

Memorandum for a discussion with Mr. Horst Teltschik,
Foreign Affairs Analyst of the Chancellor of the Federal
Republic of Germany.

I am grateful to have the opportunity for a short
discussion with the Foreign Affairs Analyst of the
elected Head of State of the Federal Republic of Germany.
I am conscious of what a privilege this is, particularly
because of the shortness of my visit to Bonn, and the
fact that the Chancellor leaves tomorrow for Peking. I am
therefore quite aware of what a hectic time this must be
for someone holding the position which you hold Sir, at
this Chancellery. I feel certain that my people, the
Blacks of South-Africa and the members of my organization,
in Inkatha will be heartened by the mere fact that I was

afforded this opportunity to exchange views with you.

When the then Prime Minister of South-Africa, Mr. P. W. Botha
(now State President) visited some of the capitals of the
West early this year, which included Bonn, I stated in
London, and in South-Africa, contrary to popular feeling,
that the Heads of State in Europe such as the Chancellor

of the Federal Republic of Germany had no choice but to
receive Mr. Botha. I stated that quite apart from the fact
that South-Africa is a sovereign state which is recognized
as such by the International Community, I felt that the
Heads of State in the West had no choice but to receive

him after Mr. Botha had met Heads of State in Africa,

such as President Machel and President Kaunda and after
those meetings had also been endorsed by the frontline
Presidents and the OAU. I further sent a memorandum to Bonn
and to other capitals which Mr. Botha was due to visit in
which I put down certain questions which I felt had to be
put to him during such a visit. I was grateful to learn that
the memorandum I sent, was received here, and in London

before Mr. Botha visited Europe.

The situation in South-Africa has not changed much since

that visit except that Mr. P. W. Botha has now implemented his new Tri-Cameral Parliamentary System in which the

white minority has coopted other minority groups, the Coloureds and Indians to participate with them in decision-making. We Africans constituting as we do seventy-two percent of the population have been excluded. There is an illusion in some of the capitals of the West that is nevertheless

a step in the right direction. I wish to state that to regard this new political dispensation in South-Africa

as the first step in the right direction is a gross error

of judgement. In the first place this Constitution enshrines racism into the Constitution of South-Africa. The old Constitution which was a Westminster type of Constitution could not be faulted as it stood, except that we the Blacks were denied the vote that would have enabled us to participate

in decision-making with the Whites who monopolized political decision-making as is the case today. The Constitution gives complete political control over 87 % of the surface area

of South-Africa to Whites, Coloureds and Indians and over the entire wealth of the country. We Blacks rejected the

present Constitution in totol!

We have been heartened by the fact that we have so far not heard any approving noises from Bonn such as we heard

emanating from some of the capitals of the West.

During a Referendum held last year to get approval of the present Constitution from the white electorate, I warned that this formula was a recipe for violence. The Prime Minister P.W. Botha deliberately twisted my warning as a threat and publicly warned me not to try to unleash violence as if I was in fact threatening to do so, when I merely predicted what I felt would follow the implementation of

such a Constitution.

As has happened during the elections which we held in

both the Coloured and Indian Communities, there have been outbreaks of violence. There is great tension in South-Africa, and some people have seized this time of great tension to unleash acts of violence, even though these are so far

on a sporadic basis.

I am extremely concerned for the future of South-Africa.

I am the leader of Inkatha, a non-violent liberation movement, which today has members who are close to a million.

I fear that if more Blacks lose hope, this might pull

the rug from under the feet of leaders such as myself,

and force more Blacks to indulge in desperate acts of self-lacerating violence which is now taking place in certain

parts of South-Africa. This necessitates more moral, material and diplomatic aid to those of us who are waging a non-violent struggle in South-Africa. Yesterday I thanked

Dr. Volkmar Kähler, the Under-Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation for the humanitarian assistance which we have received in Kwazulu from the German War on Hunger and from the Consulate after our people suffered such great devastation as a result of the two cyclones which hit us early this year. We were rather amazed that spokesmen for both SWAPO and External Mission of ANC attacked the

German War on Hunger for this kind of humanitarian assistance, to the victims of the cyclones. I have never suggested even once that any liberation movements which are operating in exile should be denied any humanitarian aid. I have in fact thanked Heads of State in Africa that I have visited in the last decade for giving our brothers in exile such diplomatic, material and moral support, which they have given to them.

I have done so even in spite of the fact that I do not accept the strategy of violence which the organizations in exile

have opted for.

In this difficult time when there is such despondency in the black community as a result of African exclusion in the new political dispensation, we need more and more diplomatic material and moral support from the West, if the West would like to strengthen our arm as we strive

to bring about fundamental changes in South-Africa through non-violent means. I regard my being received here, at the Chancellory as the kind of moral support which is bound

to encourage those who follow me in my efforts to bring

about change in South-Africa through non-violent means.

Because the road ahead is so long and so hard, the more necessary it is that we who pursue non-violence as a strategy should not be made to feel alone by being denied the support

I have referred to in my remarks.

I believe that Germany can make a great contribution towards change by exerting diplomatic pressures on South-Africa, while not isolating South-Africa all together in such a

way that she finds an excuse for continuing to be the international rogue elephant, which runs amok in the whole sub-continent of Southern Africa. This is my message which I will be grateful if it can be conveyed to the Chancellor

of the Republic of West Germany's clout in the international community is such that any example she sets in this direction is bound to be emulated by many other countries in the West. This puts a great responsibility on Germany. Our expectations for Germany are enormous as is commensurate with the influence

which Germany wields in the west.

We believe that the problems of South-Africa will be resolved in South-Africa by both black and white South-Africans. But the process can be unnecessarily painful and costly

depending on the extent to which the West fails us, in denying

us material, moral and diplomatic support within the borders of South-Africa.

I say these things well aware that black disunity in South-Africa has given borrowed time to our oppression.

This I am afraid is the problem which has plagued the whole of Southern Africa both before and after some of the countries of Southern Africa have achieved their political emancipation.

Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi

President of INKATHA

Chief Minister of Kwazulu

and

Chairman of the South-African Black Alliance

The Chancellery

Bonn

5 October, 1984