

+ EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

SOME REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA
ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING IN ULUNDI ON 5TH JULY 1988 WITH:

Prof. J. Duffey - Florida, U.S.A.

Prof; L., Ross - University of New Mexico

MruP. . Luxton - Road Safety

Mr. Pascoe - Chief Traffic Officer, Pietermaritzburg

Mr. Mills - Deputy Chief Traffic Officer e

Mrs Craig - Central Florida University

Prof. J. Holten - Africa Desk, Central Florida University

Mr. H. Meyer - Town Clerk, Pinetown

Adv. T. Botha - Central Licensing Bureau

Mr. Kraus - Industrialist

Mrs. Kraus

Mr. P. Halkett - Natal Regional Manager, Phillips

Mr ."K. Taytasac - Chief, Protection Services, Pinetown

Mrs. Taytasac

Adv van der Vyver

Professor Duffey, I would like you, as well as Professor Ross, Professor Holten and Mrs. Craig to know how very much I appreciate this opportunity I have to thank you personally for coming to South Africa to share your insights and wisdom with us. Everybody here would understand why I regard the visit of overseas academics as so important to South Africa. There are mountains to climb in this country. There are vast chasms to cross. There are uncharted waters to traverse and the kind of demands that are going to be made on us as we do so are going to be very taxing.

Whatever direction history takes in South Africa, and whatever turn of political events we may be faced with, we will always be challenged in everything we do. There is nothing really important that we will be doing about which we dare be complacent and I find it rather tragic that the world just does not perceive the extent to which meeting the demands that it is making on us will demand the kind of inputs which the international community is so blunting by isolating South Africa.

As a black man who has fought against institutionalised racism in my country from the days it was called Segregation, or Christian Trusteeship, to the days it was wrapped up in the ugly wrapping called Apartheid, I understand the international community's revulsion against Apartheid. I well understand the efforts that are being made to isolate South Africa by an international community which wishes to do something to express the international community repugnance for Apartheid. However, I get very sad when I see some of these actions doing more harm than good, without

denting the granite wall of Apartheid. One of the actions which does we blacks more harm than good, is the academic and cultural isolation of South Africa. We blacks understand when the world community thinks that it is hitting at apartheid when it applies such measures as those which deprive us of educational opportunities which we need more than any other race group in South Africa. That is why I appreciate your visit to this country in order to help us.

I am terribly aware that the kind of democracy which the Western world is demanding that we South Africans establish in this country, is the kind of democracy in which the majority of the people of this country will have to fully participate. They will not only have to do so in electing a government to office and participating in the governing of the country, but they will also have to be fully involved in the country's economic development.

The vast majority of Black South Africans are today disadvantaged in every sphere of life because history has dealt them an apartheid hand. Apartheid has kept Blacks out of those vital experiences in life that go to make equality of opportunity equitable. The qualities which will be needed to benefit from equality of opportunity which we are struggling for and which will come, are qualities that are very difficult to come by in an apartheid society. Countless lives lived out in unspeakable destitution have left millions of Black South Africans desperately needing development.

The punitive isolation of South Africa has implications in every walk of life. Those who argue for the isolation of South Africa are not only isolating the South African Government, they are not only isolating the protagonists of an apartheid way of life, and they are not only isolating white racists. They are isolating Black, White, Indian and Coloured alike and it is the Black South African who is the greatest victim of apartheid who is being punished the most.

The economic isolation of South Africa leads to a slowing down of economic development. This in turn leads to retrenchment of staff and in our circumstances this dominantly means the retrenchment of black staff. Not only are the numbers of employed reduced but the prospects of job advancement are also diminished. There is less promotion for those who do remain in employment. This means that there is less development of Black South Africa's human resources. Again in turn, this means prolonging the disadvantages that come with having a black skin in South Africa.

It is not only the individual, his employment, his earning capacity or his upward progress in the work situation which is affected. In South Africa we desperately need to do everything possible to increase black bargaining power if radical change is ever to be brought about by non-violent means. Reduced economic activity in South Africa leading to a lowering of the rate at which Black/White worker substitution has to take place, leads to a slower rate at which black bargaining power is increased.

The slowing down of South Africa's economic activity leads to fewer Blacks being put into positions of authority and influence. That means in turn that fewer Blacks become opinion makers in society. It also means that fewer Blacks will be bumping their heads against the ceilings that are inherently there for Black vertical mobility.

This in turn means that less political energy is generated by the frustration of those who are progressing upwards and are being curbed by apartheid.

The social and cultural isolation of South Africa results in limitations being placed on the free flow of ideas and challenges from without. Whether it is art, whether it is sport or whether it is music, Black South Africans need the life-lines of ideas and the challenges which come with them which international contact brings. To me it is criminal to really criticise apartheid for what it does to limit black development in South Africa and then at the same time to demand the kind of action against South Africa which reinforces apartheid as a limiting force as far as Blacks are concerned.

The academic isolation of South Africa is for me perhaps one of the most difficult to understand. If we are going to establish a new society through the politics of negotiation, we will have to reason more than we have ever reasoned before. Greater premiums will have to be placed on the whole cognitive process in the politics of negotiation. The academic isolation of South Africa makes the assumption that action is needed and, ladies and gentlemen, action without thought is action based on emotion. In turn action based on emotion is more easily found in revolutionary organisations who want to kill now and talk later.

Above all the totality of that which is being done to isolate South Africa does not recognise the extent to which society is an integrated whole. Economic institutions must in idiom harmonise the political institutions. Social institutions must take both into account. The free enterprise system hangs together with a multi-party democracy and these two when put together, hang together with freedom of political association, freedom of speech, freedom of movement and in turn these great freedoms hang together with the rule of law. Impairment to any one aspect of life is an impairment to every aspect of life.

Those like you, ladies and gentlemen, who make it possible for our foreign visitors to be present here today, are doing South Africa a great service. I want to thank you, Mr. Taytasac for your sustained attempts to bring people together from different parts of the world and to introduce them to first-hand South African experiences. To those of you who have defied the pressures which are mounted to isolate South Africa, I say thank you. I say we need your experience. We need your expertise and I am sure that having been here you will agree with me that there is in South Africa an insatiable demand for expertise which somehow must be met if progress is to be made. Thanks for sharing your expertise with us.

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