

Friday, February 12, 1982



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

Buthelezi says he's willing to address Nats

By NEVILLE FRANSMAN
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cal organization, "so that you may address the people there and hear for yourself what they say".

In turn, Chief Buthelezi said, he would be willing to address National Party congresses this year on the subject of the need for constitutional reform.

The KwaZulu chief minister, who is also president of Inkatha, and members of his cabinet met Dr Koornhof in Cape Town yesterday to discuss improvement of co-operation between the government and the black people of South Africa.

Cabinet

In an interview after the three-hour talks, Chief Buthelezi said Dr Koornhof's reaction was that the feasibility of attending an Inkatha or National Party congress was a question, which did not rest with him (Dr Koornhof) but with the South African Cabinet.

Earlier, in a strongly-worded memorandum to Dr Koornhof, Chief Buthelezi once more laid his reputation and credibility with black South Africans on the line by saying he was "prepared to risk a great deal to bring about co-operation".

He said: "I offer my full support to you in anything you can do to bring the white community to the point where my compromises are politically productive. As things now stand, I reap a whirlwind of abuse for compromising, but no real reward other than the knowledge that the door to a negotiated future has not yet been finally slammed in my face."

Proposals

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"We need to co-operate before I do this to ensure that we do not lay something before the people which would be rejected by them."

Chief Buthelezi said the government, acting on a mandate from whites and reporting back to whites, would never succeed without the co-operation of blacks. The only thing whites could achieve in a future without blacks was a "scorched earth". Blacks, on the other hand, needed the active co-operation of whites.

Meanwhile, he felt aggrieved that he had been repeatedly rebuffed in his striving for co-operation and development and felt that his demands in the past "were for the decent and the feasible".

Asked what the outcome of yesterday's meeting with Dr Koornhof was, Chief Buthelezi said further "informal" meetings had been encouraged.

Buthelezi warns on credibility

THE CAPE TIMES FRIDAY FEBRUARY 12, 1982
By NEVILLE FRANSMAN

THE Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has warned that if his negotiations with the government did not show tangible results, his credibility would become suspect.

In talks in Cape Town yesterday with Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, he pledged his full co-operation and reiterated his "total preparedness to bear the brunt of all criticism and to withstand harsh denigration in order to forge a future through non-violent means".

But Chief Buthelezi warned: "I also reiterate my dedication to my people that no matter how much I abhor violence, in the final analysis I will not betray their trust in me, which demands that I work for equality for all in a shared future with whatever means are available to me at any given time."

He added he was "aggrieved" at being unable to go to his constituencies and report successes through co-operation.

Chief Buthelezi said: "I repeat today my desperate concern to do something in co-operation with the government while we have the limited time at our disposal."

"I quite believe the Prime Minister when in Parliament last week he said terrible consequences would follow the use of violence in South Africa. I believe violence in South Africa is coming unless we do something about it."

The Kwazulu leader said it was not in his nature to make empty threats, and he was not stampeded by the left or right. "I am my own political man and I walk along the corridors of history knowing I have a job to do and I am going to do it," he said.

There were those who branded him as a "collaborator" but it did not bother him as his people's support was concrete. But disappointments over the President's Council and other disappointments, including the declaration by the Prime Minister that he would stick "through thick and thin to classical apartheid" had the effect of "removing the carpet from under my feet".

Chief Buthelezi expressed the hope that during the present session of Parliament he would become convinced there was reason for him to warrant his giving the government his co-operation.

Buthlezi says he's willing to address Nats

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Chief Gatsha Buthlezi

'I will not betray my people's trust'

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Chief Gatsha's invitation

Cape Times 15 Feb 82

CHIEF Gatsha Buthlezi has issued a unique invitation to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof. Come and address the annual congress of Inkatha (the Zulu political organization), says Chief Buthlezi. Then listen to what Inkatha members themselves have to say. In return, the leader of the Zulus is willing to address National Party congresses this year on the need for constitutional reform. We have no doubt that such reciprocal exercises in communication would be like a breath of fresh air blowing not only through stuffy congress halls but through dust-laden minds. Zulus and Afrikaners have a lot to learn from one another politically. What better way than a bit of congressional cross-pollination! Chief Buthlezi and Dr Koornhof probably have by now a good understanding of each other's problems. But their exposure to each other's rank-and-file following could give them a new perspective on the pressures to which each is subject. Each could help, also, in easing those pressures by their face-to-face meetings with delegates of diametrically-opposed political persuasions.

Dr Koornhof's response to Chief Buthlezi's invitation has been to point out that its acceptance or rejection rests with the entire South African cabinet. One hopes that the cabinet has the nerve to respond positively. It hasn't done much yet to boost Chief Buthlezi's credibility with his own people, many of whom accuse him of being too soft in his dealings with the government. In his own words, he "reaps a whirlwind of abuse for compromising", but has little tangible to show for such co-operation. The presence of Dr Koornhof at an Inkatha congress, and that of Chief Buthlezi at a Nationalist one, would indicate at least to a restive Zulu people that some sort of accord with the government through non-violent means (Chief Buthlezi's most constantly-expressed hope) was still a possibility. It might also convince Nationalist congress-goers that the largest single black people in South Africa cannot be fobbed off indefinitely with the argument that a homeland, irrespective of its degree of self-rule, is an acceptable substitute for full South African citizenship and equal political rights.

Cry of the moderates

Argus 12 Feb 82

CHIEF Gatsha Buthlezi is not only Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, the country's largest black political movement, but also chairman of the Black Alliance, which includes the largest coloured and Indian political parties.

There probably was, therefore, a credible reflection of the views of moderate leaders of colour in his observation after talks yesterday with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, that 'as things now stand,

I reap a whirlwind of abuse for compromising, but no real reward other than the knowledge that the door to a negotiated future has not been finally slammed in my face'.

With Parliament now in its first 'long' session since the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, won his mandate from the white electorate, Chief Buthlezi's remarks should be a spur to action to those legislators who claim to seek a rapport with moderate black, coloured and Indian leaders.

How strong is the ANC?

THE Rabie Commission's acceptance of evidence that support for the outlawed African National Congress is confined to a "very small minority" of blacks may be comforting to whites, but the evidence referred to conflicts with some of the commission's own observations.

In its earlier attempt to assess the extent of popular sympathy for ANC insurgents, the commission, which investigated security legislation, concedes frankly that it does not really know how much support the ANC enjoys among blacks.

After describing the mass funerals in Soweto of the three ANC gunmen who were killed at the Silverton siege of January 1980, the commission refers to news reports that the men were given a heroes' burial and regarded as "freedom fighters".

Sechaba

It cautions that not all people who attended the funeral can be assumed to be ANC supporters, but then goes on to say: "These events appear nevertheless to indicate that ANC actions, even violent perpetrations, are seen by many people in a sympathetic light." (Italics added).

In a later reference to the funeral in Soweto in June 1980 of the veteran ANC leader, Mrs Lilian Ngoyi, the commission quotes an article on the funeral in Sechaba, the ANC journal, noting that Mrs Ngoyi's coffin was draped in ANC colours and ANC "freedom songs" were sung.

After quoting Sechaba's statement that the funeral "re-affirmed" that the ANC is "rooted in the masses," the commission then makes what appears to be a frank admission.

"Occasions like the funeral just referred to show that the ANC enjoys support in the black community, but how much, or how general that support is — and what grounds there are for the ANC view just quoted — is a question to which the commission, on the information before it, has no clear answer."

Some 10 pages later, however, the commission seems to come to a different conclusion. It says:

"It was said in evidence before us that those in the black community that have pro-ANC sentiments, and

PATRICK LAUR-
ENCE assesses
the Rabie Com-
mission's conclu-
sions on the
standing of the
African National
Congress in the
black
community.

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particularly those who approve of ANC acts of violence, form a very small minority of the community, and that their influence must not be over-estimated. (Italics added).

"The commission is prepared to accept the evidence that those who harbour such sentiments form a very small minority in the black community, but at the same time there is considerable evidence that they are not so small that they can be ignored in any way when the situation is judged from the security point of view?" (Italics added).

While appearing to be neat and final, the commission's conclusion poses a major, if unanswerable, question: What is a very small minority which is not so small?

The commission does not identify the persons whose evidence it refers to in the above paragraphs.

But, judging from the list of people and institutions who gave evidence to the commission, they almost certainly came from those members of the Security Police, the Defence Force and the Department of National Intelligence who testified before the commission, as well as from conservative blacks serving on the community councils, including Mr David Thebehali, of the Soweto Council.

To what extent would the evidence have been altered if the commission heard evidence from, say, Dr Nihato Motlana, of the Soweto Committee of 10, Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the South African Council of Churches and Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, of the University of Natal, who has made several in-depth studies of black opinion.

Mr Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of a new study on "black resistance politics," is unimpressed by the commission's acceptance of evidence that the ANC has support from only a small minority of blacks.



OLIVER TAMBO
ANC leader

Mr Lodge says: "The Rabie Commission asserts that support for the ANC is limited to a small minority, apparently on the basis of police estimates. But the police were wrong in 1976 and they could be wrong again." He then refers to the findings of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the unrest of 1976-1977.

Mr Justice Cillie implicitly but unmistakably criticises the police for their "lack of knowledge" of what black scholars were planning in Soweto in the days immediately before the outbreak of unrest and for their "unpreparedness" on how to deal with it.

The judge notes in an earlier comment: "Clear signs of brewing unrest during the last few weeks before the eruption were ignored... the police did not realise the significance of all these portents."

Mr Lodge concludes in his own study: "In the five years which have elapsed since the Soweto uprising, the ANC has re-emerged as the political group with probably the greatest popular support within the townships."

He backs his assessment, in part, with the findings of a survey commissioned by The Star, which found that the ANC would draw most support from urban blacks if it were free to participate in a parliamentary election. The survey found the ANC would capture 40 percent of the black votes against 20 percent for its nearest rival, Inkatha.

In 1977 the authoritative Bergstraesser Institute survey, on which Professor Schlemmer worked, found that ANC leaders attracted 21.7 percent of black support and that 43.3 percent went to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of Inkatha.

Follow up surveys, published in a postscript to the English translation of the Bergstraesser study, show that ANC support stood firmly at about 20 percent and that it rose relative to Chief Buthelezi (except among the Zulu) and that it seemed to be more deeply rooted than either Dr Motlana's or

Bishop Tutu's.

The increased support for the ANC tallies with the findings of independent research, including that of Professor Schlemmer for the Buthelezi Commission.

In a recent address Prof Schlemmer notes: "Nearly 50 percent of black people in Natal, rural and urban, were of the opinion that many or most people would co-operate with or shelter ANC insurgents if asked to do so discreetly."

The Buthelezi Commission's findings are understood to point to an increase in ANC support, particularly in the Transvaal but not so markedly in Natal and Kwa-Zulu, where Inkatha still enjoys majority support.

Professor Schlemmer declines to comment on these findings, as he is still examining their implications for the Buthelezi Commission (which is scheduled for release to the public soon).

Justify

However, he warns against attaching too much importance to trends in Soweto. While not denying the strong upsurge of ANC support in the densely populated Witwatersrand region, he cautions: "Soweto is the northern suburbs of black South Africa."

But, even after taking due cognisance of Professor Schlemmer's warning, the empirical evidence does not justify the acceptance by the Rabie Commission that ANC support is limited to a very small minority — particularly in the light of evidence that black impatience and anger is rising and, with it, an inclination to applaud acts of violence against the "established system."

Professor Schlemmer's findings point to a steady increase in the proportion of black men in the Witwatersrand who described themselves as "impatient" or angry: 39 percent in 1977, 44 percent in 1979 and 56 percent in 1981.

He comments: "The basic question may over-estimate or under-estimate political anger. What is significant, however, are the trends over time, using a strictly comparable approach with field work conducted by an independent commercial organisation. Discontent is increasing."

Professor Schlemmer's view should be seen against research conducted by Mr Piet Human, of the University of South Africa. His work on black attitudes in Soweto shows that the biggest single category of Sowetans favour revolution as the most efficient means of improving their lot.