

â\200\230SOUTH AFRICA - g

Divide and ruf

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â\200\230A correspondent examines the role of Chlef Buthelezi

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CHIEF Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi is,â\200\231
in the nervous eye of the: white liberal,
â\200\230South Africaâ\200\231s salvation from the abyss of
revolution. He can be counted on to
oppose the left, in a time when the red
flag is frequently seen flying in â\200\234the
townships, and he does not demand-the
unimaginable, like immediate one-person-
.one-vote. He has been apparently uatrou-
â\200\230bled by the contradictions of being the -
Chief Minister of Xwazulu, a
- govcmment-created bantustan and at the
same time presenting himself as being in
. opposition to apartheid. â\200\230That the bantus- -
tan policy has been clearly designed to
clear blacks from richâ\200\231 agricultural land .
and to create â\200\230a â\200\230justbin -for those blacks -
â\200\230not needed- for the white-owned eco-
_nomy, is widely acknowledged. '
_- Latest reports tht Buthelezi is to enter
â\200\234into some form - cf agreement with â\200\230the
Botha regime come as no surprise. If
Buthelezi. was annoyed at being used to
legitimise the apartheid regime at a time
when South African blacks were becom-

ing more militant and yet his proposals 4

were being rejected, he has nonetheless
been anxious not to push the white au- -
thorities too far. 1f the demand for one-
person-one-vote' is made, he - says, â\200\234the
whites will adopt a scorched earth policy.
He says he is prepared to talk about
power-sharing without talking about. the
universa! franchise and the unitary state,
The present suggestion of an imminent
agreement between Chief Buthelezi and
the government: ceniresâ\200\231 on President
Bothaâ\200\231s National Statutory Council. The
Botha government has been trying to ral-
ly support from selected black rulers in
an attempt to achieve â\200\234authenticâ\200\235 black
participation in the council which is being
ceen a3 the insirument through which
some kind of fsderated South Africa
might be inâ\200\230roduced. Recent refusal to
. participate nas come from the: National
African Federated Chamber of Com-
merce (Nafcoc) who recently visited the
ANC in Lusaka for apparently cordial
discussions. The body represents 15,000
black businessmen. Its president, Dr Sem
Motsuenyar.
would not be party to an advisoryâ\200\231 boay
when blacks- are not represented at the
highest levels of government. : .
Chief Buthelezi remains the orly black
leader who has not rejected the proposed
council out of hand. His attitude to the

ew constitution of 1984 had been hos-
tile, but this seemed principally to be a
reaction to the non-inclusion of blacks in
the tricameral parliament. The condition
he has now set (m his cwn participation is
that Nelson Mandela must be released
~ first. This-does not mean that he would
seek Mandelaâ\200\231s participation before join-
â\200\230ing .the council himself but.that Mandela.
should be free to do so if he w:<hed Noi
a likely prospect. h

i

announced that Nafcoc -

i --Buthelezi is the only bantustan leader

- â\200\230who is able â\200\230to fulfil the government's re-
â\200\230quirement of a black, â\200\230moderateâ\200\231 leader.

Others like Kaiser Matanzima follow the
â\200\230white authorities in violent anti-ANC
sentiment and their â\200\234governmentsâ\200\235 are
deeply unpopular with.those they govern.
At the other pole, Chief Minister of
KaNgwane, Enos Mabuza, has- disting-

uished himself from the leaders of other
â\200\230bantustans by visiting the ANC and ack-
nowledging that there can be no solution *
in South Africa without their involve-

â\200\230hent. Mabuza is president of the Inyand-
.za National. Movement, a cultural and
political organisaiton, a delegation of
which â\200\234he led to Lusaka. The Lusaka

communique rejected the â\200\234separate de- -
velopmentâ\200\235
tions like the bantustans.

policy, and apartheid institu-
Mabuzg,

21 July 1986

â\200\230Buthelezi as a product of pohcxes madc

~'poss:blc by his government, and Inkatha

â\200\234(Buthelezi's) own type â\200\230of Broeder-

e bond for the Zulu pcopl;"

â\200\230Inkatha â\200\230is not just .a political consti-

'tuch)' however. Groups from within it

operate as political thugs in Kwazulu and
elsewhere, in defence of Zulu chauvin-
ism. Last year an Inkatha group of armed
men called Amabutho, broke into the
house of a UDF supporter in Natal pro-
vince; they set the house alight and then
as children and the family tried to escape,
fired- gun shots. The apartheid state has
divided populations not simply by. colour

but also along tribal lines; this has been particularly necessary to bolster the Afrikaner explanation that South Africa is a nation of minorities. The divide and rule policy has created deep rifts in the society and much consequent conflict, one reason why the ANC, the UDF and other bodies in the democratic movement have laid such emphasis on unity. Inkatha's fighting

with other ethnic groups has widely been seen as tribally motivated, exploiting the divisions in apartheid society. .

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Chief Buthe with his Inkatha supporters at the Jabulani stadium in Soweto.

violently attacked by Buthelezi for visiting the ANC, has openly acknowledged that the ANC has mass support in South Africa.

Whereas Inyangza's president looks to the ANC for eventual leadership, the-

Zulu equivalent -of Inkatha, apparently with over one million paid-up members and with Buthelezi as its president; is

clearly Chief Buthelezi's mobile troops. Recently despite the state of emergency and the blanket ban on political meet-

ings, a huge Inkatha rally took place at the Jabulani stadium in Soweto; the amphitheatre was filled with thousands of

Inkatha supporters and linked with Kwa-zulu and South African police keeping tight security. Buthelezi arrived by helicopter to declare that President Botha's National Council could mark the start of the final victory for the black struggle for liberation. P. W. Botha has described

The South African press has been quick to cite such faction fighting as evidence why non-racialism is impossible in South Africa. But often, on closer scrutiny, an apparently tribal confronta-

tion turns out to be about scarce resources; the shortage of water cutlets in Durban earlier this year caused conflict between Pondo and Zulu people. The

- dominant feature in subsequent reports

was that of race rather than the shortage of taps and of sorely-needed water. Yet if resources for black South Africans were adequate, such a conflict would have been unnecessary.

Buthelezi does nothing to discourage Inkatha tribalism. He has apparently been unworried that he may be promoting discord between races. Speaking last month, he warned Africans to beware these Indian lawyers in sheep's clothing during an attack on Nelson Mandela

Associated Press

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: 21 July 1986

'hands of divide-and-rule policies.

(Indian) lawyer Ismail Ayob. He accused

" Indians of a special kind of subverted

racism when Mr Ayob referred to Mandela's refusal to see Buthelezi as a rejection, and said Mr Ayob's claim of friendship with Mr-Mandela was "posturing". The membership of Inkatha is almost wholly Zulu and contrasts sharply with the wide range of ethnic groups and races supporting the UDF and other political organisations.

- On another front, where a racial or ethnically-restricted support base is not immediately useful, Buthelezi has set up a new trade union body called Uwusa, to rival the UDF-support Cosatu founded late last year.

Set up particularly to counter Cosatu's support for disinvestment, Uwusa's executive consists of two business men, one personnel assistant and one township superintendent. Although Buthelezi denies that it is a "sweetheart union" or "bosses union" there have been accusations from Cosatu that employers have been letting Uwusa come into their factories, judging that any union led by Buthelezi's people is going to be friendlier to them than a Cosatu union. Nonetheless, at its launch, Uwusa was one-fifth the size of Cosatu

when it started. And even Inkatha supporters are sometimes members of other

unions and are dubious about leaving them for Uwusa.

- The future South African society is being forged out of present struggles, including struggles of an ethnic nature but also along class lines and principally - between

black and white. Buthelezi is facing

a credibility problem, having cast his lot with big business in South Africa, because

many in the democratic movement

have been quick to point out that it is under capitalism that the people have suf-

ferred their major grievances and that

capitalism had been very -happy with ;
~apartaeid until it began to prove a limita-

tion on efficiency and profit. Buthelezi

. has to find ways of convincing them that
although he might seem to be. setting the
scene for some of the same old problems

to cor.inue, things will be different if
there are black faces in central govern-
ment.

Ceraiinly, the business commumty is
100 per cent behind Buthelezi. Anglo-
Americanâ\200\231s chairman Gavin Relly unwittingly
sums up the problem. â\200\234You canâ\200\231t
expect us to run away from the single
iclack !cader who says exactly what we
think. [like Buthelezi and what he says.
Business has talked to him for a long
time ... I've been told that Buthelezi
plays a rdugh game in Natal. But South
Africa is not for the faint-heartedâ\200\235.

â\200\234Gatsinaâ\200\235 is undoubtedly viewed with
suspicion, particularly by non-Zulus.

Uriah Mokeba, ANC representative in

Luanda, Angola, has commented that
â\200\234the people know Gatsha. Heâ\200\231s on the
enemy side . . . thereâ\200\231s no difference be-
tween what he says and what the enemy
saysâ\200\235. s

. Other parts of Africa know the prob-
lems of tribalism and neo-colonialism lead-
ership very well and have suffered at the

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Whether or sot Buthelezi would be such
a leader is irrelevant speculation at pre-
sent since any demand less than one-:
person-one-vote is unlikely to satisfy the
mass movement in the townships and in__

-creasingly in the countryside and the ban-

tustans themselves. President Botha has
said quite clearly that white schools," liv-

â\200\230ing areas and â\200\234way of lifeâ\200\235 -are non-

negotiable and that' â\200\234I am not prepared |:
to do anything to destroy the present 3
character of South Africaâ\200\235. Â\$:
It seems likely that ANC Presxdent
Tamboâ\200\231s words at the end of his mid-year
broadcast on Radio, Freedom broadly
sum up the popular response: â\200\234. - . the
way forward is not a Botha government, .
or a Presidentâ\200\231s Council, not a tricameral
parliament, none of these things. It is a

peopleâ\200\231s government the people of South.
Africa, united as common citizens of a un-
itary state on the pnnxple of one-person-
one-vote. s

; Gsry van Staden

ELSON MANDELA is a free

man and Oliver Tambo is living in Sandton, the political situation in the country has stabilised significantly and while the violence has not completely ended, it is under control,

There is no state of emergency,

The government of the day enjoys broad mass support and the economic growth rate of South Africa has more than doubled. Millions of black schoolchildren are back in the classroom and enjoying the same standard of education as their white brothers while international aid is pouring in, creating employment and

higher standards of living for all.

That is the South Africa of tomorrow according to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, president of Inkatha and chairman of the SA Black Alliance.

It was the South Africa he described this week when asked to say what the country could expect if he became State President tomorrow.

It is a dream that Chief Buthelezi is determined to see become a reality -- or else, his opponents would add. : !

Would the violence which is currently making war zones of many black townships and turning lunch-time shopping in Johannesburg into a nightmare come to an end if Chief Buthelezi were State President? "I can't guarantee that the violence in Zimbabwe, for instance, continued after independence. It would be very foolish for me to say that I can guarantee to stop the violence," Chief Buthelezi said. "It is one of the things which concerns me most about South Africa at the moment,"

"I believe, however, that it would be very wise of the State President

to release Dr Mandela and other political prisoners. ' :

"Perhaps not even this will stop the violence, but it would be

progress,â\200\235 the Chief Minister added.

" While there is little doubt that no .

+one â\200\224 including the African Nation-
al Congress â\200\224 could safely disre-
gard Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha
movement, could they live together
in â\200\234State Presidentâ\200\235 Buthelezi's
South Africa without tearing each

other apart? : ,
â\200\234Dr Mandela does not hold a neg-
ative attitude towards me and this is
a good thing,

â\200\234I am not saying that he will
abandon his ANC colleagues in Lu-
gaka, He won't. But I am pleased he

does not hold a negative attitude to-

wards me. e
* â\200\234That message has been conveyed
to me via the EPG, Mrs Helen Suz-

man and othersâ\200\235 Chief Ruthelezi =
sald.

" He added that while he and the
ANC had nothing in common re-
garding strntzfy, they did share a
common goal for a free South Afri-

ca.

How would â\200\234State Presidentâ\200\235
Buthelezi go about defusing the vio-
lent situation which exists today?

â\200\234One of the things which I helieve
started, or at least helped to esca-
late, the violence was South Africaâ\200\231s
economie situation.

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nity does not withdraw from South

Africa now, then I helieve we havea
chance, :

â\200\234And, one* of the flrst things I
would do as State President would
be to spend .an equal amount of
money on the education of black

children as is spent on whites,

â\200\234It is an area which has made

â\200\230black people very bitter â\200\224 I am bit-

gdbtop:n:nd this hasgeer it
y certain people and uSc.fo jus-
tify violence. S0 I would ensure that

â\200\230each and every child was able.to at

tend school and I would make. sure,
too, that I moved as fast as possible
onthisissue. - .

â\200\234We would need to get the eco-
nomic growth rate much higher
than it Is at present in order to pay
for this and a certain percentage. of
this capital would have, of necessity,

- to come from outside the country.

H#Ph bm serleas

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munity must ot withdraw from
South Africa â\200\224 for if disinvestment
comes, if sanctions come, we are not
going to be able to recover from
the effects in the short term.â\200\235

Would he lift the stats of emer-
geney?

â\200\234Yes, of course I would. There
would be no need for it. I would not
want to do the same as Prime Min-
ister Mugabe did in Zimbabwe when
he kept some of Smith's security

laws. I am not critielsing him for .

doing so but I would not do the
same.â\200\235

But would he enjoy enough sup-
port to be able to govern without the
emergency laws?

â\200\234I am greatly encouraged by the
increase in support for Inkatha. The

. Natal/kwaZulu indaba s going well,

and research which was carried out
in the area when the indaba began
showed a substantial hase of white
support for the idea,

â\200\234Today I receive a lot of mail
from whites, some of it in Afrikaans
written by Afrikaners â\200\224 which un-
fortunately I cannot read, but which
18 translated for me ~ and the let-
ters praize me for what I am doing.

â\200\234The other day I was very emnbar-
rassed when a white Afrikaner
woman came up to me and shook
my hand and said: â\200\230Thank you for
what you are doing for our countryâ\200\231
and then she cried. This was an ex-
treme case but I get a lot of mall

rom whites,

- â\200\234T used to get a lot of â\200\230polsonâ\200\230penâ\200\230 .

letters from whites but during the
past two years that has dropped off

~ considerably. :

â\200\234The Buthelezi Commission
helped in this respect hecause while
we madae it clear that we were com-
mitted to one-man-one-vote.in South
Africa, we were prepared to make

~â\200\224 _ some concessions, such as a minori-

ty veto for instance. :

â\200\234At Inkatha we understand the point made by Chairman Mao that

â\200\234We are losing the propaganda war against the ANC, UDF and their allies. They have resources that we cannot match and so consequently you always hear about how Zulus were brought in here and there to kill people. It is simply not true.

â\200\234T know about these accusations, |

but you have to understand our problems.

â\200\234Inkatha is a non-violent organisation. I am committed to a course of non-violence. I believe in it. On the other hand the ANC, the UDF, Azapo and most of the others involved in the struggle, all are committed to violence.

â\200\234The so-called violence of Inkatha has been used against us so effectively both here and overseas that we are now going to have to keep a documented record of the violence against us. We have our cars burnt, our homes destroyed, we are beaten and killed. The world has to be shown this side of the story.

â\200\234The allegations that I have blood

-on my hands are devoid of truth and are,

are part of this propaganda war. It is an attempt to create the impression that I am out of both corners of my mouth. On the one hand I am portrayed as speaking about non-violence while on the other side I insist my people to let â\200\224 it is simply not true. - people

â\200\234But, however committed we are to non-violence, my people have the right to defend themselves. I have said so and some Inkatha members have done so. â\200\235 :

Returning to his vision of South Africa if he were State President, Chief Buthelezi said the greatest threat to this dream was economic

â\200\234The speech made by the State President when he announced the state of emergency had the same overtones as that produced by Mr

. Smith when he declared UDI in Rho-

desia, But I think he was falking

uthelezi |

_ â\200\224y&ven a journey of a thousand miles

Pt start with one small. step,â\200\235

~2*â\200\224Chief Buthelezi said. AR

+e.Â« â\204ç â\200\234Inkatha is not a â\200\230Zulyâ\200\231 organisa-
tion, it is not ethnic.â\200\235 j

about sanctions without understand-

Ing the full implication,. . = .~

. â\200\234Those whoadvocate_sanctions,

and those who belleve -that South

Africa can survive themn,. have: not .

The But there are those who claim

" that Chief Buthelezl would stop at

He said Inkatha had: grown con-

' giderably outside Natal.

nothing to make his â\200\234dreamâ\200\235 come

true. Are the hands of Inkatha drip-

" really thought through the whele |

- issue. Not even the South Afrcan |-

Government seems to realise the

full implications of economic sanc- .

tions and the effect they would have

on uner:gloymant for Instanceâ\200\235 he

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ping with blood? G

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