

. RESPONSE TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT QUESTIONNAIRE
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1. What are your views on the Government's new constitutional proposals?

I reject the new constitution in part and in whole for the following
reasons:

- 1) The constitution is binding on every South African but it has already been past by the Whites-only Parliament and a majority vote in a Whites-only referendum will ratify the steps parliament has already taken.
- 2) The new constitution makes racism a constitutional corner stone with the minority White race in the country having total social, economic and political power over 87 per cent of the country which in effect gives it total control over the whole of South Africa.
- 3) The exclusion of Blacks from participating in the process of government is a major step in the wrong direction and is a prescription for the kind of politics of confrontation which could eventually lead to a race war.
- 4) The constitution not only excludes Blacks from participating in the government of the country, but it drastically reduces the prospects of arriving at a peaceful political settlement in this country through negotiation and non-violent means.
- 5) The constitution should be rejected by all race groups on the grounds that it redirects Black politics from seeking inclusion

into an existing state to seeking to dismantle the State based, as it will be on totally unacceptable racist principles.

2. Should your Answer to question 1. be a rejection of the proposals,

please state what you regard as the five most desirable elements of a new

South African constitution

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

A new constitution should not be a radical departure from the present constitution but rather an evolution of adaptation which accommodates minority fears.

A new constitution should evolve from the devolution of provincial, regional and local structures.

African political ideals would be adequately served by the simple expediency of introducing the principle of universal adult franchise in the constitution which has served the country since 19186. â\200\230White fears make this ideal unacceptable to themselves but for the sake of the future of South Africa, devolution of powers in 3. above should be part of a broader movement towards a federal system of government.

The new constitution should move away from race determined politics because neither White, Coloured, Indian nor African parliamentary racist superiority would be acceptable to any other group. The new constitution should therefore be a working compromise in which every race group agrees to abandon its own racist aspirations.

Any constitution which will stand the test of time must include

the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unified South Africa and the only formula in which this principle can be expressed in our circumstances is within a federal formula.

6) The principles of a revised South African constitution should be compatible with a true free enterprise economic system in which equality of opportunity will over time naturally give rise to the redistribution of wealth.

3. Should your Answer to question 1. be an acceptance or partial acceptance

of the proposals, please state what other, if any, principles you wish to see

embodied in the constitution

Not applicable.

4. should your answers to questions 1 to 3 not adequately convey your views

on the structure of the future South African Government, please state in

broad terms what form of government you favour, what steps are required to

achieve it, and on what basis the vote will be accorded. What, if any,

safeguards are proposed for individuals, groups or minorities

The problem I find with questions 1 to 3 is that they assume that constitutional manipulations are a first priority in bringing about political change in this country. In this. thinking there is the danger of the constitution itself becoming an interim political measure because there is no prospect whatsoever of conceiving of a constitution which will be acceptable to the majority of all race groups. We are in this country at the moment being confused by the constitutional debate. The Government is passing off

the new constitution as a reform measure, when in fact it is no more than the

constitutionalisation of National Party ideology. Reform in this country will be difficult under any constitution and perhaps the constitution which existed up to 1983 was the kind of constitution which most favoured reform. It is probably because this is true that the Government has put future political events in a constitutional straight jacket. A return to the old constitution, accompanied by a process of negotiation for true reform would be infinitely preferable to experimentation with new political constitutions. Within the old structures, the devolution of power was possible and any reform which one could conceive of in an alternative structure could in fact have been introduced in the previous political circumstances.

The South African Government under any constitution will have to learn to treat Black South Africa as a constituency which has to be wooed in the same way as it woos White constituencies. Again, the new constitution is a move away from reform in the sense that the National Party refuses to accept Black South Africa as a constituency in the country of which the Government should take cognizance. If White racist fears are such that they support the new constitutional proposals they should be dealt with by the Government as an urgent national issue. If Whites refuse to share power with Black South Africa and they support the new constitution as one in which they do not have to do so, there is scant hope of any constitution being used as a mechanism of reform.

I believe the new constitution if accepted will be a white flight away from the prospects of future peace and stability. The Government is being deliberately foolhardy to pass the new constitution off as a mechanism of

reform and stability. No Government could have introduced far-reaching

reforms without having to grapple with real problems in the White constituency and in this regard the new constitution is a serious political underachievement by the Prime Minister. He need not have rushed at reform in the brief space of one term of office and could have gone much slower and ended up by introducing real reform in time.

5. If a majority of wWhites vote 'Yes' in the referendum, what will it mean to you; how will you react; how will your people react; what action will you take?

1. What will it mean to me?

It will mean a White negation of a life-long political endeavour of working towards a non-violent negotiated settlement in this country. It will mean to me that I and others like myself may well have no right to expect a change of White political attitudes in the foreseeable future and perhaps even in our llifetime. It will mean to me a hard re-think and a search for new ways to express my political convictions that non-violence in democratic opposition to policies you disagree with are principles of the highest political order.

2. How will you react

I will react by moving even more closer to my people and strengthening in every conceivable way the principles of democracy on which the government of KwaZulu is run and on which INKATHA is run. A 'Yes' vote will demand superlative efforts on the part of all Africans to achieve national solidarity and I will facilitate this achievement by an active enhancement of the principles of democracy in Black South Africa.

3. How will your people react?

My people will react with anger and gear themselves to be competitive in the politics of confrontation which are bound to emerge after a 'Yes' vote. My people will want to be even more closely organised than they are now and they will want the local and regional structures of INKATHA strengthened and geared up to meet the demands of political action which future circumstances will make on us. My people will want to establish real and onrking partnerships with every other Black group and organisation in the evolution of national solidarity and unity of purpose. More than ever, my people will demand a rejection of apartheid and a rejection of so-called independence for KwazZulu.

4, What action will you take?

I am a democrat and the action I will take will be that of a responsible leader responding to the demands of his constituency. If I had to forecast I would say that those demands will ever increasingly lead to the employment of Black power where it is employable. Consumer power and the power of labour readily come to mind.

6. If a majority of hhites vote 'No' in the referendum, what will it mean

to you: How will you react: How will your people react: What action will

1. |hat will it mean to me?

It will mean that I will be entitled to hope for the future and it will mean to me a rededication of myself to everything that I have stood for politically for so long.

2. How will I react?

I will react by making my Black constituency understand more fully how desperately we need constructive change and how responsibly we should go about bringing that change into being. I will undertake to respond to our political situation in a reconciliatory spirit as though this country has been favoured with a God-given reprieve from the politics of hatred and violence. I will take every opportunity available to me to galvanise Black South Africa into a supreme effort to negate any and every obstructive force in the path of reconciliation with every means at my disposal.

3. How will my people react?

My people will react in part with relief and in part with a sense of suspended belief in the future. The impact of the political developments this year has already had a marked effect on my people and it would be unrealistic of me to expect them to behave as though nothing had happened. Anger reborn will have to be dealt with. We will have to face the realities of a diminished belief in a negotiated future on the part of Black South Africa but the hard core of goodwill in Black South Africa will have been preserved and will express itself in solidarity with the positive things that

its leadership espoused.

4. What action will I take

I will set about the establishment of political dialogue on the broadest possible basis and attempt anew to diffuse White fears by involving them in reconciliatory discussions and joint planning for the future. A 'No' vote will mean that the White electorate wants the Prime Minister to return to his

constitutional drawingboards and my people will do everything in their power to create the circumstances in which his re-thinking will be productive.

; & It is accepted that you are opposed to apartheid. a) Do you favour it

being phased out over a period in stages, or b) Its eradication overnight?

I am a political realist and I am involved in constituency politics and my politics are market-place politics. As such I cannot afford to indulge in Utopian dreams. I know that liberation will not come to this country like political manna from heaven and I know full well that between now and the future that this beautiful country deserves, we have a long and difficult road to follow. Apartheid is fundamentally wrong but we as Blacks cannot impose solutions on White South Africa as the present National Party is trying to impose their solutions on us. The future must be negotiated and I believe that political decisions which pave the way to a sane and just society are rational decisions. Demands of our day and age the mean servicing of our vested interests and the protection of that which we value most for future generations will best be achieved by rational behaviour. If rationality is allowed freer reign in this country, apartheid will be phased out in due course.

8. If your answer to 7 is a) which laws would you phase out first and in

what order of importance? Â£

I would negotiate as a Black leader for the phasing out of laws which impair equality of opportunity. I would phase out laws and administrative practices which impair the access of the free enterprise system to Blacks. I would change laws which made administrative infringements punishable by

criminal offences and read together this means the abolition of influx control and pass laws, and the elimination of inequality of expenditure in the development of the country's human resources and the abolition of statutory discrimination on the social and economic levels.

9. As an elaboration of 8, state your views briefly on population

registration, pass laws, influx control, migrant worker system and the

immorality, mixed marriages and group areas act?

Population registration. All modern administrations require a population register of one kind or another and there is no valid argument against population registration, provided that it is a race-free registration.

Pass laws and influx control. I believe that the pass laws and influx control are not enforceable. The millions of Black South Africans living in slums and squatter areas around metropolitan areas prove this to be true. The hundreds of thousands of people who are thrust into jail every year for infringements of pass laws and influx control regulations are senseless acts and only serve to create the climate of hostility which militates against orderly reform.

The migrant worker system. This system must be eradicated. For as far as we can see ahead we will have migrant workers seeking opportunities wherever they can find it, and for as far as we can see it such workers will not always be able to take their families with them because of the lack of housing and other essential amenities in the areas in which they can find work. To systematise this situation and to turn unfortunate circumstances into a formal migrant worker system is politically, socially and

economically erroneous. The achievement of positive changes in this country will not be easy whatever route we take and I have no doubt whatsoever that goodwill will only be preserved if the burdens that apartheid has created are accepted as the burdens of the country at large. People living in urban areas cannot exacerbate the poverty in rural areas because they do not want to face the consequences of having worker families in urban areas. We must create the circumstances in which freedom of choice is magnified in every possible way.

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act and Group Areas Acts. These Acts should be scrubbed from the statute books in the shortest possible order. South Africa must move away from dictating whom they should love, whom they should marry and where they should live. Economic realities are harsh enough dividers of people into classes. We do not need the divisiveness of

apartheid in the intimate affairs of a man, his wife and his family.

10. what are your views on a) the formation and practice of trade unions; b)

b) on racially exclusive unions (such as the White Mineworkers Union and the

Black Media Workers Association of South Africa); c) strikes (should strikes

be outlawed or allowed only after dispute procedures have been exhausted); d)

a minimum wage?

The right of workers to associate in unions and to be involved in

collective bargaining is a fundamental right in democratic industrialised societies and provided that racism in union activity is not enjoined by law or reinforced by law, workers should be left to decide themselves how best to

develop their negotiating strength. I believe that the question of racial

divisions in trade union activity are traceable to the policy of apartheid. I do not believe you will meet the requirements of sustained and rapid industrial growth unless workers and management work together to increase productivity, and I do not believe that maximum productivity can be achieved by authoritarian managers who purport to know what is good for their workers and how best to treat them.

A healthy and strong trade union movement is I believe an essential ingredient in industrial success in circumstances such as ours. I think that in any industrialised society the strike weapon is as essential for sound management as it is for worker benefits, provided always that strikes result from worker consensus within well-defined reconciliatory procedures.

South Africa must accept that we have basically sound management practices in competition with ill-conceived managerial control in this country, and that there is only a limited extent to which either management wisdom or worker

wisdom can be induced by law.

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