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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

A FEW REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING IN ULUNDI ON 23 FEBRUARY 1988 WITH:

Mr A Rogoff & President ASSOCOM

Mr S I Matus - Deputy President ASSOCOM

Mr R W K Parsons - Chief Executive ASSOCOM

Mr B Kurz - Chairman of EXCO

Mr H N Groom - Immediate Past President ASSOCOM

Mr I Dodd - President Durban Metropolitan Chamber

Mr. Rogoff, I very much appreciate you and your senior colleagues in ASSOCOM coming to Ulundi to have discussions with me. I am always pleased when people come to Ulundi to see me, not only because my own diary is an impossible task-master, and as it is I spend far too much time away from my office and the urgent work that has to be done here, but also because when important visitors come here, they have the advantage of seeing my operational base and also meeting with my Cabinet Ministers.

In Black political circles, White businessmen are frequently talked about as fairweather friends. They are regarded as unreliable and only out to secure their own profit advantages. I am as aware as anybody that businessmen are in business to make profits. I am also aware of the terrible dangers which are always there in the free enterprise system that profit-making so easily becomes exploitative.

In recent years I have had to face my detractors who want to destroy the free enterprise system as they destroy apartheid. I have had to give deep thought to â\200\230the whole question of what kind of economic system is best for our circumstances. Again and again I have had to come back to the basic conclusion that the free enterprise system is the most efficient system mankind has yet devised for the production of wealth. I opt to support the free enterprise system because it is efficient and because in our circumstances we must work to ensure that whoever governs after apartheid will have the means to govern for the benefit of the people.

When it comes to the question of the reliability of businessmen in the politics of change, I have very clear thoughts. I have perceived that the captains of industry, commerce, mining, and banking have not seen that their only real chance of surviving is

If you travel across the length and breadth of South Africa you will not find one single factory out of production because of political violence. Everywhere you will see Blacks working with Whites on factory floors and everywhere you will see strong evidence that Blacks demand that degree of normality in society which is compatible with the minimal flow of goods, services and people that life itself demands.

As you travel across the length and breadth of the country you will also find situations in which violence has erupted in Black townships. You will find Black-on-Black confrontation and you will frequently come across Black leaders and organisations attempting to disrupt the minimal degree of normality on which people depend.

It is this juxtaposition of the behaviour of the masses in every day life and the eruption of violence which makes the Black political scene so difficult to comprehend. The media in the West has again and again misread the South African scene and painted pictures of the South African Government on the run and painted pictures in which they cast the upward spiralling of violence as inevitably leading to the final downfall of the Government.

It is the consequent views about South Africa in the West that has led to the disinvestment campaign. Western Governments and pressure groups see the necessity of radical change in South Africa and they hasten to do what can be done while there is still time to do something. The whole of the disinvestment campaign is underpinned by perceptions of urgency in the need to act before South Africa is consumed by violence. There is very little perception of the ongoing reality that far more is being done to bring about change through non-violent tactics and strategies and that the reality of failed political violence is reinforcing the commitment of the ordinary Black man and woman to non-violent tactics and strategies.

Inkatha is a reality in South Africa. It really does have a mass membership foundation. In the decade of its existence - over 1.5 million Black South Africans put their hands in their pockets to pay their subscription fees to join Inkatha. This has made Inkatha the fastest growing Black political organisation South Africa has ever - 'seen, The growth of Inkatha and its solidarity should be comment enough on the Black South African political scene. Sadly, however, it is not.

I am committed to bringing about radical change in this country through non-violent tactics and strategies as deeply as I am committed to them because they are not only morally superior, but also because they are the most powerful tactics and strategies available to Black South Africa. Unlike Western Governments who are driven to panic conclusions about the South African scene, I am intensely aware of the extent to which violence against apartheid

has failed. It was over a quarter of a century ago that the ANC Mission in Exile first unilaterally declared the armed struggle. For that quarter of a century the South African Government has grown stronger where it has been violently attacked the most.

For that quarter of a century it has been the experience of the people that violence on the ground in their midst has produced very few political dividends at unspeakable cost to the victims of apartheid. While they demand the minimum degree of normality which ensures 'â\200\230survival and : 'life;:itself:ias they struggle. for .their liberation, they have experienced the hideous politics of violent intimidation. The tactics and strategies of confrontation leading to violence which revolutionaries want depend entirely upon Black South Africans being intimidated into doing what these revolutionaries want them to do.

It lis not political violence which has necessitated the reforms in South Africa that we have thus far seen. It lis economic imperatives that have done so. The reality of the total economic interdependence between Black and White has had to be accommodated by the South African Government. The growth of the economy depended on unshackling mining, commerce, industry and banking from apartheid. The movement of people that the economy demanded led to the scrapping of Pass laws and Influx Control regulations. The necessity of inducting Black workers into higher skilled jobs, lled to the scrapping of the Apprenticeship Act. Changing industrial relations which were consequent upon changing proportions of Blacks and Whites in skilled jobs led to Blacks being granted trade union rights. The giving of Blacks property-owning rights in so-called White South Africa was born out of necessity, given the reality that Blacks are now irradicably present wherever Whites have claimed White sovereignty.

Against this background of the people's rejection of violence for political purposes, and against the fact that economic development has made apartheid totally untenable, I argue the merits of non-violent tactics and strategies. The South African Government faces a number of inescapable dilemmas while it remains committed to apartheid South Africa. These dilemmas are the soft underbelly of apartheid and they are best attacked through non-violent tactics and strategies.

Right from the outset of apartheid its apologists have always held that Blacks wanted separate political development. The vast, vast majority of Blacks have proved them wrong. The Afrikaner nation in South Africa is now deeply divided. On the one hand there is the majority who recognise that apartheid is, as the State President stated, outmoded and outdated. On the other hand, there is the hard right-wing among Afrikaners who form a painful minority reminder of that which history now demands be left behind.

Across the board, Afrikaans churchmen, Afrikaans intellectuals and Afrikaans businessmen know that apartheid is doomed and radical political reform is inevitable. The will of the Afrikaner to perpetuate apartheid has been eroded. They want out and it is only in the politics of negotiation that they will find the out that they are looking for. They know this. The South African Government in fact knows this. I am quite sure that we will find solutions to South Africa's problems in the politics of negotiation.

The unstoppable vertical mobility of Blacks in South African society demands that economic integration be translated into political integration. The whole of history bends South Africa in that direction. The politics of negotiation has forces of history behind it which the politics of violence does not have. We will succeed through negotiation.

I come back to the point that I made at the outset that as I have travelled along the political road I travelled, I have gathered friends and I have gathered friends from all South Africa's race groups. I have growing White, Indian and Coloured constituencies. There has been a growing perception that I have espoused courses of action which South Africa now desperately needs. Independent surveys recently conducted by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba have shown that the tactics and strategies I have adopted and the aims and objectives I have pursued, have resulted in a willingness on the part of the White electorate to support the constitutional proposals of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. These surveys have also shown the extent to which there is recognition for my leadership across all race groups. However, please do not misunderstand me to mean that surveys of this kind have the last word on the political behaviour of human beings. Not by any means.

South Africa is not a lost cause. There is real hope in this country and those in the world who think that external coercion needs to be added to internal threats are terribly mistaken. Black South Africans do not want sanctions. They vote with their feet against them in every day life. They do not want revolution and in every day life, revolutionary action only survives if it is accompanied by mass intimidation. :

The South African Government is no longer an unassailable monolith. The State President is now finally really dependent on Black approval for what he does in his reform programme. Reforms will not be reforms unless they are perceived as reforms in this country and abroad unless they are backed by Black South Africans. He can set out to kill revolutionaries but he has now to set out to woo Black democrats. Killing revolutionaries alone is no solution. Inevitably the State President is wooing too hard with too little to offer hoping to gain the most at the least cost. He will,

however, find that Black South Africans cannot be bought. Killing revolutionaries is an expensive exercise. Wooing democrats has its own price as well. He won't get support on the cheap from Black democrats.

It is the friends I have gathered over the years who have done so

much to strengthen me in what I have been doing. I have particularly valued Nestle's friendship which is now a long enduring friendship. I remember with warmth how Nestle came up

with the answers when I presented them with problems which I was experiencing in gaining support for my nominees to receive university training abroad. I have valued this concrete help from Nestle. A few friends in the private sector in South Africa have given us concrete help which we have highly appreciated. Although I do have many friends in the private sector, both in this country and abroad, I can say that by and large, they never put their money where their mouths are, in the manner in which Nestle and a few of my friends in South Africa have done.

Nestle is a vast undertaking by any world standards and I appeal to the Directors of Nestle to stand firm in their proven commitment to do whatever can be done to make the presence of foreign investors in South Africa meaningful to the poorest of the poor. I would like to suggest that the time has come when companies like Nestle got together with other large companies with South African interests to do whatever can be done to help deepen Black South Africa's bargaining strength as we in this country face each other to sort out our differences and to create a new South Africa in which there will be finally peace, justice and prosperity. â\200\230