ... right now all we have is the bloody road to escalating violence..."*
> **— Chief M G Buthelezi**

At present, the Government was talking to South Africa in a language which only it understood.

It said it wanted "reform" but when asked what that meant, no clear answers were forthcoming.

"I think the time has come for the people of this country to say we hear you but we cannot understand you," he said.

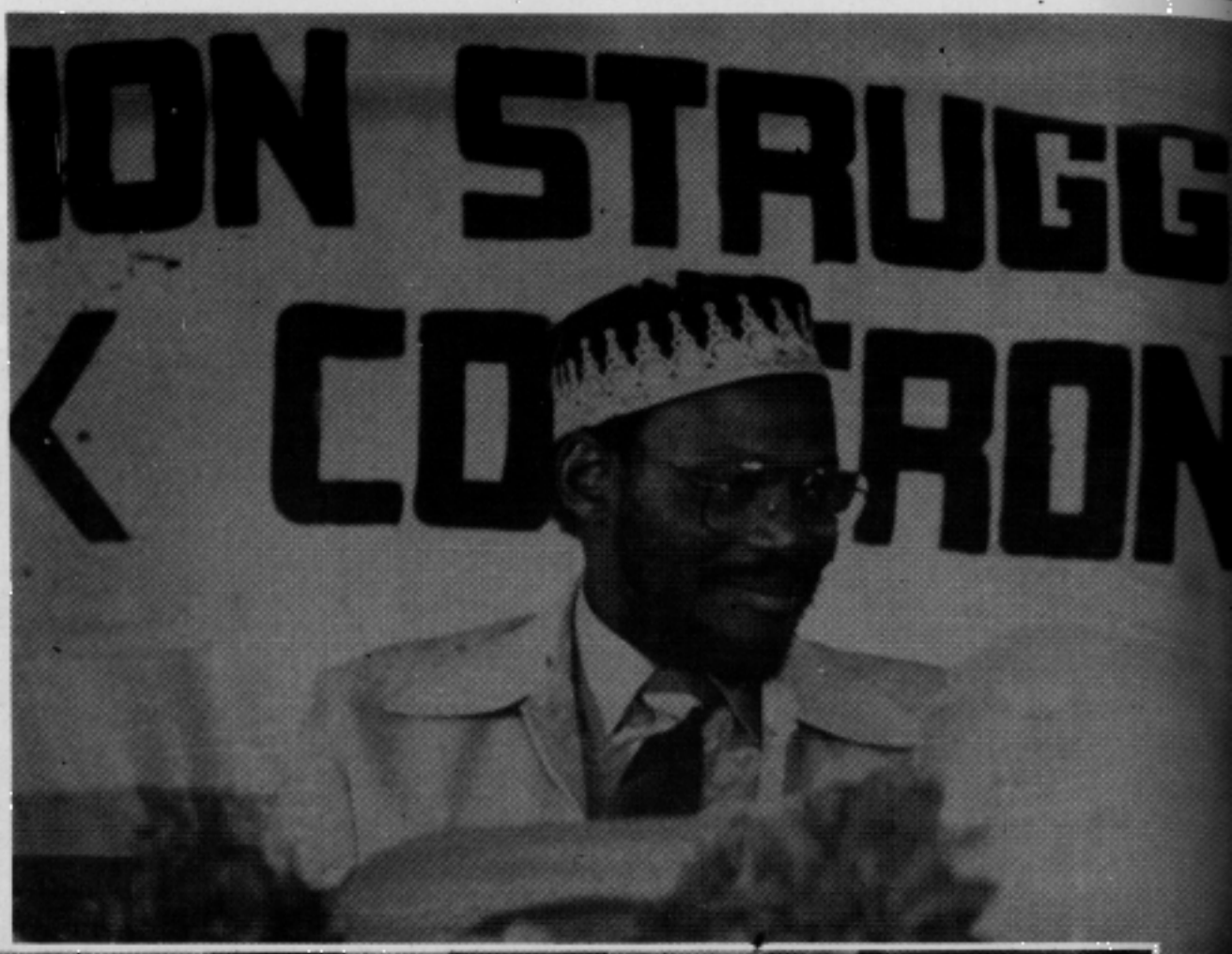
The Government talked "the language of yesterday" and was trapped by the problems of the past that it had created for itself. It now wanted to carry these problems into the future.

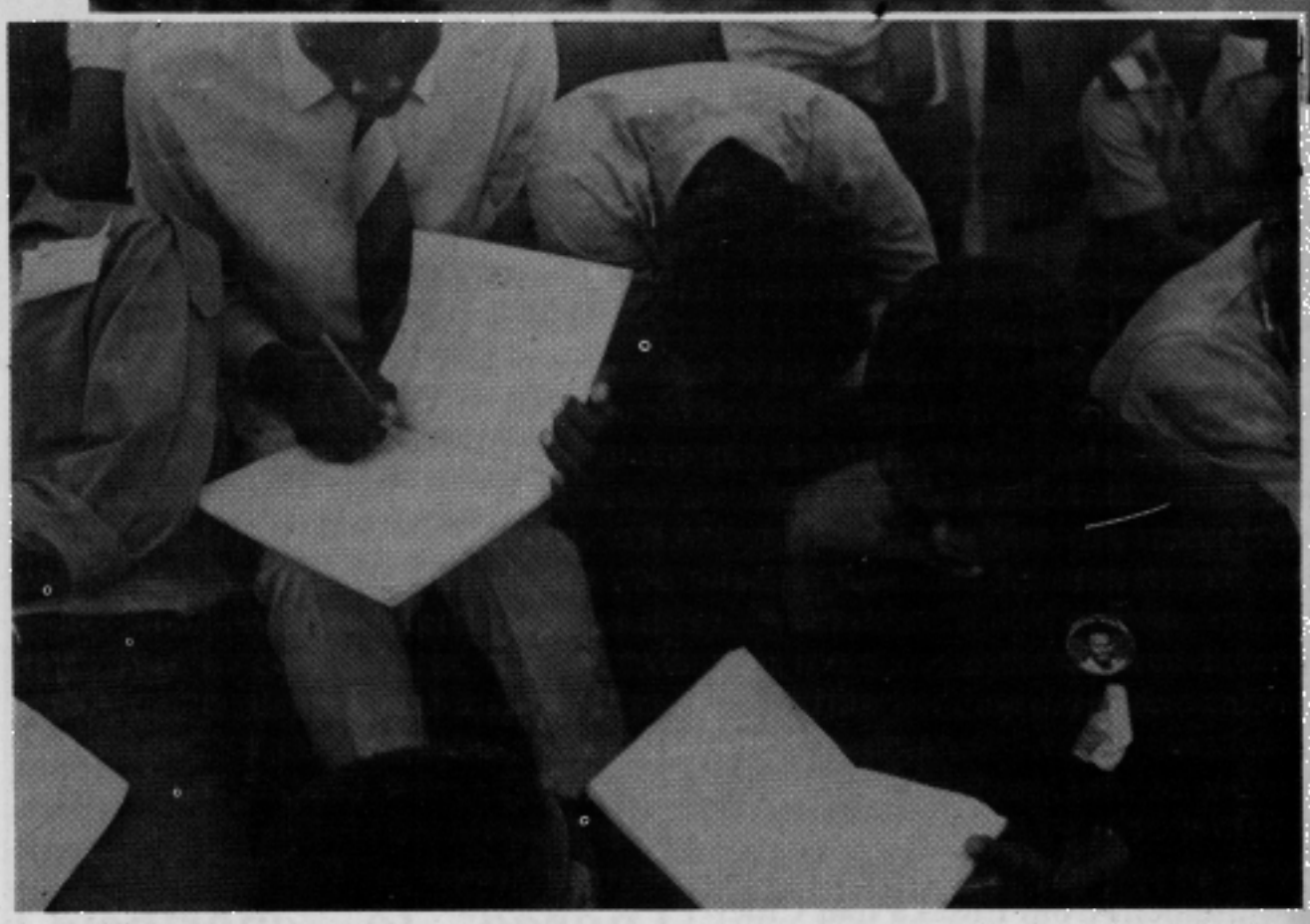
"The government cannot or will not speak to this country in a language we can understand. We must speak to this government then in a voice that can be heard by the whole world.

"This voice must be clear in its message and unmistakeable in its vision. Let all who care about the future of this country, whatever their movement, organisation or party, whatever their constitutional wishes for the future, come together..."

A powerful voice backing the call for a National Convention has been world famous author Sir Laurens van der Post, who was chosen by Prince Charles and Princess Diana to be a Godfather to their son, William.

Visiting South Africa from his home in Britain, Sir Laurens said what South Africa needed was "... a rededication to an act of union of all the peoples of this country."





The voice of youth

Some delegates spend a day walking to the conferences from their humble country homes. Thousands from Johannesburg, Durban and other towns and cities throughout South Africa club together and hire dozens of buses. Others hitch lifts in cars and combi's.

Television cameramen and reporters from many parts of the world usually fly in in chartered aircraft.

And their destination is a dusty sports ground in the heart of KwaZulu where Inkatha, the national cultural liberation movement led by Chief M G Buthelezi, is meeting for three days of report-back and decision-making.

Three major conferences are held for three days each time every year: the Annual General Conference, the Youth Brigade Conference and the Women's Brigade Conference. Monthly meetings of the elected Central Committee are also held.

Thousands of delegates (often numbering up to 10 000) from more than 2 500 Inkatha branches throughout SA gather to have their say.

And this is Inkatha's strength. This is why more than one million people annually pay their dues to the movement.

Inkatha has given them a voice. Zulu and non-Zulu ranging from subsistence farmers, factory and domestic workers, businessmen and women, academics, doctors, nurses and the clergy, sit side by side. Nuns, the colours of Inkatha pinned to their habits, finger their rosaries during the proceedings.

This has been the case for ten years and this year was no exception.

All are committed to non-violence and peaceful change through negotiation. They are not the youths and men and women who feature nightly on television screens across the world running riot, burning and looting.

Here you have representatives of the vast majority of Black South Africa who want peace, not bloodshed. Blacks who recoil with horror at what is happening now on their doorsteps — the burning alive of so-called "collaborators", the wanton destruction of homes and businesses for political purposes.

Inkatha has 438 936 (June audit) members in its Youth Brigade, 392 732 in its Women's Brigade and 323 426 general members.

All of their leaders are elected.

Mr Keith Musa Zondi, as Inkatha's Youth Brigade leader, heads the largest youth group in the history of South Africa.

When he called the Brigade together recently they came, as usual, in their thousands.

The conference was opened by Chief Buthelezi who, as President of Inkatha, told them that they were the emerging generation whom God would rely on to salvage South Africa from hatred and strife.

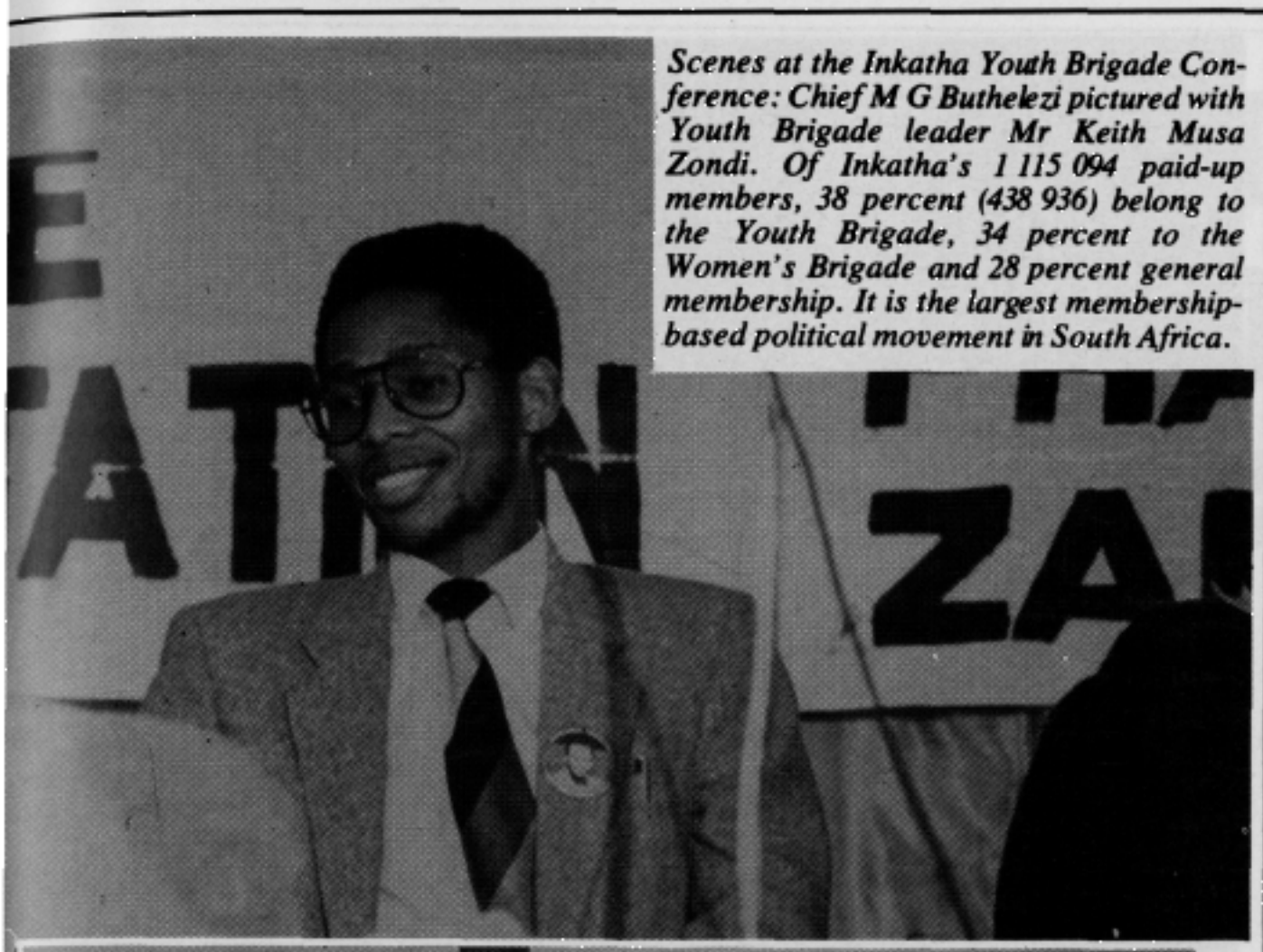
He spoke to them of Black anger and asked them to give him their anger so he could employ it as a "weapon" in the struggle for liberation.

Every time Black anger was used to mount tactics which failed, that anger turned inwards to decimate those who misused it, he explained.

"The correct expression of anger in our circumstances is to be found in bloody-minded determination, in deepened commitment and in constructive engagement."

Inkatha's member's were "realists" who did not live in a make-believe world seeking Utopia's tomorrow and the impossible today.

He had told Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC Mission-in-Exile that they were "pursuing a pipedream" if they



Scenes at the Inkatha Youth Brigade Conference: Chief M G Buthelezi pictured with Youth Brigade leader Mr Keith Musa Zondi. Of Inkatha's 1 115 094 paid-up members, 38 percent (438 936) belong to the Youth Brigade, 34 percent to the Women's Brigade and 28 percent general membership. It is the largest membership-based political movement in South Africa.

who want peace

thought they could win an armed struggle without involving Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

He had told the United Democratic Front that South Africa needed a multi-strategy and they, too, could not ride "roughshod" over Inkatha.

Everytime a person was "slaughtered in despicable acts of political villany", Inkatha's principles were violated.

Inkatha had laboured to amass Black political power and it had used that power to "thrash apartheid" in the very arenas in which apartheid had tried to beat Blacks into submission.

However, Inkatha had never claimed to be the "sole custodian" of that which was valuable in the struggle for liberation.

"We have always claimed that we play our role as one of many roles that have to be played in Black South Africa."

The youth responded with debate and resolutions.

Their first read: "We appeal to Mr Oliver Tambo and others in the ANC Mission-in-Exile to cease rejecting the hand of friendship which our President has extended to all South Africans in exile. We applaud his call for a multi-strategy approach..."

The youth again pledged themselves to the tactics of non-violence and said they "deplored in the strongest terms the despicable tendency" of smaller Black organisations in the country and those "remote from our motherland" of trying to prove their political strength by attacking Inkatha instead of apartheid.

The youth of Inkatha, they said, were "appalled" at the Black-on-Black violence which was dominating Black politics in South Africa.

This should cease.

"We echo the cry of the people that killing for political purposes should cease now."

They appealed to the UDF, AZAPO, AZASO, COSAS and other organisations to be "honourable in what they do and to cease to reinforce apartheid's attempt to divide and rule Black South Africa..."

The message of Black unity would have to be brought to every Black organisation and to every Black household.

It was time, said Inkatha's youth, that a study was undertaken of all the statements made by other organisations attacking Inkatha. These statements should be brought to the attention of ordinary people.

In another resolution they registered their "deep dismay" that the State President, Mr P W Botha, had failed to grasp the realities that South Africa was one country, with one people who needed to face their destiny with one Government.

"We are appalled at his inability ... and his lack of vision..."

The youth endorsed the participation of Inkatha's Youth Brigade in discussions with Afrikaans students throughout the country.

"We call on all young Afrikaners to grasp the golden opportunity which Inkatha's commitment to the politics of reconciliation offer them..."

In a clear message to the ANC Mission-in-Exile, the youth said they wished to "tell all those in exile" that they must consult with them.

"They must consult with us before they act in our name. We say to the world that the struggle for liberation will be won or lost here on the ground, and it will be led by those whom the people here on the ground elect as their leaders. The struggle for liberation in South Africa must be left in the hands of the people inside South Africa."

Whatever imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is quoted as saying while in prison, Chief M G Buthelezi has made it clear that he will continue campaigning for his release.

In his address to the Inkatha Youth Brigade conference, Chief Buthelezi described his reaction to a recent prison interview quoting Mr Mandela as saying he saw "no alternative" to violent revolution in South Africa.

Only days before, the interview with the imprisoned ANC leader had been published in SA and abroad and given prominent media coverage. The interview was conducted by Washington Times correspondent John Lofton and syndicated columnist Cal Thomas.

They quoted Mr Mandela as saying: "There is no room for peaceful struggle in South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela was "not just a name" to him. He was a friend of many years ... a man who had spent many happy hours in his home as he had done in his.

However, whatever he said regarding Mr Mandela must be understood in the context that he was speaking as "one brother in the struggle commenting about another..."

In his interview Mr Mandela, who was sentenced more than 20 years ago to life imprisonment on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the South African government, said it appeared that the lot of Blacks had not improved in the two decades he had spent behind bars.

The White minority Government in Pretoria was "crawling on crutches" out of the Middle Ages.

"There is no room for peaceful struggle," he was quoted as saying.

Chief Buthelezi, when asked for his reaction, said he had "never condemned" those who had opted to leave the country and prepare themselves for an armed struggle.

He nevertheless believed they were "deluded" in their thinking that the armed struggle was a more efficient way of bringing about change than the use of non-violent, democratic means.

If Mr Nelson Mandela was released from prison tomorrow there would be no way in which he could lead an armed struggle in South Africa.

"Where are the arms — what will he use for weapons in his armed struggle?" Chief Buthelezi asked. The fact of the matter was there were no arms for Blacks to take up in South Africa.

At a recent Press conference in Johannesburg, Mrs Winnie Mandela, above, is said to have confirmed reports that her husband was committed to the armed struggle.

Mr Nelson Mandela must be released, unconditionally, and given the freedom to opt for the armed struggle from abroad ... or of remaining inside South Africa and working for negotiated change. His utterances as reported in the media are irrelevant to the considerations which should be weighed up..."
— Chief M G Buthelezi

There would be no way in which Mr Mandela and his followers could gather in bases and fight from "liberated" zones. There were no liberated zones in South Africa. They would have to leave the country.

The ANC Mission-in-Exile had been trying to wage an armed struggle for the past 25 years and had "produced no results worth talking about..."

"The media is now splashing Nelson Mandela's views, as reported, as though everything else has failed and we must now turn to the armed strug-

FREE MANDELA AND GIVE HIM A CHOICE

gle," said Chief Buthelezi.

"We all know that for a quarter of a century the ANC Mission-in-Exile has been advocating an armed struggle and has done everything that can humanly be done to make the armed struggle a reality.

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile has massive backing from the Soviet Union and some Eastern countries and has had an annual budget which runs into millions of rands.

"And it has failed dismally in every attempt it has made to mount an armed struggle".

Not only had the ANC Mission-in-Exile had this massive backing in financial and material support, but it had also had the moral backing of the Organisation of African Unity and, until recently, the full co-operation of States neighbouring on South Africa.

"After this massive backing and diplomatic encouragement, the ANC Mission-in-Exile could surely have done something effective if something effective could at all have been done..."

People who now talked about the need to employ violence needed to be reminded about the dismal track record of failure of the ANC Mission-in-Exile.

Chief Buthelezi said he called for the "unconditional" release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"His utterances, as reported in the media, are irrelevant to the considerations which should be weighed up," he added.

"Mr Mandela must be given the freedom to opt for the armed struggle. The State has robbed him of that freedom right now. If he is released and opts for the armed struggle, he would have to do so from abroad.

"But I say he must also be given the choice of remaining inside South Africa and working for negotiated change. It is only his unconditional release which will create the circumstances in which he can make a choice.

"He is now not free to opt for the armed struggle — just as he is not free to opt for the politics of negotiation.

"Until he is given that freedom, we must regard all his utterances as utterances under duress..."

"A National Convention is a people's thing and it is a place where people's representatives go. It is a place where all voices are heard and where those who seek the politics of national reconciliation meet to sink their differences..."

"Mr Mandela is making a statement from jail in the wake of the State President's refusal to hear pleas from leaders like myself asking him to release him unconditionally ... people serving life sentences for political convictions do not normally talk with the voice of quiet moderation..."

"If I were in Nelson Mandela's position I would find it extremely difficult to meet the State President's requirements ... the State President chose to make it very difficult for Nelson Mandela ... and it was not very brilliant of him to do so..."

Meanwhile, in broadcast after broadcast, the ANC Mission-in-Exile was telling Black South Africans that they must arm themselves for the revolution.

"They are telling us to steal guns from Whites and to ambush police contingents to destroy them and seize their arms.

"They are telling Black South Africans that while they call for the armed struggle, they are quite incapable of providing us with the hardware with which to wage such a struggle."

Even military strategists knew, he continued, that the armed struggle would not succeed in South Africa unless there were viable operating bases which could be used as springboards for attacks on vital installations.

There had to be liberated zones from where a military force could group and re-group in order to make attacks.

"Everyone of us knows that the ANC Mission-in-Exile does not have bases in neighbouring states which it can use as springboards. For 25 years they had such bases and the use of them was so dismally unsuccessful that African leaders like President Samora Machel gave up hope that they would ever succeed.

"There is no neighbouring state that is any longer prepared to provide the ANC's Mission-in-Exile with operating bases..."

It had been in the last couple of years that the SA Defence Force had acted like a "rogue elephant" in Southern Africa — moving into neighbouring countries and attacking ANC bases.

Chief Buthelezi said he understood why Mr Mandela made his statement on violence.

"Mr Mandela is making a statement from jail in the wake of the State President's refusal to hear pleas from leaders like myself asking him to release him unconditionally.

"It is easier to sit in London, Moscow or Pollsmoor Prison and call for the armed struggle than it is to actually get on with the job and do it.

continued overleaf

from previous page

"Mr Mandela's voice from prison needs to be a strident voice. The people serving life sentences for political convictions do not normally talk with the voice of quiet moderation.

"We must also understand that it is the State President who set this ball rolling. Instead of heeding the advice of leaders who really know what they are talking about, the State President chose to make it diplomatically very difficult for Nelson Mandela...

"It was the State President who attached conditions to the release of Mr Mandela ... and it was not very brilliant of him to do so.

"In idiom, this made Mr Mandela consider having to escape from prison through an act of public submission to apartheid. If I were in Nelson Mandela's position I would find it extremely difficult to meet the State President's requirements.

"The State President was playing to conservative and right-wing White galleries when he made a conditional offer to Nelson Mandela".

These were the kind of perspectives, said Chief Buthelezi, within which one needed to look at the much publicised statements of Nelson Mandela.

Having refused to renounce violence and having backed up that position by going on to state that there was no room for a peaceful struggle, Mr Mandela would also "necessarily" also reject the notion of a National Convention, Chief Buthelezi emphasised.

"National Convention go hand in hand with non-violent, democratic struggles. There is sometimes confusion about this...

"The Lancaster House talks did not amount to a National Convention. In these talks, parties at war decided to meet with each other because no one could win.

"Mr Mugabe would have had no reason to go to Lancaster House if he was at the very point of a military take-over of Zimbabwe. A stalemate had developed and what ensued was not a National Convention".

A National Convention was a "people's thing" and it was a place where people's representatives went. It was a place where all voices were heard and where those who sought the politics of national reconciliation met to sink their differences.

Chief Buthelezi said he had always called for a National Convention and would continue to do so.

"I am calling for one in which my brothers and sisters in the ANC and PAC Missions-in Exile are as free to attend as I am.

"That freedom is not divisible. If some leaders and some political groups elect not to participate in deliberations at a National Convention, they must be granted the freedom to stay outside the negotiations.

"If, however, we make it impossible for any group to attend, then we strip the concept of a National Convention of its real meaning."

Govt. must be bold — Solarz

Chief M G Buthelezi told US Congressman Stephen Solarz that apartheid would be eradicated — he was not concerned that it would survive.

What did concern him was the nature of the society South Africa would end up with once apartheid had gone.

Mr Solarz has introduced a Bill in the United States Congress aimed at sanctions against South Africa.

He visited South Africa recently and had a series of meetings with a wide range of leaders and spokesmen of various organisations.

In an interview with the Weekly Mail he said: "I think the real problems now have to do with the pace of change and the willingness on the part of the government to enter into a genuine dialogue with the legitimate Black leadership...

"I think that with each passing day the prospects for a constructive accomodation between Black and White will become more difficult.

"But if the government can seize the initiative and be bold enough to move quickly, I think there is still a very real possibility that a formula will be found."

Mr Solarz according to the Weekly Mail, "made it clear" that he did not support disinvestment.

He had, he said, opposed this in Congress in favour of the Bill that opted for limited sanctions against South Africa.

However, he added that in the absence of "real progress towards the elimination of apartheid", his country would move towards sanctions over the next few years.

He also told the Weekly Mail that if the "right steps" were taken, he would reconsider his views on sanctions.

"I think there are a lot of people who think there is nothing that South Africa can do that will ever satisfy members of the legislature like myself. That is flatly untrue," he was quoted as saying.

US Congressman Stephen Solarz and Chief M G Buthelezi after their meeting in Durban

Moves such as the release of political prisoners and an agreement to negotiate with recognised leaders, the repeal of the Group Areas Act and influx control or an acceptance of a common citizenship for all would be significant enough to bring a rethink on sanctions.

In his meeting with Mr Solarz, Chief Buthelezi said he appreciated the rising tide of American indignation.

However, disinvestment was non-issue.

"We think it is important to conduct our struggle in such a way that it won't destroy foundations for the future," he added.

The SA I would like to see

Students from Hilton College, an exclusive private school in Natal, recently asked Chief M G Buthelezi to speak to them on: The South Africa I Would Like To See.

On an evening in September he told them.

The South Africa he would like to see would be blessed with the kind of richness which comes out of diversity, he said.

South Africa would grow strong in its triumph over racialism.

The country's legislative system would value each South African citizen equally as a creation of God.

"If I look to the South Africa which I want to see, I see equality as fundamental to everything decent," he said.

"And if we value democracy as the end product of what we are striving for, then we must value democracy as a weapon to be wielded in the struggle for that which we want."

The only future worth having, he continued, was one which was based on equality. A future based on the equal sharing of the great values in civilised democracies.

A future based on the rule of law; a future based on democratic government; a future based on all things decent.

The world's greatest democratic civilisations had their roots in bloodshed and the turmoil of revolutions and warfare. Decency followed centuries of bloodletting and hatred.

Would this be the case for South Africa?

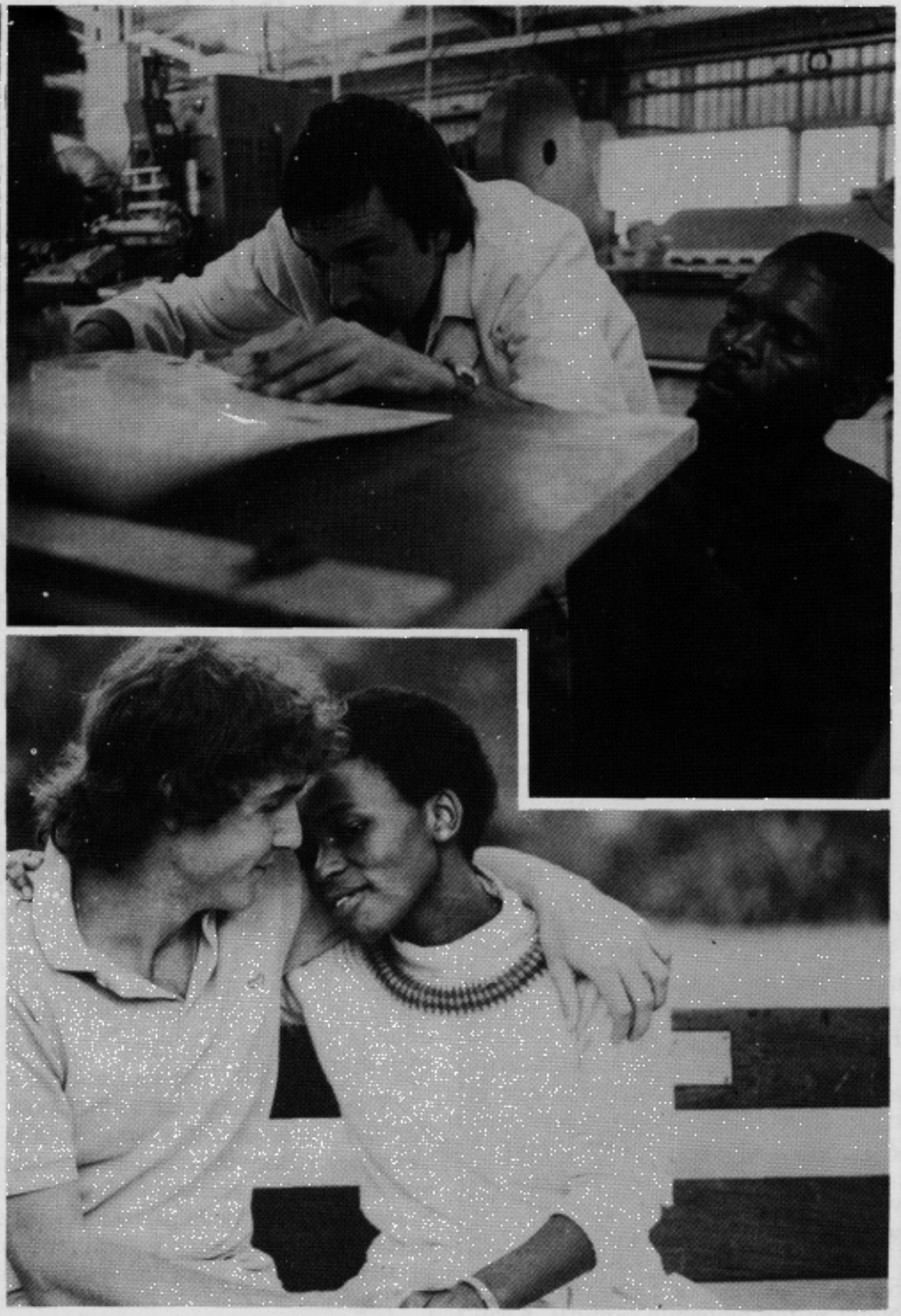
"I cry out that the answer is no, no a thousand times no. Let us one and all come to that realisation before it is too late.

"If we are going to avoid maiming and killing in the name of justice, then for God's sake let us talk about the politics of negotiation and let us talk about reaching an ultimate goal of final democratic decency through a series of compromises...

"Compromises which will take us there step by step without leaving in its wake the heritage of bitterness which comes from fighting..."

The willingness to compromise, the willingness of each to meet the other half way was crucial to the future.

To love was to tolerate. To love was to forgive. To love was to persuade and to take your brother by the hand and say: let us reason together.



"Let us talk this thing out," said Chief Buthelezi.

"Let us solve our problems without resorting to violence.

"In South Africa to love is to negotiate and you cannot love in our circumstances without both giving and taking."

The stark, austere, revolutionary mind sought to take by force. The revolutionary had stopped talking and had started dictating.

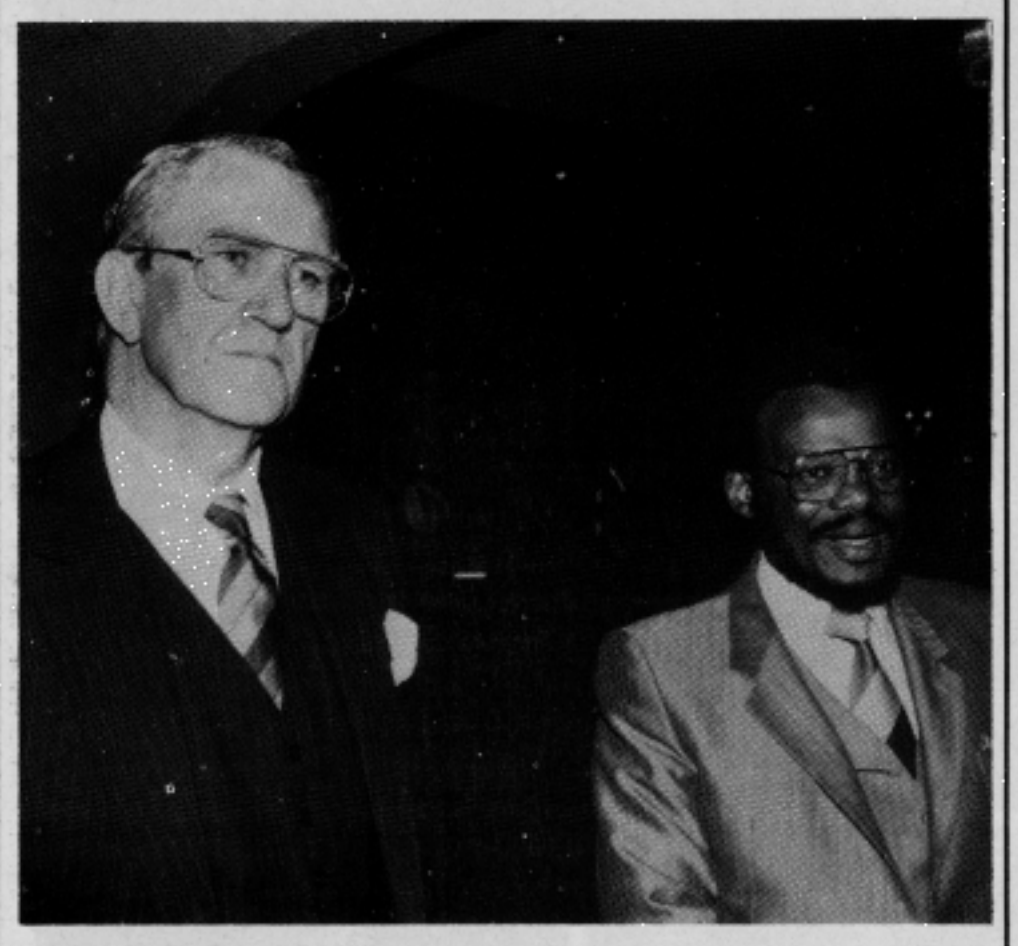
The future Chief Buthelezi said he saw was one which had been talked into existence, negotiated into existence and compromised into existence.

That process would be the very process which would join Black and White together.

"We can join that process each from our own positions," he said.

"I invite White South Africans and Black South Africans to work together for the politics of reconciliation which I am sure is God's healing formula for our divided society."

Are these the words of a moderate leader?



Mr Malcolm Fraser with Chief Buthelezi.

The former Prime Minister of Australia, Mr Malcolm Fraser, was told at a meeting in Johannesburg in September that Chief Buthelezi was often referred to in the media as a "moderate" Black leader.

Chief Buthelezi told him that he could not understand why because he asked for no less for Black South Africans than other Black leaders.

"The media frequently refers to me as a "moderate" leader and it frequently qualifies my leadership by calling me a Zulu leader and Inkatha a Zulu organisation. This is at the most polite level of distortion..."

Writers politically hostile to him went a step further and called him a "Bantustan leader" and a "tribal leader" and, even worse, a "sell-out" and somebody who was "working within the system..."

The facts were that he rejected the South African constitution and had campaigned vigorously against it. He and Inkatha had refused to participate in the State President's Black Advisory Council, the Special Cabinet Committee and Community Councils.

Chief Buthelezi said he had "served his apprenticeship" in the African National Congress under Chief Albert Luthuli and others.

It was Chief Luthuli (the Nobel Peace Prize winner) who had persuaded him to take up his hereditary position as Chief of the Buthelezi people. The Government had been vehemently opposed to him doing so and had done everything possible to make this impossible.

When he succeeded, the Government withdrew his passport and for nine years he was regarded as "a threat" and was persona non grata.

Pretoria hoisted by its own petard

The people of KwaZulu regard themselves as South Africans demanding one South Africa with one people under one government, Chief Buthelezi told Mr Fraser.

"It was the South African Government which created KwaZulu as a political arena and not the people of KwaZulu," he said.

He emphasised that, contrary to widespread misconception, KwaZulu was not the creation of apartheid.

KwaZulu existed as a sovereign State before the British occupation of Natal in the ninteenth century. KwaZulu had its origins in the Zulu kingdom which the full might of the British army defeated in 1879 at the Battle of Ulundi.

Parts of the original Zulu Kingdom had been cut off and added to the Transvaal and KwaZulu had been fragmented by apartheid.

Parts of it were now occupied as so-called White South Africa by Whites, Indians and Coloureds. However, KwaZulu as such was not a creation either of the National Party or of any White Government.

It was ironic, he added, that many of those who called him names and denigrated him because he was an hereditary and an elected leader in KwaZulu, had failed to do what he had done in the areas to which they traced their ethnic origins.

"They have failed to stop the South African Government in making the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei so-called independent States and for them now to turn to denigrating me as working within the system must be seen as malicious propaganda."

KwaZulu was the only so-called homeland where the Government had in the end to force the machinery of its homeland policy with the "full might" of the State.

"Just as it forces on the people of Soweto or Guguletu the townships and structures in which they have by sheer necessity to live..."

Because of his radical background and because of his success in mobilising the people of KwaZulu to reject the homeland policy, he was asked to lead them through "the political minefield" which had been established.

"Ever since then, I have used that same support of the people to reject apartheid and make the homeland policy unworkable.

"I have made the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly into a bastion of Black strength in opposition to apartheid. I have hoisted Pretoria with its own petard.

"The State tried everything to undermine my support and to remove me from power — even to the extent of getting the Bureau of State Security (as it was then) to mobilise opposition to me and to provide funds to establish an opposition party to me in KwaZulu/Natal.

KwaZulu was the largest so-called homeland in the country. Zulus numbered six million and, alone, they outnumbered Whites.

KwaZulu was the most politicised of the so-called homelands and had he succumbed to the tremendous pressure being exerted on him to accept the kind of quasi-independence which Pretoria was offering, the face of South African politics would be totally dif-

continued

ferent.

"We would by now already have had the State President's dreamed of constellation of South African States," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It was KwaZulu's rejection of independence which forced on the Government the necessity of rethinking their homeland policy."

He had told (Cabinet Minister) Dr Koornhof at a meeting in Ulundi that if the South Africa Government attempted to force KwaZulu to take independence at the point of a gun, KwaZulu would respond with a gun.

"I was quite prepared to lead my people into an armed defence of our South African citizenship. I have often been accused by Cabinet Ministers of sabre-rattling."

Could this political track-record be described as "moderate"?

His people did not support it as moderate and he had not got a mass following of more than one million paid-up members of Inkatha because he was a moderate.

Fraser calls for sanctions aimed at Whites

International sanctions against South Africa could be structured to hit the heart of the White community, Mr Fraser told a Press conference at the end of his brief fact-finding mission to the country.

Summing up the impression he had gained during his talks with Government and opposition leaders, Black leaders and many others — as well as scenes he had witnessed — he said his views against apartheid had been "intensified and strengthened".

He added that apartheid was a "brutally enforced system ... which denies any semblance of human dignity".

There was probably only one other regime in this century which had been as racist, he said.

Asked if he was referring to the German Nazis, he told reporters they should make their own deductions.

Mr Fraser was en route to the United Nations to serve on a commission to investigate and recommend rules for the operation of transnational companies operating in South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

Mr Fraser said that nobody wanted "blanket sanctions" but that these should be "phased and stepped" to achieve the desired result.

He believed sanctions could be so structured as to go to the heart of the White community in the Republic.

An example of this was the recent financial crisis caused by international bankers refusing to roll over short-term loans.

Mr Fraser said he felt the "sands of time were running out" for South Africa and that "drastic action" should be taken by the Government.

Tutu envisages a system of socialism in South Africa

A socialist system is the ideal that the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, envisages for South Africa.

The Nobel Peace Prize recipient was quoted in an interview in the Star of September 3 that he did not like capitalism.

He told reporter Estelle Trengrove that he believed that in the system he envisaged, there should be a bill of rights — individual rights, not group rights, protecting a specific group.

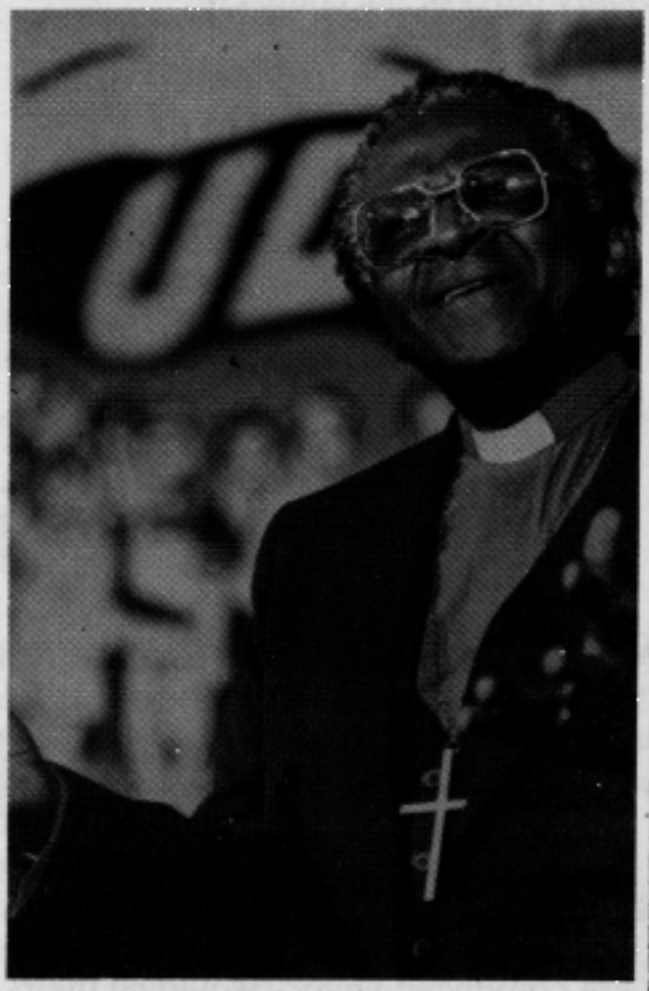
"I would prefer a system closer to socialism than to capitalism," he said.

"I don't like capitalism. I'd like a system in which you have caring, compassion, sharing..."

Turning to reports that the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, had said the time for a national convention was over, Bishop Tutu said he and Mandela shared the same dream of a future South Africa but that did not mean he supported Mandela on every point.

Referring to his threat that he would leave the country if the violence in the township against those branded as "collaborators with the system" did not stop, Bishop Tutu said:

"People must realise that was an unpremeditated remark which expressed the depth of my feeling and my abhorrence of all violence. I was trying to say to people that violence is something that discredits a worthy and noble cause."



Reform will rescue SA economy, says Howe

If the South Africans wanted to maintain the strength of their economy they would have to make political changes, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said in a recent interview.

He said Britain had no intention of becoming South Africa's "solitary protector".

He also made a distinction between punitive sanctions and "judgements of the real world and the market place".

Sir Geoffrey acknowledged the role of international pressures being brought to bear "through economic judgements on the political consequences of what is being done in South Africa".

But he again ruled out "mandatory and coercive sanctions" as an effective instrument for bringing about reform.

He said punitive sanctions would "drive the SA government in the wrong direction at the cost of damage to African interests."

Pressure and judgements of the market place, which had led to the rand crisis, could only be avoided by political changes.

"The South African government has got to get into meaningful dialogue with the Black leadership in South Africa."

Britain wanted to see fundamental changes in SA, Sir Geoffrey said.

Was Senator Kennedy listening?

Visiting South Africa earlier this year as a guest of supporters of the United Democratic Front, Senator Edward Kennedy nevertheless asked to meet with Chief M G Buthelezi.

The message given to him by Chief Buthelezi contrasted sharply to those of his hosts.

Senator Kennedy was simply told that there was no socialist magic for Africa and no communist magic which would feed the hungry and house the poor. Bishop Desmond Tutu, one of Kennedy's hosts, has stated that he favours a socialist future for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi, at a breakfast meeting in Durban, said it had been "a sobering experience" watching, over the years, grand experiments in African socialism.

He had seen just how little socialism had done for so many people in so many parts of the continent.

When he sought wisdom from Africa, and when he drew on African experience, he was cautioned by other people's experiences of revolutions striving for a socialist future.

There was, in South Africa, vast unemployment and it was Blacks who were unemployed or under-employed.

There were vast backlogs in essential services — in housing, medical care and in education. It was Blacks who suffered because of these backlogs. Rural areas were desperately over-populated.

Senator Edward Kennedy

After looking around Africa and the Third World, Chief Buthelezi said he had become convinced that the free enterprise system held out more hope for "people in our circumstances" than any other system.

"The free enterprise system goes hand in hand with democratic government and it goes hand in hand with social order based on Western industrialised values," he said.

He therefore found himself unable to commend an idealist socialist future to his people — no matter how attractive the trappings of socialism appeared to be.

Outside the hotel, hundreds of Inkatha supporters welcomed Senator Kennedy (in contrast to some other Black groups which protested against his visit) and waved banners for him to see which clearly asked for increased US investment in South Africa and clearly condemned disinvestment.

Senator Kennedy's reaction to Chief Buthelezi's remarks seemed somewhat dislocated.

After he left Durban and had arrived in Cape Town, he was reported to have said that nothing Chief Buthelezi told him had "...convinced me about the validity of the homelands system..."

This subject was not discussed at all.

After his return to the US, Senator Kennedy was also quoted as saying that the vast majority of Blacks favoured disinvestment. More than one-million members of Inkatha, the largest membership-based movement in South Africa, have rejected disinvestment as a strategy in the liberation struggle.

Culture should join people — not divide them

South Africa was "walking through one of the darkest valleys in its history" and only fools would dare predict what would happen next, Chief M G Buthelezi told a gathering of Jewish leaders in Johannesburg in September.

Speaking at the SA Zionist Federation dinner he said: "The State President dare not tell us what he thinks will or should happen next because he himself does not know."

Despite the explosive uncertainty prevailing, Black people were convinced victory would be theirs and that, in the end, they would create a "beautiful" society which would be respected in the international community.

He said his recent visit to Israel had strengthened his resolve to hold to his beliefs and to pursue his present tactics and strategies in defiance of "the forces of oppression".

Chief Buthelezi said he had often been asked whether South Africa's 120 000 Jews were not a vulnerable minority who had to be careful about what they said and who had, in political matters, "to avoid rocking the boat".

Chief Buthelezi said his own response to such cautions was a sharp reminder that South African Jews had as much right to be in the country as any other South African citizen.

There was a "deep and moving similarity" between the Zulu experience and the Jewish experience in Israel.

When the Zulus were conquered by the full might of the British army in 1879, every attempt was made to destroy the Zulu kingdom.

"We felt the onslaught in our very souls and our Zuluness rallied to keep us a people with an identity..."

Zulus, however, did not see any clash between their identity as Zulus and their identity as South Africans.

"We do not want to rob Whites of our country, or Indians, or our Coloured population of their identities.

"We do not have a kind of spiritual imperialistic ambition to convert all South Africans to being Zulu. The richness of our own cultural heritage makes us respect the identity of others.

"We empathise in fact with people who have an intense awareness of their identity. We respect Jews for remaining Jews...

"We insist that cultural heritages and historic backgrounds play a vital role in our struggle for liberation as they generate the kind of awareness of self which steels our hearts to face the trials and tribulations of struggling for peace, justice and prosperity for all."

When he looked into the future he saw the need for interlocking cultural forces complementing each other to produce a rich South Africanism — which could accomplish that which apartheid had so dismally failed to do.

Major disinvestment enquiry recommended

EEC Ministers hear various viewpoints

SA faces disaster, EEC Ministers told

— by —

Three European Foreign Ministers visiting South Africa recently heard differing viewpoints from a number of leading spokesmen.

Mr Jacques Poos (Luxemburg), Mr Giulio Andreotti (Italy), Mr Hans van den Broek (Netherlands) and Mr Willy de Clerq (European Commissioner for External Affairs), made recommendations to a European Economic Community summit meeting following their visit.

Newspaper reports say the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. Desmond Tutu and the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, told the Ministers that South African was in a state of civil war.

Disinvestment and sanctions were, they said, among the few remaining peaceful methods for bringing about meaningful change in SA.

Chief M G Buthelezi told the Ministers that the threat of sanctions had had beneficial results in SA — as had the threat of escalating violence.

"But to actually employ violence on a scale large enough to force the Government to its knees, or to actually employ disinvestment as a strategy on a scale large enough to damage the SA economy, would be absolutely disastrous," he said.

"I ask you who are Foreign Ministers to guard against Europe and North America overplaying its hand."

It had to be appreciated that Zimbabwe's biggest trading partner was South Africa — which is why the country had a Trade Mission in Johannesburg.

There were more than a million Black citizens of independent states in Southern Africa working in South Africa.

The Nkomati Accord had enabled Mozambique to trade with South Africa covertly and clandestinely.

The economies of the independent neighbouring States of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana were interwoven with the economy of South Africa.

If disinvestment took place, the citizens of these countries would suffer even more than their Black brothers and sisters and Whites in SA.

Europe, he added, should listen to mass Black opinion. They should also "observe the way our Black neighbours break every rule of the boycott and embargo game...

Europe should also think very seriously about doing an in-depth study of the interdependence of neighbouring States in Southern Africa.

"One often hears mention of interdependence but when it is looked at closely, it will be seen that there is total dependence on South Africa by neighbouring States," he said.

"The EEC should undertake a very serious and major enquiry into the effects of a successful disinvestment campaign and of the consequences of the economic isolation of South Africa."

The European Economic Community could, if it wished to, do a lot to support that which was positive in SA — and condemn that which was totally indefensible.

Chief Buthelezi told the Foreign Ministers that apartheid had to be eradicated and there had to be fundamental changes to the country's political system.

"We have to create circumstances in which there is a massive redistribution of wealth throught the distribution of equality of opportunity across racial barriers.

"Positive" action to help Blacks

Reports from Europe have indicated that the "troika" of EEC Foreign Ministers returned home from South Africa unconvinced that sanctions would help end apartheid.

As a result, the EEC (minus Britain) has imposed sanctions described as "symbolic".

The EEC intends to force its nationals doing business in South Africa to apply a rigorous code of conduct in regard to Black wages, training, promotion and social conditions.

The EEC will also offer financial aid to non-violent, anti-apartheid organisations, particularly churches.

New EEC programmes will be instituted to educate Blacks and they will be allowed to study at universities in EEC countries.

The EEC plans to intensify contacts with Blacks in the political, trade union, business, cultural, scientific and sporting sectors.

It will then institute programmes of aid to help Black states in the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) lessen their independence on South Africa — developing their own power, rail, road and shipping resources.

In addition, the EEC will seek to persuade members of its communities resident in South Africa that apartheid is wrong. Italy and Portugal, particularly, face problems in this regard.

Other EEC sanctions — the arms embargo, the oil embargo and a ban on exports of "sensitive technology" — are already in place.

The President of the EEC Council of Ministers, Mr Jacques Poos, said: "We wanted to harmonise around a set of proposals ... to endorse positive action..."

Although the EEC ministers also had talks with a delegation from the ANC Mission-in-Exile, the British government ruled out "formal contacts" with the organisation.

The UK has a consistent policy on formal contact with organisations committed to violence — whether it be the IRA, the PLO or the ANC.


City Late

Daily New

DURBAN, MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1985

ANC and UDF hiding behind mobs: Buthelezi

Inkatha patrols help bring peace to townships

Pupils return as violence subsides

These are thugs, not liberators says chief

Vigilantes out as riots spread

Inkatha groups gather to quell violence

nda rally for Inkatha and Indians

Daily News Reporters

Mercury Correspondent

Daily News Reporters

Letters, telegrams and phone calls expressing the gratitude of Blacks, Indians and Whites have been pouring into Inkatha's head office in Ulundi following the role the movement played recently in helping to restore peace to Durban's riot-torn townships.

More than 50 Indians and Blacks lost their lives and more than 1 000 were injured and lost their homes and businesses in Inanda, KwaMashu and Umlazi when politically-motivated elements began running riot. Hooligans and looters also moved in. The cost is estimated at R20-million.

Damage amounting to more than R2-million was also caused when KwaZulu Government schools, offices, sub-stations and other property were burnt down.

What started as a so-called "peaceful" boycott of classes by Black pupils following the brutal slaying of a Durban lawyer and UDF activist, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, soon plunged the townships into chaos.

When it became clear that the security forces could not control the situation, Inkatha — with thousands of its members patrolling the streets of the townships — soon restored peace by routing trouble-makers.

It managed, in some instances, to return looted goods to their owners.

Several Press reports quoted Indian and Black residents as saying that some of the rioters were definitely not from Natal as they did not speak Zulu — clearly indicating that some of the trouble-makers had been "imported" into Durban.

In a long statement deploring the outbreak of violence in the Greater Durban area, Chief Buthelezi noted that the State of Emergency in South Africa had had the effect of "scattering" those who championed violence and were intent on making the country ungovernable.

The Greater Durban area (which does not fall under the State of Emergency declared by the State President as it had not been the scene of any previous unrest) may well have provided the "greener fields that these purveyors of death and violence have been seeking..."

In a clear warning to the UDF, Chief Buthelezi said that those organisations which were attempting to make the country ungovernable, did not understand that Natal would not be "intimidated" by death and violence.

"We reserve the right to defend our persons and our property against the onslaughts which are now being mounted against us."

The Press, too, praised Inkatha's decisive action when it mobilised its members to move into the townships en masse to protect the lives and property of both Indians and Blacks.

The Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at the time that although Inkatha was a non-violent organisation it had the right to look after the safety of people.

Reactionary elements who attempted to interpret the outbreak of violence as a Black/Indian confrontation were knocked off course by Inkatha's swift action.

As the indiscriminate violence spread, a prominent UDF supporter and well-known opponent of Inkatha, Prof. Fatima Meer called for police

Smoke billows from a looted building in the Inanda area. It has been estimated that losses will amount to more than R20-million ($40 million).

Under a hail of stones, members of Inanda's Indian community pictured fleeing the area during recent unrest.

"Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation scored a major propaganda coup by appearing in the media as the "saviour" of the townships.

"When violence broke out in the townships last week, the UDF seemed unable to act...

"The UDF leadership claims that "hooligans took over the peaceful and legitimate protest of the students." But while Inkatha was able to deal with the hooligans, the UDF was not, or could not..."

— The Weekly Mail

"In the present unrest in Durban, many Indian people openly accused UDF elements of unleashing violence against them. This was so even at the Mahatma Gandhi settlement.

"They stated this weeping on television...

"Members of Inkatha have, for more than two years, been at the receiving end of violence from the UDF. The Natal chairman of the UDF, The Rev. Xundu, even attempted, unsuccessfully, to make Lamontville a 'no go' area for me..."

— Chief M G Buthelezi.

help when a mob threatened the Mahatma Gandhi Settlement in Phoenix.

She complained later that the security forces who arrived with soldiers in a Casspir did not stay long enough. The settlement was burned down later.

Prof. Meer's reaction, immediately thereafter, to Inkatha's peace-keeping efforts appears to be no less than mischievous. In one interview she slated Inkatha for acting as a "quasi-police force..." and, in another, appeared to be trying to blame Inkatha for the trouble.

Chief Buthelezi, responding to Prof. Meer, said many Indian people (some filmed sobbing on television) had openly accused UDF elements of unleashing violence against them.

The KwaZulu Government (which is run by Inkatha) had also lost millions of rands worth of property.

"She and her brother, Dr Farouk Meer, are trying to use Inkatha to cover up UDF violence ... they have developed the art of speaking from both sides of their mouths..."

Press reports came out clearly in favour of Inkatha's action.

An article in the Sunday Tribune commented: "The chances of a single KwaZulu/Natal government may have been boosted by Inkatha's powerful role during the past fortnight in restoring order to the Durban area..."

The Natal Mercury said: "...Inkatha members ... determined to bring the criminal element under control and protect homes of both Black and Indian people ... stepped in.

"Inkatha patrols helped bring peace to the townships..."

The Daily News commented: "The unrest is, as elsewhere in the country, confined to Black communities and, as Chief Buthelezi correctly points out, in no way contributes to the achievement of political rights.

"It remains for the UDF leadership to not only dissociate itself but to play a similar pacifying role. It could otherwise be thoroughly discredited..."

The Weekly Mail, in a double page analysis of Durban's riots, commented that the hardest-hit "victim" was the UDF.

"The United Democratic Front in Natal faces the toughest challenge of its two year history following the violence in Durban," said the article.

"When violence broke out in the townships last week, the UDF seemed unable to act...

"A major flaw on the local UDF — its lack of depth of African leadership — was revealed.

"The UDF claims that "hooligans took over the peaceful and legitimate protests of the students". But while Inkatha was able to deal with the hooligans, the UDF did not — or could not..."

WHAT THE PAPERS ARE SAYING

TIME

Time magazine recently took a deep and penetrating look at South Africa and presented to its readers a picture of a country hopelessly — and violently — at odds with itself.

In a display of 10 pages of text and colour pictures, it came to no conclusions but placed a strong emphasis on the likely future role to be played by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Though the lengthy reports carried interviews with a wide range of prominent South Africans, including President P W Botha, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Beyer Naude and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, they focussed more strongly on Chief Buthelezi than any — seeing him as the one leader with whom both Blacks and Whites might be able to talk.

Though noting his opposition to the armed struggle of the ANC Mission-in-Exile and that he has been called a "traitor", a "sell-out" and a "puppet", Time said that both Black and White foes of apartheid knew that without Chief Buthelezi's consent, a solution to South Africa's problems was "virtually inconceivable".

"He is pragmatic, articulate and dynamic. When Buthelezi speaks both Whites and Blacks listen, yet what he has to say pleases neither audience."

Time quoted Chief Buthelezi saying: "The forces demanding the politics of negotiation are mounting. Sooner or later the politics of negotiation will become a reality."

The article continued by saying that to many Blacks, Chief Buthelezi's message was one of compromise and negotiation and was not militant enough.

It quoted Chief Buthelezi saying: "We do not seek cheap popularity by posturing in favour of the armed struggle when we do not even have the tools to carry it out. We have not said that we Blacks may not be forced to one day take up arms. The point is that there are just no arms to take up at present."

The Sunday Star
incorporating Sunday Express
/AFRICA EDITION

. . . SPOTLIGHT ON THE BOTHA SPEECH . .

Inkatha stakes its claim for 'kwaNatal'

CHIEF BUTHELEZI . . . Government will have to take his role more seriously.

David Breier
Political Correspondent

PROPOSALS for a single kwa-Zulu-Natal government may have been boosted by Inkatha's powerful role during the past fortnight in restoring order to the Durban area.

The Government will now have to take more seriously the role of Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosothu Gatsha Buthelezi, in negotiating black political rights in South Africa.

This could be the spinoff of the Natal riots. Inkatha's power has been further consolidated after it helped to quell rioting over the past two weeks. This has placed the onus on the Government to take seriously the Buthelezi Commission plan for a single government in kwaZulu-Natal.

Inkatha has more-than a million paid-up members. Political sources say the Government will now be more anxious than ever to ensure that Inkatha's strength is never directed against it, especially as it is indebted to Inkatha for helping to curb a situation which could have escalated into uncontrollable violence.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has accepted that kwaZulu-Natal does not necessarily share the same circumstances as the rest of the country.

He has said the Government would be prepared to consider any regional dispensation proposed by the people of the region.

This week the kwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Executive Committee took further steps towards arranging joint administration for the province.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said: "There was never any doubt in our minds that Inkatha is a powerful organisation capable of exerting influence in the whole situation."

He said Inkatha was faced with a practical situation which had developed into rioting. "We had to apply our non-violent philosophy by protecting the lives and property of our members and seeing that peace was maintained. This was our main motivation."

Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha believed in non-violence just as sincerely as other organisations believed in the armed struggle.

He said that although Inkatha's only motive during the riots was to restore peace, he would regard it as "a very useful side-effect" if the organisation's political proposals received more sympathetic consideration.

Dr Dhlomo said that while Mr Heunis was prepared to examine a regional solution for kwa-Zulu-Natal, the Government was going ahead with developments which would confuse the scene.

These included the scrapping of the provincial councils and the creation of regional service councils.

He said that already the kwaZulu Cabinet had a higher status than the Natal Executive Committee in negotiations. But when the provincial councils were abolished next year, the new regional authorities would be nominated and not elected. This would mean they would have an even lower status and it would be more difficult for kwaZulu to negotiate with them.

The Star

Common ground for a convention

AT A TIME when conservative and liberal whites opposed to apartheid are searching for political muscle, a dangerous tendency exists in bodies such as the PFP's youth wing to flirt with organisations whose real ideals may be obscured by anti-apartheid rhetoric. The convenient camouflage of having a common enemy cloaks many political groups. But the time has come for those who believe in peaceful reform and orderly change to rip aside that camouflage and demand to see the bottom lines of political manifestoes.

For instance: exactly where does the United Democratic Front want to take this country? What does the African National Congress really intend with nationalisation? Is the Pan Africanist Congress still in favour of denying voting rights to whites? Does the End Conscription Campaign intend to abolish the army altogether? What sort of government would Mr Mandela fight for were he released? What would Cosas do about protecting minority rights, should it get the government it wants?

These are questions which have to be answered if apartheid is to be fought by a united front. Political parties need open manifestoes which can be critically scrutinised and publicly questioned. The Government is of course partly responsible for the secrecy and air of conspiracy which surround some organisations — the PAC, ANC and now Cosas are banned — but those who plan to join forces to destroy apartheid need to take a second look at some of their partners.

This is one reason why Dr Slabbert's call for a Convention Alliance makes sense. At a forum such as he proposes differences can be thrashed out, common ground discovered, those in favour of violence perhaps discarded by those who still insist on peaceful change. There is a third option between repression and revolution: it is real reform, negotiated at a convention. Dr Slabbert's alliance could be the first step towards this.

What South Africa needs

In an article for Clarion Call, Professor Albert P Blaustein, co-editor of the 19-volume Constitutions of the Countries of the World, writes on "South Africa's current needs" and emphasises the country's immediate priority: a new constitution. Professor Blaustein is a member of the Rutgers University Law School faculty where he teaches Constitution Writing and Analysis. He has served as counsel, consultant and sometime draftsmen of the constitutions of Liberia, Bangladesh, Peru and Zimbabwe. He is vice-president and chairman of the foreign advisory committee of the Athens-based International Centre for Constitutional Studies. Professor Blaustein has made eight trips to South Africa during which he has lectured at six SA universities.

South Africa needs a new constitution. It needs a formalized codification of political arrangements delineating power-sharing with the Black majority population. The survival of the South African nation so requires. On that there is agreement.

But agreement is absent on the specifics of that constitution and the methods to achieve it.

Of course there is no one simple solution which will resolve such disagreements. But there are many avenues of approach, gleaned from the two hundred years of constitutional history that began with the world's first national constitution, the 1787 Constitution of the United States.

These then are the immutable truths of constitution-making:

● A constitution must be autochthonous. It must be home-grown; it must spring from the soil. It must be bespoke, custom-made to meet the needs, wants and aspirations of the peoples for whom it is written. It cannot be assembled like some prefabricated hen house from standardized excerpts taken from portions of the other 162 national constitutions of the world: a chapter here, an article there, a section or clause from someplace else.

● The Government does not create the constitution; the constitution creates the government. The autochthonous constitution must be the product of its beneficiaries. Just as it cannot be dictated from abroad, so it cannot be dictated by any one population group. It cannot be handed down as the beneficiaries of the rulers that be; it cannot be imposed by an opposition clique or faction. All of the successful constitutions of the past have resulted from shared participation in the constitution-making process. That is the defect (and failure) of the current South African constitution, initiated unilaterally by the government.

● The constitution-making process is as important as the constitution which results. The procedures and methods for reaching constitutional solutions may be even more significant than the mechanics of the constitutional solutions which emerge.

The South African constitution must be discussed, analyzed, written and promulgated by South Africans for South Africans to meet the unique/peculiar circumstances of South Africa. This means:

1. The South African constitution cannot be imposed from outside — neither by well-meaning foreign liberals in America and Europe, properly opposed to apartheid, nor by the Marxist ideologues of refugee liberation groups.
2. The South African constitution must be the product of all South Africans, not just those in the white, dominant community nor Blacks who are in opposition to the present power structure.
3. South Africa must become (as soon as possible) a land of constitutional ferment — like today's Brazil. The constitution-making process must involve everyone. This is the time for surveys, studies, seminars, conferences, etc., etc., by government, universities, foundations, business and unions to promote and foster total participation.
4. South Africa must make a special effort to encourage the talents and the participation of the of the total legal community. The Rev. Martin Luther Kings of the world — including South Africa — have been heard on the moral issues and the philosophical issues. It is now the time for the lawyers to draft the constitution and legislation and (like lawyer Thurgood Marshall in 1954) plead the power-sharing cause in the courts and to the Black community.

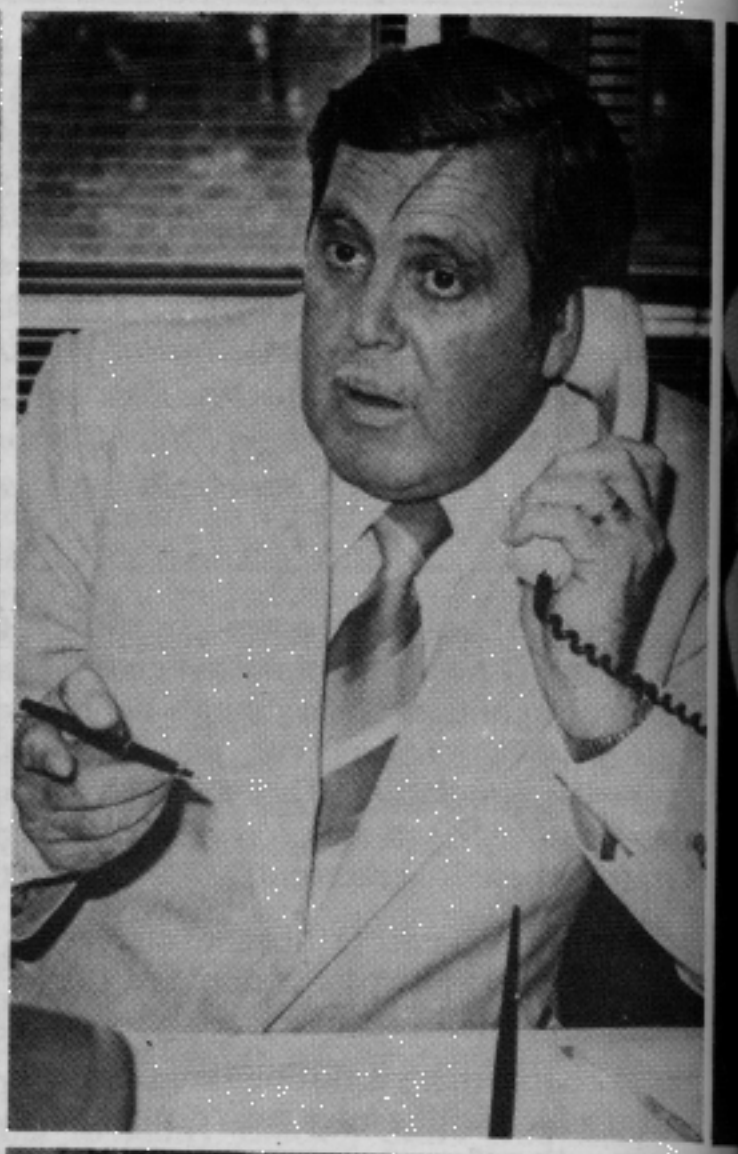
For it is even the lawyer's task to translate theories and philosophies into practical, working legal instruments. Constitution-making is lawyer business. It is lawyer business of the highest order and has been so since the days of Jefferson and Madison. South Africa has an excellent bar which includes an active Black Lawyers Association. But these lawyers need more support, more resources, more available time to pursue constitutional studies and prepare constitutional proposals.

5. South Africa must have the help of the international community. But it must be the kind of aid that South Africa needs and wants — and can use. Of course South Africa needs new ideas, suggestions and recommendations — and it needs information — but it certainly doesn't need officious intermeddlers.

South Africa needs and wants exchanges of constitutional information. Its scholars, particularly its legal scholars, black and white, need freedom now denied to them to travel to international conferences.

The participation of foreign scholars within South Africa is desired, not to tell South Africans what to do but to furnish background information and objective, impartial ideas — and to help frame the issues that must be decided by South African policy makers and South African policy makers alone. Some of these foreign scholars must come from such countries as Nigeria, which presently deny its citizens permission to travel to South Africa.

South Africa needs more constitutional law books. It needs more funding for seminars and studies. It needs more scholarships, especially for the graduate training of South Africa's Black lawyers, both in South Africa and abroad. It also needs consultations with sociologists trained in survey methods, and public information specialists who can help raise both Black and White consciousness about constitution-making.



KWAZULU/INKATHA LEADERSHIP:

Chief Minister, Minister of Economic Affairs and President of Inkatha:
CHIEF M G BUTHELEZI.

Minister of Education and Culture and Secretary-General of Inkatha:
DR O D DHLOMO.

Minister of Works and Deputy Secretary-General of Inkatha:
CHIEF S H GUMEDE.

Minister of Health and Welfare and Chairman of the Social and Cultural Committee of Inkatha:
DR F T MDLALOSE.

Minister of Justice and Chairman of the Security Committee of Inkatha:
THE REV. C J MTETWA.

Chief Whip, Legislative Assembly and Chairman of the Economic and Finance Committee of Inkatha:
MR S Z CONCO.

Minister of the Interior and Chairman of the Political, Constitutional and Legal Committee of Inkatha:
DR D R B MADIDE.

Minister of Finance:
MR H T MADONSELA.

Minister of Agriculture and Forestry:
PRINCE L DLAMINI.

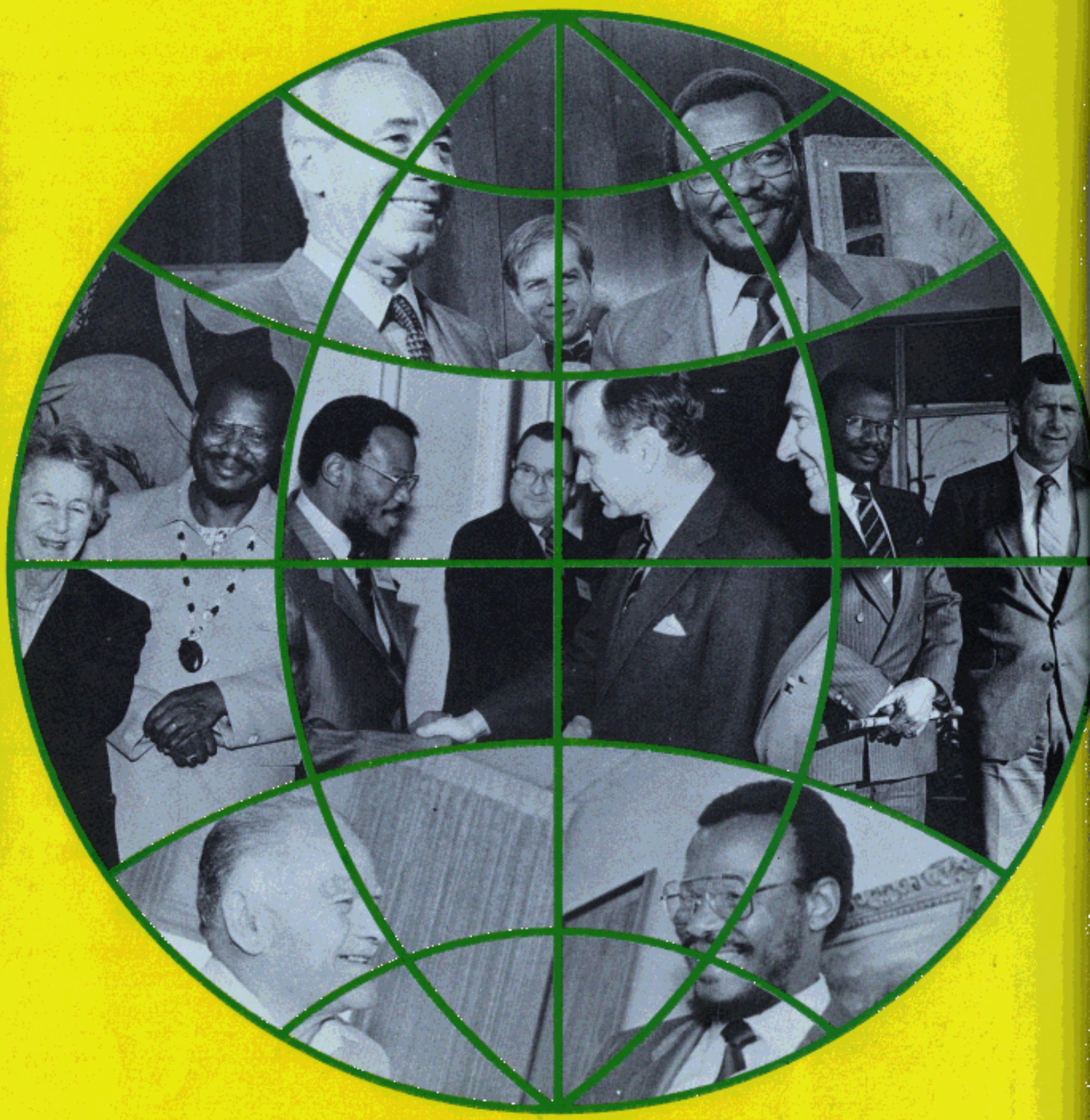
Chairman, Inkatha Women's Brigade:
MRS A MCHUNU.

Chairman, Inkatha Youth Brigade:
MR K ZONDI.

National Organiser, Inkatha Youth Brigade:
MR NTWE MAFOLE.

Pictures show Chief Buthelezi with US Vice-President Mr George Bush, Israeli Foreign Secretary Mr Yitzhak Shamir, former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser, PFP leader Mr F Van Zyl Slabbert, SA Cabinet Ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Chris Heunis and PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

INHLABAMIKHOSI



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