

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH MR. A. HORDIJK,
SECRETARY-GENERAL CNV TRADE UNION, THE NETHERLANDS, ON THE
OCCASTON: OF:Â« HIS ("VISIT "TO. Â° ULUNDI < BY = MANGOSUTHU - GATSHA
BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER, KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND
CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE, 8TH MARCH 1983

There are two alternatives facing South Africa. The
one alternative is the rapid degeneration of race relations
leading to civil unrest and strife; and the other alternative
is a massive phase of economic expansion and major social and
political adjustments to enable the momentum of expansion to

be maintained.

The present situation cannot last indefinitely and it
is not an option. Built into the present situation are the
factors working unremittingly towards the first of the options

I suggest we have.

If one looks at the present circumstances of the vast
majority of the Black people of this country, it becomes patently
clear that the status quo is no more than a political time bomb
when the actual moment of explosion will be randomly selected by
some minor unplanned and unforeseen incident. No country can
survive the stress and strains which are now building up in
South Africa. We have a situation in which a minority of the
Whites are attempting to maintain a system of oppression over

people on whom they are becoming increasingly dependent.

In 1956 the then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, told the
House of Parliament "that I will be thankful if we progress as
far as to have the same number of Blacks as Whites in White

areas by the year 2 000."

The dream/...2

The dream of the South African Government was then not recognised to be a dream. They planned earnestly to reduce the number of Blacks in urban areas and they believed implicitly that the National Party's policies could mould South Africa to their liking. In retrospect this could now be seen to have been no more than a pipe dream. In 1980 there were a total of 4 529 000 Whites in South Africa and the total number of Blacks in so-called White areas was 10 121 420. These are official census figures; they are unquestionably figures which reflect

an under-estimate.

Earlier the Tomlinson Commission in the 1950's forecast that by the year 2 000 there would be 21 361 000 Blacks in South Africa. That figure in 1983 has already been surpassed. This has been the characteristic of all South African census predictions. The predictions now are that by the year 2 000 in White areas alone, Whites will be outnumbered by Blacks to the extent of

three to one.

If we take the year 2 000 as a point of consideration, we must come to realise that already something like 40% of the people who will then be living in the country have already been born. Taking the country as a whole, 4% of the Black population are under 15 years of age. One does not have to delve much further into these kind of statistics to come to the realisation

that something must give.

Professor Jan Sadie of Stellenbosch University has,

for example, calculated that 700 000 houses will be required by

the year 1990. By the year 2 000 another 500 000 will be

required.../3

required. That means South Africa faces in the question of housing the need to build something like 330 houses per work day between now and the year 2 000. We already have a situation in which there is a vast under-supply of housing which these official statistics do not take into account. We

know that in the Greater Durban Area, for example, there are thousands of Blacks living in squatter areas and shanty towns

beyond the reach of the enumerators. The process of urbanisation will not abate and will in fact accelerate and there will be a flood of people from the over-populated rural areas seeking to establish themselves in the metropolitan areas. There is

already a sea of people forming a tide that apartheid cannot stem, and that sea will grow and any real political storm on

it will produce tumultuous circumstances.

New entrants to the labour market will far exceed the rate at which jobs can be expanded even at the most optimistic of expansion rates which one could expect in an industrialised society given the world's circumstances. There will not be enough money for houses and if the South African Government thinks that the jobless and the homeless can be kept at bay by edict, proclamations and regulations, they will be courting total disaster.

The Prime Minister is very keen on diverting attention from the herd realities within the country by making strident appeals for this country to recognise that it is facing a total onslaught. His concept of an onslaught will be child's play

in comparison with the onslaught which will come from the disenfranchised.../4

the jobless and homeless people inside the country. The homeland policy, even given that some so-called homelands have

accepted Pretoria's quasi independence, will fail to woo these mass of people into tackling the country's problems constructively. Africans have been totally excluded from the constitutional developments which the Prime Minister is intent upon foisting

on us and will not play political ball with him. Whites have come to the end of a chapter of oppression and they cannot continue in the same vein as they have done in the past. What they are doing is self-destructive and self-defeating.

The lesson that we learn from the past 35 years of National Party rule is that there is unlikely to be any real degree of enlightenment in White National Party politics; that there is unlikely to be any White capitulation and we stand therefore in the very real danger that the first alternative I pointed to could become a reality. If one is talking about toppling the Government and destroying life as we know it, we

do not need any liberation army. None of us want to destroy life as we know it. We want to improve life as we know it.

We have therefore perforce to accept the need for radical changes. I have pleaded with the Prime Minister to declare a moratorium on constitutional developments until such time as there is a national consensus as to where we should go from here. Quite clearly Blacks face a major task of persuading Whites to entertain the notion of radical changes and we are busy doing this. I would not like at this stage even to start speculating as to whether or not we shall succeed. We have no alternative but to succeed. The alternative is unacceptable to

every one of us.

I believe.../5

I believe that if the scale can at all be tipped in favour of a democratic future, it will be the massive strength of Black consumer power and worker power which will do it. By this I do not mean only strike action and boycott action, although White recalcitrance may well necessitate one or another degree of action in this direction. When I think about the power of labour and the power of consumers, I think of it in terms of their coercive force derived from the total White dependence on them. Our economic expansion is now totally dependent on the behaviour of Blacks. It is no longer something that Whites can plan for Whites. Economic expansion is taking

on a momentum which will act to dismantle apartheid South Africa.

I want to stress in saying that that I am not being a passive evolutionist. It is the fond hope of many of my White industrialist friends that economic factors simply must be left to run their own course and that over time these factors will bring about changes in the direction we all desire. The coercive power of labour and consumers will have to be a power that is orchestrated and led. I sincerely hope and pray that such leadership as does lead this power and will form it into

constructive forces will not be interfered with.

We in Inkatha are a political phenomenon which has emerged in the situation as I am portraying it. Inkatha does not have to have the kind of programme which many liberal westerners think it ought to have. The concepts Western |, liberalism favours in thinking about our future are largely

idealistic prescriptions which are inapplicable to our

circumstances.../6

circumstances. The Western world has favoured protest politics

in this country where the protest is made outside of the realities of our situation. There is a trend of thought which encourages protest for its own sake without allying it to the hard, grinding work of detailed planning and well-founded strategies. The 1976 upheaval was typical of it. There was protest; there was

violent protest at times; people died; property was destroyed; institutional behaviour was disrupted; but this was in an unplanned and unscheduled way. It was no more than an expression of frustration and anger and was also politically incompetent

to a large degree.

Inkatha faces the need to gather the forces of change and to mobilise people into constructive behaviour. If anybody can do this, it is Inkatha. We have already passed the 750 000 membership mark and Inkatha is still growing vigorously. Inkatha is the only mass organisation which amounts to a true political movement. Its membership represents a cross section of Black South Africa, and all the vested interests of Black South Africa

find expression in Inkatha. We have only been in existence for

a brief eight years and a national strategy cannot emerge as a

successful strategy in that space of time. Our successes are to come and they will come because our approach will continue to be characterised by a hard-headed market place political

philosophy.

One of the urgent needs which Inkatha has to attend to

is the need to become increasingly meaningful to the workers

of South.../7

of South Africa. We do not envisage taking over the responsibility of the trade union movement, but we do envisage creating the circumstances and the logistical back-up in those circumstances which viable and responsible trade union movements will require if the force of South African workers and the force of South African consumers are to be turned into

real factors of change.

We are aware that we will have to do far more than we have already done even if we correctly argue that that more could not have been done by now. There is a very urgent need for Inkatha strategists in the field of labour matters and those who will inevitably become involved in Black consumer matters to be supported in every way possible. The international labour movement will have to re-examine its approach to South Africa and if internationalism is going to have any meaning for the struggle for liberation in this country, its influences will have to be worked out in collaboration with Inkatha, Whatever we do we must be aware of the fact that it must be integrated into the fabric of South Africa's economic life and not be prepared as an alien force in the economy.

This is in fact precisely what so many people are attempting

to do. There will in South Africa be no invading army. There will in South Africa be no dramatic take-over of the Government, and the solutions which were applied to places like Mocambique, Zimbabwe and Angola are not applicable to us. In the final analysis, the real freedom fighters in this country are the ordinary men and women who can be and will be utilised as a

massive and irresistible force for change in the country.