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â\200\230Black South Afrlcan choices are -  
becoming more stark byâ\200\230che day e

wLby Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

The following remarks were delivered on the occasion of a meeting with the Danish Center Democratic parliamentary group by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, chief minister Kwazulu, president of Inkatha, the moderate South African liberation movement, and chairman, the South African Black Alliance, in Copenhagen on Jan. 22, 1986.

I am very pleased to have been afforded the opportunity of addressing you here on this occasion. I have passed through Denmark in the past on visits to other Scandinavian countries, but this is in fact the first time that I have specifically come to your country. I have had to travel fairly extensively in recent times to North America, Britain, Europe, and Israel,

and Denmark has always been a place where I'would like to

- have. gone.

. Black South Africans know that the Scandinavian countries generally are a place where there is great sympathy for

\_our cause. The South African struggle for liberation has been

along, hard, grinding struggle against terrible adversity, and we have always been encouraged by the fact that in Scandinavia there are a great many who sympathize with us in our suffering.

Scandinavians, as people elsewhere in the world, are confronted with very conflicting views expressed by Black South Africans about the situation in our country, and wherever I have traveled in the West, I find that people are confused about our situation, because somehow they anticipate a suffering people to be bonded together in their suffering and to speak with one voice about central issues. They forget that Black South Africans are human beings and behave as human beings the world over Y .

Long history of struggle

... It was as long ago as 1910 that Black South Africans were excluded from my country's parliamentary process. For generations, Black South Africans have been struggling against racist oppression and as the decades rolled by, our oppression deepened and successive South African governments took on i 9

ever increasing powers to maintain White supremacy. When the National Party came to power in 1948, there was a phenomenal growth of oppressive measures, and now in South Africa, there are truly terrible draconian laws available to the government to enact its will against the wishes of the majority of the people of the country:

Ours is a very long history of struggling against terrible discrimination. For many decades after we were excluded from the parliamentary process, we struggled in isolation. The Western industrialized nations of the world themselves were either colonialists or accepted colonialism as inevitable in the order of things. It was only in the sixties that the international community began sensing the urgency which

During these many long decades, Blacks who demanded even minimal recognition as human beings with civic rights, were regarded as enemies of the State and were dealt with accordingly. Every tactic and strategy adopted failed to bring about change, until in the end, after the National Party took over in 1948, a great deal of confusion began reigning in Black politics. There never has been an easy solution to the South African problem and there is not now an easy solution to our problems. Faced with very difficult circumstances, which endured for generations, Black South Africans began disputing with each other how best to go about liberating their country. It is the very intensity with which Blacks demand the liberation of their country, which leads to views and counter-views being argued so vehemently. Ours is not the task of deciding which government policy we should

where politics' takes place within the framework of the acceptance of the kind of society in which people live. Ours is

the politics which has to create a democracy where ademoc- =

200\234and death issues. Europeans should accept that in tbcsc cir-  
" cumstances, where there is no blueprint, and where therc o  
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expect Black South Africans all to talk with one voice.  
. There is vast agreement amongst Black South Africans

that we want an open, race-free democracy, where there is

equality of opportunity for all, and where each is entitled with the other to pursue his or her life and to improve his or her lot as he or she desires to do so. There is a vast yearning for freedom and in this yearning, Black South Africans are bonded together. Across the broad spectrum of Black South African opinion, there is very considerable consensus that apartheid must be abolished for the scourge that it is; that the present constitution of the country must be rejected in part and in whole; and that any attempt to perpetuate racism by enshrining it in the constitution, which the ruling National Party has now done, must be resisted with all the means at our disposal. Over the generations, very considerable consensus has evolved that we do not want to exchange White oppressors for Black oppressors, and everywhere among ordinary South Africans there is a deep repugnance for racism.

It is about the means of bringing about change that dis-

putes run so deep in Black South Africa. Every politician in

the Western world knows that the pursuit of tactics and strategies in difficult circumstances involves one in the politics of

gathering support for particular tactics and strategies in opposition to support for conflicting tactics and strategies.

In South Africa today, there is a fierce battle of minds going on, for Black South African support for the polar opposites of bringing about change through violence or bringing about change through the politics of negotiation and the utilization of non-violent tactics and strategies.

The Black South African political scene has, since the introduction of the new constitution in 1984 taken on a new

dimension. Prior to 1984, Black South Africans could strive

for inclusion in an existing parliament and in the existing institutionalized life of our country. Now we are faced with the need to strive, not for inclusion in the parliamentary system we accept, but for the rewriting of the very constitution of the land of our birth. This has radicalized politics, and the new constitution has dramatized differences of opinion about the kind of constitution we should end up with.

There is a great dividing line in Black South Africa between Blacks, on the one hand, who seek to further the politics of negotiation to produce the kind of national consensus which would result in a modern industrialized democracy which would take up its rightful place in the Western hemisphere of interests; and on the other hand, those who are committed now to the violent overthrow of the South African

government, and adopt tactics and strategies aimed at reduc-

ing the country to chaos and ungovernability.  
Black South African choices are becoming dramatically

more stark by the day. We have to choose between tactics  
and strategies which will result in national reconciliation,  
while yet we struggle to bring about the liberation of our

country with tactics and strategies which will consolidate the

Fm February 7 1986

For as far as we can see ahead, the  
economic growth in South Africa  
will be entirely dependent on the  
continued inflow of capital,  
technology and managerial skills  
from the highly industrialized  
Western world. We need to create  
jobs, and whatever government  
rules South Africa, we need to  
create national wealth which will  
enable the government of the day  
to wipe out the backlogs and to  
wipe out mass poverty, ignorance,  
and disease.

power of the Black masses and achieve victories, regardless

of whether or not those victories are victories against Whites  
or with Whites.

+ An outline of Inkatha's position

I would like simply to give you an outline of Inkatha's  
position in the Black struggle for liberation. Inkatha is the  
largest Black political movement ever to have emerged in the  
history of South Africa. Inkatha has now over one million  
card-carrying paid-up members. No Black leader has ever  
gathered the constituency support in Black South Africa which  
I today enjoy. This massive membership of Inkatha is domi-  
nated numerically by peasants and workers. It has branches  
scattered across the length and breadth of the country, and it  
is as representative of Blacks in urban areas as it is of Blacks

in rural areas. It is as representative of the old as it is of the  
young. Inkatha's Youth Brigade is the largest youth organi-  
zation ever to have emerged in the history of the country. Its  
Women's Brigade is the largest women's brigade ever to have  
emerged in the history of the country.- ;

Inkatha is intensely democratic. Its supreme authority is  
the Annual General Conference, where policies are deter-  
mined and where tactics and strategies are accepted and re-

jected. Inkatha's leadership is elected by its ordinary mem-  
bers. At branch, regional, and national levels, Inkatha's rep-

resentatives are chosen by the people, and its Annual General  
Conference is a conference of representatives chosen to be

there by the people. I never speak for myself on public issues.  
Ireflect only that which Inkathaâ\200\231s membership has endorsed.

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: thc solld endorscmnt oflnkatha T :'":-":. ikt '3

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B e:ty. ignorance; and disease. \* -~ .

The point [ am making, is that when Black South Africans  
- are given the freedom to choose and are given democratic  
" machinery through which to exercise their choices, and  
through which to determine tactics and strategies in the Black  
struggle for liberation, choices are made which make a mock-  
ery of the media representation of South Africa.

Inkatha's mass membership has been drawn to it primar-  
ily by two factors. One is the democratic nature of Inkatha.  
Ordinary Black people know that it is their organization.  
They know that it is an organization where the general mem-  
bership determines tactics and strategies and in which the  
leaders are appointed by the people. They are also attracted  
to Inkatha in their masses, because Inkatha's aims and objec-  
tives meet with their approval, and our tactics and strategies  
are tactics and strategies which ordinary people believe in the  
end will win. ) z

Inkatha has read the lessons of history in Africa and  
elsewhere, and we know that the way a country sets about  
liberating itself, determines the kind of country which comes  
into existence after liberation. Inkatha has the advantage of  
being an organization in the last country on the African con-  
tinent to throw off racist domination. The lessons that are  
there for us to learn as South Africans all combine to teach  
us that it is far easier to produce an empty victory after which  
people remain in terrible want, than it is to produce a victory  
which results in a better way of life for ordinary people.

We face the realities of a Black population growing at  
something like 3% per annum, which has produced a huge  
population bulge now moving towards the market place.  
Over 50% of all Black South Africans are 15 years old and  
younger. This statistic has very far-reaching consequences  
for us, which are pertinent to the manner in which we liberate  
our country. For us it would be suicidal to destroy the South  
African economy" in the process of liberating our country  
from racism. The truly horrendous vast backlogs that exist in  
Black housing, education facilities, and health and welfare  
services, demand that we flee from purely ideological moti-  
vations and seek to keep our feet on the ground of reality. I  
do not make an ideological statement when I say that the free  
enterprise system is the most efficient system which mankind  
has devised with which to translate natural resources into  
human wealth. That is not an ideological statement because  
I have never argued that it is a universal truth. It is simply a  
pragmatic statement about our own circumstances.

For as far as we can see ahead, the economic growth in  
South Africa will be entirely dependent on the continued  
inflow of capital, technology, and managerial skills from the

highly industrialized Western world. We need to create jobs, .  
and whatever government rules South Africa, we need to create

national wealth which will enable the government of  
the day to work on the backlogs and to put mass pov-  
erity behind us.

For us, the struggle for liberation must therefore be done

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inated by the politics of reconciliation. South Africa will only

â\200\234survive the future if it makes a truly national effort to make

life worthwhile for ordinary people. That is what politics is all about for me. I am committed to ordinary people. I am committed to the victims of apartheid. X am committed to the poorest of the poor. ~

For me it is absolutely imperative that the process of

.liberannng South Africa should be a process of uniting the - people. That is one of the pertinent reasons why I rule out

bringing about radical change through violence; and what is more, there is still no reason to believe that we cannot bring about radical change through the politics of negotiation and non-violent tactics and strategiÃ@s.

The politics of reconciliation

Apartheid set out to balkanize South Africa into separate Black and White states, but White survival meant the ever-increasing incorporation of Blacks into the economic life of the country. Today Whites are totally dependent on Blacks for their very survival, and the vertical mobility of Blacks

. through society resulting from their economic incorporation,

has given Blacks immense bargaining powers. For me the politics of reconciliation demands that we make every effort to translate economic interdependence into political interdependence.

The threat of escalating violence and the threat of the international isolation of South Africa has always played a positive role in the struggle for liberation in my country. Scandinavians have a long track record of making their contribution to these threats. It would, in my opinion, be tragic if the West now overplayed its hand. The actuality of violence much beyond the levels which already exist in South Africa, and the actuality of the economic isolation of South Africa, would in my opinion be extremely counter-productive. There are in South. Africa already Blacks who are adopting a scorched-earth policy to bring about radical change, and who are committed to the destruction of the economy and to making the country ungovernable through violence on our streets. They in turn are inviting a scorched-earth policy from the government. We who know our government, know that they are quite capable of doing just this, and they most certainlyâ\200\235 have the means of doing so. White South Africans cannot be battered into being democrats, and the continued upward spiraling of the levels of violence in our society, both from the State and from those who oppose the State, will result

â\200\230finally in a race warand in the production of a Beirut situation - in which there will be no winners.. South Africa has not yet

witnessed anything but a small proportion of the total brutality which White racism could mount. Thmgs are dangerously pmsed and right now there is a very: urgent need for the Western world to support Black forces working fornational |

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7< President Botha reaffirmed the â\200\234governmentâ\200\231s Wt-

i Botha announces steps ' tation of this process, the South African Presiden stated,  
| to abolll'sh aparthel'd general pSlicy fox: all communities. Â» President Botha also  
communities in this reform process.â\200\235

On Jan. 31, 1986, P. W. Botha, President of the Republic of â\200\230  
South Africa, announced major steps by his government to Principles of constitutional] refor  
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i abolish the apartheid system bequeathed lo South Africa by It the section of his speech d  
evoted to â\200\234constitutional  
Wl British colonialism, including abolition of the hated pass rcformns,"PresidcntBotha set  
forth the principles upon which  
laws. In a speech opening parliament ip Capetown, President his actions to abolish aparthei  
d are based:  
Botha declared that South Africa has outgrown the outdated :  
colonial system of Paternalism as well as the outdated concept Â@ â\200\234We accept one ci  
tizenship for a]] South Africans,  
of apartheid.â\200\235 â\200\230 implying equal treatment and opportunities,  
Â\$Â\$j Botha announced a series of constitutional reforms based Â@ â\200\234We believe that  
human dignity, life, liberty, and  
f on the concept of â\200\234an individual Republic of South Africa property of all must be  
protected, regardless of color, race,  
| where all regions and Communities within jts boundaries creed or religion, '  
it form part of the South African State, with the right to partic- -Â@ â\200\234We believe  
in the sovereignty of the Jaw as the basis  
â\200\231 ipate in institutions to be negotiated collectively.â\200\235 for the protection  
of the fundameta] rights of individuals as  
il â\200\234The peoples of the Republic of South Africa form one well as groups. We believe  
in the sanctity and indivisibility  
I nation,â\200\235 Botha stated in motivating the bold measures his of law and the Just app  
lication thereof.  
Â¥ government will now implement. â\200\234Byt our nation is a nation Â@ â\200\234We believ  
e that a democratic system of government,  
| of minorities. Given the multicultural nature of South African which must accommodate all  
legitimate political aspirations  
28 society, this of necessity implies participation by a) com- of all South African communi  
ties, must be negotiated.  
| munities and the sharing of Power between these communj- Â@ â\200\234All South Africans m  
ust be placed in a Pposition where  
| ties but also the devolution of Power as far as possible and they can participate in gove  
rnment through their elected rep-  
I the protection of minority rights, without one group domi- resentatives.â\200\235  
| nating the other.â\200\235 i Concerning Southern Africa; he said: â\200\234We affirm our  
: Among the measures President Botha outlined to imple- continued commitment to peaceful in  
ternationaj coexistence  
ment the abolition of the apartheid system are the following: through cooperation and negot  
iation, This applies to a]] na- |

who reside permanently in the Republic of South Africa, but region as long as countries knowingly harbor terrorists who ,

r who forfeited their Citizenship as a result of the conditions of plan to execute acts of terror against a neighboring state » ?

{ independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana. Venda, and On South West Africa, he said, â\200\234the Republic of South

Ciskei. : Africa remains Prepared to implement resolution 435 provid-

Â® â\200\234The amendment of the immigration selection policy ed agreement can be reached on Cuban withdrawal from

by repealing discriminatory preference provisions, Angola. Only then will the Republic of South Africa reduce

Â® â\200\234The drafting of legislation to remove existing influx its troops in terms of the agreed arrangements. In this area

control measures which apply to South African citizens in lasting peace and freedom can only prevail if terrorism gives

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