## INTRODUCTION TO DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

BRIEFING: AUGUST 1988

Dr Buthelezi is the President of Inkatha and the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. His ancestry is traced back to the founding fathers of the Zulu nation and through his mother he is descended from a long line of illustrious Zulu Kings.

The male line of succession in the Buthelezi clan (of which he lis the hereditary Inkosi, or Chief) traditionally provided successive Zulu Kings with advisors, generals and prime ministers.

Dr Buthelezi first showed his opposition to any form of independence for the Zulu nation when he served as counsellor to the then Paramount Chief, Cyprian, in the 1950's and 1960's. At this time the South African Government wanted to impose a Territorial Authority (as a first step towards making KwaZulu an independent country). Dr Buthelezi succeeded in delaying this move until 1970 when the Government made the status mandatory.

With the creation of the Zulu Territorial Authority, Dr Buthelezi was soon afterwards elected Chief Minister of the KwazZulu Legislative Assembly, which was created in 1972.

At that time he declared the biggest enemies of his people to be malnutrition, poverty and ignorance and pleaded for a comprehensive system of free education which was essential to all Zulu development. He 'saw' this as a vital part of 'the. process of political emancipation. His priorities have not altered since then.

Dr Buthelezi is separated from his political opponents such as the ANC/COSATU/UDF grouping not by his attitude toward apartheid (which they all abhor and insist must be scrapped) but by the means by which he sees apartheid being removed.

For Dr Buthelezi violence is not an acceptable means, whether morally: .o tactically, "to urid > South Africa-'of the. system . of apartheid/separate development. Negotiation is fundamental to his political strategy. To take on a system as militarily powerful as South Africa's by force lis to attack the Government at its formidably strongest point. The weakest point of the present Government is the malfunctioning apartheid system whose contradictions have become increasingly obvious, so much so that the Government's own supporters are in a ferment as they seek

alternatives. This is what Dr Buthelezi believes will open the door to negotiation.

Dr Buthelezi is committed to a negotiated settlement. He sets no preconditions beyond an insistence that all genuine political groupings (the ANC and Nationalist party included) should be invited to participate and the eventual formula should provide equal rights for all South Africans and an eradication of apartheid inirall<. its+ guises. Within these parameters Inkatha would be prepared to consider federalism as an alternative to the unitary state and a degree of group protection so long as dgroups are informed by free association and are not defined by race.

Dr Buthelezi believes Black South Africa could be liberated by its own upward mobility within an increasingly integrated socio-economic system. This is a process which is already under way. As Black purchasing power begins to increasingly direct the economy and Black begin to take more positions of responsibility within the economic system, the present ruling Establishment will be forced to seek political negotiations to adjust to the new realities.

Dr Buthelezi consequently deplores international actions which are likely to cripple the South African economy. To the extent that they succeed they will retard the process of liberations and cause Black workers and their families to suffer - but will not unseat the present regime, rather harden and brutalise it. If foreign interests wish to play an economic activist role in South Africa, they should reward those many companies whose operations undermine apartheid and/or promote black educational and economic upliftment,

not punish the economy and the people as a whole. '

As an internationally recognised leader of the largest, single constituency —in  $\hat{a}$ 00\230South 'Africa, Dr Buthelezi's opinions are continually sought by world leaders and international forums. The major role Dr Buthelezi will play in the post-apartheid South Africa is widely acknowledged.

In recent times, for example, Dr Buthelezi has met for discussions with the President/Prime Ministers of the USA, Britain (twice), Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Portugal. 1In addition, numerous foreign ministers, members of parliament, senators, congressmen, diplomats, international businessmen, academics and churchmen have visited Dr Buthelezi on their request.

## INKATHA THE NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe was founded by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the KwaZulu region of South Africa in 1975. It purstes: time-

honoured aims and objectives of Black South Africa; 3 B bl 6 1 committed to the establishment in South Africa of a multi-racial, open, democratic society resting on the foundations of a free enterprise system; it lis committed to non-violence and to the politics of negotiation. Th structure, s angd . in practice; " itiwis itself democratica  $200\231$ . At this juncture of history its membership is confined to Africans only.

From 1its inception Inkatha grew vigorously into a mass movement. Today, paid up membership exceeds 1.6 million which makes it the largest political movement in South Africa. Within this membership peasants and workers dominate, although it . is: also fully representative of the Black middle class, the Black business community and the Black professional class.

Inkatha 1is a membership-based political movement and is organised into branch, regional, provincial and national structures. It has more than 3 000 branches which can be found in every city and virtually every town, in the provinces of Natal, the Transvaal and

the "Orange. Free/ State. It ;isalse reaching out: to the. . Cape Province and a branch has already been established in Cape Town itself. In Natal, where it originated, Inkatha is represented in

virtually every rural district.

Inkatha was established by Dr Buthelezi as a barrier to the South African Government's intentions to persuade KwaZulu to accept the kind of independence which other regions llike the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei 'and Venda have accepted. Inkatha is committed to the building of a unified South Africa; a South Africa in which all her people share a common destiny, regardless of colour, race or:.screed. Inkatha totally rejects the fragmentation of South Africa into separate ethnic-based countries.

The leadership of Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha are unanimously supported by Inkatha's mass membership on the question of keeping the constitutional future of the country flexible, provided that the principle of national political unity is accepted. Upon this they will not negotiate. Dr Buthelezi points out that democracies take both federal and unitary state forms and he does not want to prejudice consitutional negotiations by adopting a non-negotiable position. In part, the support for Inkatha ' reflects a ' black determination to thwart, on behalf of the whole of Black South Africa, the Government's policy of separate states.

Inkatha lis an offshoot of the old African National Congress (ANC). It was formed in the aftermath of the banning of the ANC and the Pan "Africanist Congress and the destruction of their internal organisations. With the intention of continuing the struggle against apartheid from inside the country.

Inkatha believes in a multi-strategy approach in Black politics, no single organisation being entitled to claim sole and authentic representation of the Black majority. Inkatha condemns prescriptive politics from whatever quarter and seeks Black unity and co-operation on the basis of minimum consensus over tactics and strategies.

Inkatha consequently does not regard itself as the sole actor ' in bringing about change in South Africa, nor does it assert itself as the sole representative of the Black people of the country.

Unlike the ANC and the UDF, Inkatha does not regard the liberation of the Black people in South Africa as an end in itself. Inkatha believes liberation has to be achieved in such a way that Blacks are offered a better future. To smash apartheid without clear and realistic consideration of what is to replace it could leave Blacks even worse off than they are at present. Mozambique is an object lesson.

Inkatha deplores the re-imposition of the state of emergency, which is a reflection of the Government's failure to involve South

Africa's real leaders in meaningful negotiation. It deplores . the action taken to silence and stifle the activities of certain extraparliamentary political organisations. The action is a

retrogressive movement away from the normalisation of Black politics, without which genuine Black leaders will not be able to enter negotiations with the Government and without which there will be no political settlement. Inkatha equally deplores the irresponsible and violent actions of certain Black organisations which provide the Government with a pretext for continued rule by emergency decree.

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