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HMonourable Membeyvs, this House knows that I have

struggle for Libseoraticr in Seoacth LR O o N i

arnd that the prime responsibility For securing

in Scaath Africa vewsts Pseramvi by on Black

that while we are commitlted to bringing abowt

there i & Blasck joab to e dome whiockhs only

does nolt mean that Black Soulh Afridces mast

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having historic roots which go back it

wer Face here sre i the Fimaad anmliyveys

the internastional comrmanity . I make thig point

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the countryâ\200\231s industrial base. There is I

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the proaductive capacity of industry is vaslh Ly

the continzed inflow of technology and

and it therefore mesns the acceplance of the

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Free enterprise system as an essential medium of development far
ricsw and for a period at least which extends beyond any horizon we

see any sea in the future

There are historic determinants and there are these economic
determinants which have internationalised apartheid as a problem.
There is another cogent reason why we should regard the struggle
for liberation as one to be fought primarily by Blacks in South

Africa, by the way, in an international context. This is that

colonialism balkanised the whole of Southern Africa and the way we

achieve our liberation here in this country will intimately affect
the destinies of all our neighbouring African States and Africa
States considerably further afield and to Central and

The internationalisation of apartheid is a two-way thing. On the
one hand the international community has a responsibility to make
history determines as its responsibility and on the other hand, the
way we conduct our affairs in this country has a direct impact on

neighbouring Africa and on the international community.

reiterate these points I have made so often because I think this
House needs to think very clearly about the tactics and strategy
we should adopt in Europe and North America. I have reported to
this House on my recent trip to America and Canada. I now want to
turn attention to what should be done in Europe. I feel that
policy we must have parallel strategies, one arm of which should be

directed towards North America and the other arm of which should be

directed at FEurope . We meaed of course to go further than this and to start thinking very seriously about the prsantation (42 g THP wviews a@Ernd the argument of the &mgency af these views as we pact bhews into practice in the BEaslt as well. Thus, while Â¥ dintend now e concernct rate an BEurape Â¥ odo so o dn an aswarernesss btheast this is baat one extension of our thinking.

Wer have agair and smgain been witness Lo the externt to which Black Souwth Africans, bath here and abroad, mowurrt vitriolic attacks mgainst us through the internstional medis and through Lobbying in Europe . Attacks against myself, Inkatha and KwaZulua can genervally e cdescribed ae & wmulti-woillicrs rand dindustry. IF orne does SOME E gimple arvithmetic and adds the anmount of money that ise spent in Ewurope on desperate attemptls to discredit we, the answers ta the sums vun dntkoa many millions of rand.

The African Mationsl Congress Micssiorn in Exile has an annual baadget of many millions and & great deal of money ig spent (&l drvterrationsd P eapeEgancla . Toexr the millions which e intes maintaining the Mission in Exileâ\200\231s offices and personnel i Erglarnd, Ttaxly, Bwerders, Germasny anad other places in Buarope, OneE musst add the vast anounts of money which the various anti-aparthedd Groups in Britair and Europe mobilise against ws. Fwvary st e apartheid group raises funds to pursue proapagands tacltiocs and strategies which directly affect the way Europe thinks abowt us.

Over and above these amounts of money, additional money s used in

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propagands against s by & very wide range of Chuaroh related
amaences . (e orly has to think of the externt to whicks the
Pragrammne to sombat Racism of the World Council of Churches does
ite darmdest o densigrate ws, to understand what Â¥ omearn . In & wvery
real sense every project application by the Migssion in Exile or b3y
caxy poedkiticsl enemies here in this country o dorsor agencies 18 an
act of aggression against wus. The mativation for these projects
s gue smagasin and agasin For tactics and strategies which sre i part
aimed @&t proving wug wroang. When oane sees the docuwnentation
produced by donor smgencies and the doocumentastion produced by the
International Labour Orvganisation and the United Nations and dts
VERTLOWS agencies, one can see the extent to whialhy there iz s vast
archestrated vendetta against myself in particualay and against

Inkathea and KwaZulu .

Then to these very substantisl ranges of funded endeaveairs asgasinst

we , costing milliong of rands, ane must asdd the role of the
internstionsl meciiaz and the voale of naticrasl media i various
Eaar oypreaan oty ies . Loiterally millions of rara i smpent o
Broadesmsting to Africs and too the rest of the woarld. These
brosdeasts do not carrvy our messaage and in many cases they do thedr
cdamnde st Lo present a view of South africa in which we sre csmst in
the most anfavourable Light. Ir-vague journalism g dncompelteant
axrvcd smyebasd v jeurnalists dyinking whishky with @& ol oan s

informant' approasch, have hot Lines to spokesmen iy this country

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and abrosad who make @bt thedir business Lo denigrate ws.

[k thie colours perceptions snongst Europe s various populations
aral the propagands Ffalls on the fertile Ffield of Eraaropeasn gud bt
coomplexeas abxout First Woerld/Third World differences. Eary Copeer ds
sware of starving Africa and starving Souwthern Americas and A,
They feel guilty asbadout thedir colonial past which baes proaduced thi s
vt digparity of hunman welfare in the international communi bty .
Fach ocountry has party politics which plaves oy the chovrads of
national responsibility in the search for foreign policies whiach
@mre moval rejections of colonisl paste. FPaxrty peelitics in Europe
drags apartheid into local political scraps and the local pressure
G Oups uge oar suffering &se & paarty politiocsl Football for pray by
political gaing in BEuropean constituencies which have no bene it

for . us at all.

There @sre Europeasrs minds which are dnflunced by the thought thast
s much propaganda e ranged against ws that there must be truth din
the socousations levelled st ws. People tend towasr ads drseevogue

thinking and the amocunt of propagands against us leads them to say

ot vabrey e there s smoke, there waast be Fire . Argd theve s 8

clanger in this country of people saying:'" everybody cannat be outl
cof step but me . I think therefore that it ig pervtinent for me Lo
aobserve that the san massive European propaganda machinery and the
considerable collective ianfluence of the mass media Now 3 angett

against s was not so long agoe ranged in favour af destruactive

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halkanising colonialism. I am making the point that mass media
represarting contemporary Ehinking s not proaphetic . Just as
most af what was written and said in pre-â\200\224-way Euroape argued i
favour of things which history bae proved to be pastently wronag, the
SERITYED i & ther c@agse Nnow. The widespreadness of the view
indication of its veracity . Wer dn Kwadulua and Inkaths have CITOWES
to become the largest congtituency the history of this country has
ever proaduced becauwse we @mre wiseE in ocur strastegy and realistic in
our endeavounr s . I again and again have to remind people that this
mamssive strength which we represent wes built in opposition te all
the advice I received from so many friends who forecast doom for me
a2 result oFf wbsat 1 was desdrng. In the business of national
reconstruction we have got to rely on havd-headed perceptions cof
remlity and we cannot safford to be blowrns Bither and thitherr by
vagrant winds which fFLit band-wagon politicians from one pervceplion
e anather. Celebrity lemdeoers with mo constituencies can affoord to
Irex dnevogue, but in the end it ig the countryâ\200\231s real leaders wilth
thiedr feet oan the grouand who will lead South AfFrices fo final
victaory.

When X lock at Ewvrope from a distance, or when I moove thirough

Europe and become intimately acquainted with the forces alt work in
ict, I oamgain and agsin see the strategic impossibility of countering
the multi-million rand vendetta against us with the small pittances
from which we have lo take money to asot in BEurope . Thaxt die why it

in fact fairly futile to gpend our cents and hope that the ChER DY

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counteract the millions of rand used against
so swing Europe's public opinion. They close
are unable to establish our own broadcasting
we must out of cloath accordingly .

I would like to put to this House & point
Fraser's analysis of the impact of European
South Africa, shows that there are two
worlds . There is the world of European
sanctions against South Africa regardless
Blacks . This is the world of moral condemnations
& a wide range of lobbyist groups, the world
their money in protest politics and in
leaders, the world of biased views and of
France does so little in hard practical terms.
condemned apartheid, everyone of us knows
punished by its developed apartheid

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years and ended up sending their armies to be
South Africa. This world has a kind of
a kind of impractical morality. e,
Members,

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we come every criticism of apartheid
condemnation of apartheid. What we do =
moralistic ineffective condemnations , of
condemnation which is ill-informed and
tactics and strategies here, have not been
the production

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While this world has
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vampant in the whole of
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Mr . Speaker, MHonourakle
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wery helpful and 3t has

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not been very helpful for many decades .

There e another European world ~ the world of vead dexc:d wione makers. European governments arve caught wp in their local parby prealiticexl SOENes bk wer krsesw Freoen the erutal reality of ouT @xpaeriance that, Forr examnple, We expaerience no differences Froans, HEY , Britain whether or not the Laboaar Parity or the Conserwvative Party happans tar e in Powey . There ig s & kind of Ongalrg urnwi Ll ingness , o dnabi ity o do amnything subxatantiasl for thes struggle for liberation in Souwth Africa by Britain, whoever governs

b Ay o

There @sre those who think that, For exampede, Lazbrouer Partiecs in Europe, are natural allies for the struggle for lLiberation in this country and they belp Labaour Parties fight party political battles in Europe and hope for some kind of rviewsrd when they come Lo power . This just bums not happerneaed. To coart orme spectrun of EBEurapesar politics @and to Fight another, has bean & common @ERPET NG oy South Sfricans. This false percepticor can maeske hot air hotter , but 3t has not really helped us. The ordinary people of South Aafrica Fave ot gsined oy the slliance politics which some Rlacks P Lay with some BEuropean party political forces. European countries aoct

tomeards Souths Africs in vested self-interest .

IFf we recognise this fact; if we recognise that the real decisiorn-ke r s in Europe are et reaslly dictated Lo by the propeEscrandas

levelled against 0, then we have Lo think very clearly as Lo

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whether are not the cents that we can spend to counter the massive
European expenditure on propaganda against we would not be better

spent influencing the real decision-makers in Europe .

Mr Speaker , Sir, Honourable Members, this is an important point I
am making. When one looks at government decision-making, one
realises that governments do not decide issues in Cabinet meetings.
Cabinets formalise that which has already been decided. Therefore
decision-making takes place by decision-makers more often than
in government . If we are to come to the crux of the matter; if we
want to use what resources we have available to us most efficiently,
I believe we should make a serious attempt to reach European
decision-makers where in the financial interests dictate what governments
can and cannot do. I again and again find, for example, that while
many Church agencies adopt hostile attitudes to us because they are
ill-informed or worse, the pillars of the Church which pay their
salaries are very much more open-minded . One knows what it is like
to argue against people who have already made up their minds that
the propaganda levelled against us by our local political enemies,
is some kind of Black and white gospel truth. It is like speaking to a
brick wall . These people have already made up their minds and
indulge in the kind of sophistry which just cannot be dissected.
When , however , we move beyond this group of prejudiced minds you
find a very wide range of minds ready to listen to you. So it is

these words which we aim to influence .

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X thirnk I have demconstrated wheat T s saving in oy recernt tripe to the Unidited States and Canada. President Reagan himgself sought Lo speak with e I saw personslly sirtually the whoale of his advisory Loy - Wherever I went I found people resdy to listen Lo e, serious people who were actuaslly dnvolved in Mnervicearn decdsion-making . Had Â¥ gone there to stand on platforms Lo argue in frant cof bhe mass medis to cournterasct the dnsiduaous proapagancs agasinst W, I wenal o have been & participant in some kind of Ame i caEn circus:. Had Â¥ gone to the South: Africean embamssy srouing with those demons-trating there, I would have got nowhere becauwsae they were noal there to listen. They were there to enact out whicks theeys hact already come to believe. I spoke to American decision-makers, &snd X foursagd serious concerris aboaat the vightmess @amrd wrongness of tactics and strategies in relation to apartheid. This i Thves attcdience which sericugs-minded anslysis reaches. Seriouws anslysis about Souwth AF o dcan realities flies over the heads of O MNERNITY acbivists. The ssmme applies Lo Europe. It isg the serious-wiinded

decigian-makers whom we should be aiming at.

i ! alsa want to make another point aloang the Lines that the wediuwm i the message. Whenrn v are i exidle and yow are arguing werhemerst Ly ;n Favour of an armed struaggle that beass not Wi T M and will not work for logistic ressons, and when youw are dn BEurope ET QUG for the economic bovoott of South Africs whickh will help

Blacks more thamn it will help them, and you know that there is o

real prospects of an ineffective international economic embargo of South Africa, yet do not have to argue easily and cogently. So much of the propaganda directed at gaining support for these strategies is emotive language talking about impossible tropisms and impossible means of leaping into those Utopias overnight. The language used by so many of our brothers and sisters in exile is that airy sophistry which is simply discounted by serious European decision-makers. For language is the language of reason because we talk about reality and our voice has an authentic ring about it. To Brercause we talk for millions of Blacks. We cannot coach our arguments in the language which decision-makers understand, and Mr. Speaker,

do believe that we have under-achieved in exploiting this

very substantial strategic advantage we can enjoy.

I have appointed Mrs. Reins Steernedijk as my personal representative

in Amsterdam and she has established an office there. I would have liked to read to Members the annual report she sent to me about what she is doing for us. I believe we are fortunate in having a European woman to work in the field of European affairs. Just as Blacks have a Black job to do here, we also have a Black job to do in Europe, but this does not mean that we cannot use the European Movement in a European environment as an instrument of what I would call the liberation of the continent. I believe that Members will see from the Report which I will now read that we are making gains.

REPORT OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE OVERSEAS INFORMATION SERVICE
AMSTERDAM OFFICE

"In the second year of its existence, the Overseas Information Service in Amsterdam has firmly established itself. This has been achieved from the ever increasing requirements for information, the number of visits paid to the centre, organisations which have placed us on their mailing list and relations in the press.

The interpretation of developments in South Africa and the provision of material would not have been possible without the constant support of staff and friends in South Africa and in Europe. The assistance of Mr. S. Y. Nzimande and others in Whendi and Johannesburg as well as assistance of Mrs B. Delwver in Amsterdam have been invaluable and become more efficient as we are getting a better grip on the need for information in Europe and elsewhere.

Person to person discussions and written requests have enabled me to better assess the topics on which Europe needed a briefing. It has become clear that different countries and target groups need a different approach.

That is the reason why the Centre has started to use different mailing systems. All our addressees are provided with copies of brochures, about four times a year. The general mailing system covers all those who have reacted to our information; this is in the form of topical briefings and copies of important memoranda of Chief Buthelezi, such as the aide memoire to President Reagan.

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On top of that there are special mailing systems for industry and trade unions as well as for churches and church organisations. They receive briefings which deal with church and religious affairs in South Africa.

Most of these briefings reach Governments, African Embassies and important newspapers in Europe and elsewhere as well, and with regard to newsworthy items they are regularly informed by telex.

Fianally, thoase organisations and bdndividuals who have shows
great interest in our wark and also use our information T
spread b, receive extra briefings, addre s arnd cuttings ooy
@ owvery rvegulsy basis (aboult once every three weeks.)

This i bhe absolute masimum which can be achieved with the
prasant number of staff .

Ay dnteresting aspect dis that it has ot been possible far the
Centre to keep ite sotivities restricted to BEuraope.

Regular requests for information were received from the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and it was decided to include them in our mailing systems.

Generally speaking, experience has shown that there is more need for background interpretation of the news, in particular when this information cannot be labelled as "pure propaganda," than for a flow of news without comment. This has resulted in more frequent mailings of the already mentioned "Topical Briefings," which gives in a few pages the background and newspaper articles on topics such as the unrest in the Transvaal and the Ingwavuma issue.

Brochures are reserved to cover topics which will be of interest over a much longer period of time. It is therefore that brochures are printed in the form of booklets. They are in high demand by libraries all over the world.

The following mass mailings were prepared and sent:

in South Africa after the Nkomati Accord, April 1984

for Reaction to accusations against Chief Buthelexi A
Mamandlat, May 1984
The Ingwasvamas-Kangwasne Land deal, August 1984

for South African townships, the case study of Lamoantville,
Heidelberg 1984

on Unrest in Black townships in the Transvaal, December 1984

- New political realignment in South Africa - Response
to "Africa Confidential," January 1985
- Chief Buthelezi's memorandum to Senator Edward Kennedy

and Chief Buthelezi's reaction to the State President's proposals, January 1985

the Chief Buthelezi's aide memoire to President Reagan and
members of Congress and Senate, March 1985

The second tier of the task of the Overseas Information Office
is informing Chief M.G. Buthelezi of the trends abroad, as far
as they have an impact on South Africa. This is a very
immense task, I monitor some 10 major newspapers and nearly
fifty weeklies or monthlies.

This has resulted in numerous mailings, letters and telexes to
Chief Buthelezi. Telexes are sent in case of a publication
which needs urgent attention. This has given Chief Buthelezi
the opportunity to react promptly to accusations of the ANC
in exile, and in articles in magazines where Chief
Buthelezi's position was misinterpreted.

Here follows an overview of the numerous contacts with R ST

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target groups for the Overseas Information Service:

1. Governments

M pointed out above, not only European Governments were informed by our briefings, but also the Governments of the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

All of them received the above mentioned mailings, e which Cabinet Ministers or officials of the following governments reacted: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Great Britain and the USA. Governments were briefed by telex on the Dngwawviuns issue (16/6/84), Chief Buthelexi's responses to Mr. Tambo & telex of September 70 and of the relations Inkatha-UHDF 20/ 10/84) and of the 3,88% cut in salaries of KwaZulu Ministers (5/783/78%).

The working relationship with the Head of the Africa Desk of the Foreign Office in The Hague, Drs van de Geer, has remained good. We met several times and had fruitful discussions. We also paid a visit to the Head of the Africa desk of the German Government, Dr. MG Salimmes.

B Politicians

Politicians were briefed through the above mentioned meetings, where special briefings were sent as preparation for South African debates in Parliaments of the Netherlands, Germany and the USA.

Reactions of Members of Parliament to our information have greatly increased, particularly from the Netherlands, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia, the European Parliament, the USA and Australia.

Members of Parliament in the Netherlands from the coalition parties have advocated financial support for Inkatha & Parliamentary debate. In Germany I had discussions with politicians and political institutes, and found them to have an open attitude and supportive of Chief Buthelexi's strategy. The Socialist International has written to us and asked information about our work.

3. Churches and church groups

Apart from the earlier mentioned briefings, churches were informed of the resolution of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the SACC publication "Relocations, the Churches Report on Forced Removals." In May 1984 I had discussions with the Africa Secretary of the British Council of Churches, e

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Rewve rend Brian Brown. HMe has objected to parts of my

briefings, particularly thogse parts where Â\$ quote Bishope Tubua .

Special mention has to be made of the exposure by Mr. Âf Hecfmarirs . of the arganisstion Youwth o the OF Ferrimive o the negligence of the SACC to assist the peaple of KwaZulu and the Zululand Council of Churches after the Demcina Floaods.

Mr . Hofmann publizshed ix articles on this subject which evoked hundreds of emotional responses, including those of the SACC dtzelf and of the Evangelical Church in Germany . The latter two denied any malice ar political reasons for cenititing to amssist; according to them it was due to "deficiencies in commuard cation . b A s Fmanr danvited me ta joirs him i the discussionsg with the Director and staff of the donor agency of the Evangelical Churches, Bresmd for the World.

The aftermath of thisgs controversy will continue to have ite e f fect in Germany . I also met with representatives of botls the Evangelical and the Ronan Catholic Churah in Germany in Februasry 1985 and we had in-depth and enlightening discussions an ouy views of the sbituation in South Africa.

The Keidzersgrachtkerk in fAmnster daam, # Dutah e forme Congregation, corntinued her digcussion with the Reformed Churches of the Nethervlands after their statement that Trnkathes cannot e seen ag & Liberation movement . The congregatiaon ammked Dr. Dhilome to comment on the letter of the Meformedcd Churches, wheraupon the Keidzervsgrachtkerk took wup bvlow argumernts and renewed the discussion.

This yvear has seen much etter results in e dealings with the press as compered with last yveasr .

Merclia in BEurope, North Americas, Mfuastralisa and MNMew dealard raceilved the above mentioned mailings far Iranckgrourad information.

Special briefings by telex were sent of the Inguavoamss issue (16/76784) which was taken up by the Volkskrant (newspapeayr) (MNNetherlands) .

Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s response to Mr. Tambo and his explanstion of the relaticonship Inkatha-UDF were reflected in editorials (o} 3 The Times and the Daily Telegraph (sent by telex 20/71084).

Chief Butheleziâ\200\231â\200\230s aide memoaire ta President Reasgan was telexed arn 472784 . This was taken up by the Guardians, the Frankfurter

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Allgemeine Zeitung (Germany) and by the International (AR = R agency), AFF.

In April 1984 the German press agency disseminated & disseminated my address "Liberation and non-violence in South Africa," made at the Reichelsheim Conference in February 1984.

In July 1984, an article in the Johannesburg Star covered my address at the South African Institute of Race Relations under the heading "Buthelezi aide slams violence and sanctions."

In September 1984 Race Relations News covered the same address.

In October 1984 the Paris based magazine "Africa Asia" published my reaction to & comment in their September issue on the Ingwavuma Land deal.

In November 1984 the VIEFP magazine Holland Life published a four-page article on the work of the office under the heading "The Warriors come dancing in - new political of Africa opens in Magerdam."

Southwest Zeit (Switzerland) published an extract of the Lamontville brochure in January 1985.

In January and February 1985, several letters of Mrs. S. Rusk were published in Canadian newspapers. These were prepared in close consultation with the Maastricht office and had a very positive reception from the readership. In February 1985, Africa Confidential corrected its report of the alleged new alignment between Chief Buthelezi and President Botha as a result of a resolute statement and the Topical Briefing of January.

Through the year, quite a number of articles were printed on the role of Chief Buthelezi and Inkathas in newspapers abroad. It is striking that the main interest comes from Germany and the USA.

While mentioning an extensive interview with Chief Buthelezi in the Germany weekly "Die Zeit"; a full-page comparison between Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu and their contributions to peace in the "Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt," & translation of the complete text of Chief Buthelezi's speech of October 1984 in Bonn in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," and two articles from the hand of Chief Buthelezi in the Washington Post, of which one was reprinted in the International Herald Tribune.

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The past year has seen an increase in interest from the outside industry. This might partly be the result of the renewed investment debate in the US, but other factors are definitely the affiliation of the MNational Sugar Refining & Allied Industries' 231 Employees Union of Inkatha, and the specific information provided by the Information Office, some speeches on the occasion of the affiliation, Chedeff Buthelesi's memorandum to Senator Edward Kennedy and his aide memoir to President Reagan and to members of Congress and Henate. Regular contacts have been established with the Federation of Netherlands Industry, UKSATA, Anglo-American and de Beers in London, the South African Foundation and Nestle.

The Director of Barclays Bank, London and the South African representative of the Federation of Netherlands Industry visited the office.

On the trade union side, & close relationship with: the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (ONVDY) remained. There had been several fruitful meetings.

A good contact with the International Confederation of Free Unions (ICFTU) was also established.

All these organisations were briefed on the research of Professor L. Schlemmer on Black worker attitudes.

Increased interest from this side can also be shown from & recent request by the prestigious magazine 'Foreign Affairs', which asked me to make an appointment with Chief Buthelesi and sent a correspondent to Washington only to interview him.

6. They

Contact with African Embassies in Europe increased. Ambassadors receive our information and were also briefed by telex in cases as the Ingavimsa issue (18767840, Chief

Buthelesi's response to Mr. Tambores (2010784) and Chief Buthelesi's meeting with President Reagan (472/7895).

Embassies reacted more frequently than last year, reverbaks 30y cameroun, Ghana, Liberia, Niger, Senegal, Uganda, Zambia and the Commonwealth Secretariat. There had been several and interesting discussions with the Ambassador of Zambia and the Acting Ambassador of Liberia in Bonn.

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The special working relationship with Mrs. Rusk in Varncouvery and with Mr. Hofmann in Bensheim was mentioned before .

My . HosfFrmann invited me again this yesr to address the Reidichelsheim Conference for Youlth leaders aon the subject: "Wealth and Poverty irn one Woerld - Perspectives for Howk by AFrica .

Also regular contacts were maintesined Wi th the Konrasc fudenasuer Foundation. During my last trip to Germany we werea able to compare notes and to have & froft ful v kA s

discussion. KAas sent us 12% complimentary sopies of the Buthelezi Commission Repart in French whioch we cdistributed among aur French-speaking contacts.

In June 1984, the German Agra-Acticr asked the of fice once more for information o the drought gituation dr Natsld, whereupon it sent & secornd large amourrt to the Natsl Red Cross far drought relief.

Shartly after, in August 1984, the ANC representative in Bonn, My . Tany Seedat, and hisg SWAPD colleague reacted to that gift with the following statement:

"The Germarn taxpayversâ\200\231 money with which the Agro-e-Actiors warks are not wused for a rightful purpose i H5A. The AT oMebd o has with approximeastely 900,000 DM rendered asgsistance din the Souwth African region of Kwadulu e i ctims of droewight &snd oyvlones .

This statement Further o dmplied that the ANC Mission in exile is oppoased to financial sssistance Lo such areas ms this ig the task of the Souwth African Government.

In hig reply the General Secretsry of the Aagro-action, | h e - B Dreesmann, expressed hiz astonishment that the ANC has sesn it it to bring out differences Detweers two lack Searth | A ricarn arganisations in the aopen in Eurape on swuch an dtem. He e received & request fFrom Inkaths in the beginning of 1984 fFoar flood relief. While the Agro-action condemmns apartheid dt opsted for humanidtarvian flood relief . Whi le the Agro-e-Actiors condemns apartheid it opted for humanitarian aid and rafusad ter be led by rvigid political thinking.

This publicity resulted in & two-page article in the Germany waaekly "Der Sphiegel" on the droaaght dr Kwa@ala and uargead many more Germans Lo contribute to the Bensheimery fund far drought velief .

This oapposite effect, combired with positive publicity and

reception of Chief Buthelezi's strategy in Germany, apparently angered the ANC Mission in Bonn to such an extent that it had a resolution tabled and accepted at the Bonn Conference organised by its support groups in Germany (October 1984)

{3 Conference resolves to step up its campaign for the total abolition of the apartheid regime in all respects, in particular

{4 } against the activities of pro-apartheid forces in Germany, such as UNITA, MNR, Namibia Information Bureau, Inkatha, etc.

To my view, this so-called campaign has mainly concentrated on attacking the work of Mr. Hofmann and through that Inkatha's strategy. However, I have had very friendly contacts with many organisations present at this Conference since.

Amazing is the reactions of university and research institutes of our information. From all over the world I receive requests for brochures, topical briefings, etc. which will then be used in research work.

A German Professor wrote that this information was very useful for teaching purposes, which he described as extraordinary.

Furthermore, exchanges of publications were agreed with most of the organisations concerned with (South) Africa, from the right until the very left of the political spectrum.

It is interesting to note that some of the latter GO responded enthusiastically to our information book soon after they heard that I am Chief Buthelezi's personal representative.

Exchange of publications with other organisations grew to such an extent that it is impossible to name them all. In this way, I remain informed of a wide range of views on South Africa and am able to provide Chief Buthelezi with the information he needs to assess the debate in Europe and elsewhere.

the office becomes known, more people approach it to offer assistance in one or other form or for information.

We have been able to mediate in the case of Biko; now employed in Johannesburg hospital, and in the case of Keeser.

Several requests from scholars and students for specific information were also met.

Barlan P1

2hal developments in the Netherlands

Two specific developments in the Netherlands have to be mentioned here separately, namely the foundation of a support group for Inkatha and the progress in the relationship with the Netherlands Government.

Formation of the Council for the Relationship Inkatha-The Netherlands

By the request of Chief Buthelezi, the Council for the Relationship Inkatha-The Netherlands was formed as a high level lobby group with direct access to Cabinet Ministers, captains of industry, leaders of political parties and executives of trade unions in the Netherlands.

Members of the Council started with having a discussion with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the position of Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi.

It was chaired by: Dr. H.M.J. Walther, who as a Member of Parliament organised a special debate in the Netherlands Parliament on the Ingwase issue. All members of the Council are in their personal capacities, but are selected because of their influence in politics and industry.

Chief Buthelezi nominated Dr. Steenwijk to represent him and Inkatha.

The Council sent a telex to Chief Buthelezi and his family after the passing away of Princess Magogo.

It was also very active in the preparation of the South African debate in the Netherlands Parliament in February 1986. Its activities were successful. Parliament decided that support for all political organisations from South Africa will have to be considered along the same criteria, instead of favouring the ANC as was the case in the past.

Working : the Netherlands Government

Special mention needs to be made of the working relationship with the Head of the Africa Desk in the Foreign Office, Dr. R. van der Geer. I see each other in any case after each of my visits to South Africa and at times when a special situation in the Netherlands requires it, such as for the preparation of a South African debate. In such cases, the whole political spectrum of South African politics is discussed, as well as possible relations in the Netherlands and elsewhere. We have developed a real working relationship in which I have almost

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Meashers , I waited for this opportunity

support group which Drs Steenwijk Fyans

Barlan P1

oW e@established fFoar ug in Hol lLand. Thigs suppaoart group shows the
et tent to whdich paodint X oanm masbing sabout decisionemakers anod the
neaed Lo reach them presents achievable gosls. There are serious
preople like these who will devoate thedr time and experienced mincls
to asgist ug in what we are attempling Lo da. Wer could arrive in
ol Lara a2 wigitars and we car see dmpoartant peaple asd thern we
leave and then it ig & case of ouwt of sight and out of mind wntil
wer return agasin. Thise i why I so welcome the ermtabd i shmerst of
this support group. We have not got & small body of influential
people asttending too our meeds @mrd being a constant presence b the

whole political process in which South African bdissuwes are decided.

Y would like, Mr. @Gpeaker, Sir, Honocuwrable Members, foar this MMouse
to discuss the appointment of Drs Steenwi jk and the establishment
af bthe Council for the Relaticrms: Irskatha-The Netherlands asnd to
adopt & Motion of thanks for the sacrifices they are making for ug
which i wkld include i the following letter which I will be
Forwarding +to them. The group was formed while we were in recess
el l bel ieave that they would greatliy value [#I%E st dver

encouragensnt .

POSSTELE INCLUSION OF LETTER T THE DR. M.J. WALTMANS, CH&TRMAN

OF THE COUNCIL. FOR THE RELATIONS: INKATHA-THE NETHERLANDS

e of the thiings which I am suwre will prove of great value whichs

this support group has proposed ie the holding of an dinternational

conferarnces erErly next WERT in whsich Inkathaâ\200\231s taotics anca

Barlan P1

strategies & rve put in the comtext of the real choices with whichs
Black South africa is faced. So much debate takes place as though
wer have got opticons we doa not in fFact have . Therre G 0 wnach
saphistry about pie-in-the-sky solutions and there ig s mach
el sreasding of Sowth African realities dn BEurope that T bhelieve such
& conference would serve a very useful purpose and give rise ta @

sttbstantial prablication which wWill continae working i our Favouy

thereafter. This conference i obviously still in its early stage

af fFormastiorn, but I would most certainty hope that it wWill

materialise along the following lLines.

When one dis looking at concrete or real options in South Africs,
and when one i looking at tactics and strategies which oan
aetual by achieve something, it de vitally mecesssry Lo put ochoices
in the context of what can and cannot be done. I believe that this
conferarnce could do well to look et the histoary of Librerr st icr
struggles in Southern Africa and Africa further afield, and to draw
ot the exterrt to which we cannoat model our strugale for liberstion
here on patterns which have been enploved elsewhere. The overall
cantext within which we conduact our strugagle must be painted in
clear and bald straokes. There are =0 many who make one-lo-ore
comparisonsg betweer, SEY whaxt President Machel did irn Moocsmhoigque
and what Mr. Robert Mugbabe and Mr. Joshus Nkomo did in Zimbalbawee
aarvel mamke judgements abowt what we smre doing hrere . Heaweever

sucecessfully they did what they did do, Black leaders who think

Barlan P1

that they provided a blueprint for what we should be doing here, are mistaken. There is a great deal of misguided thinking in Europe which is precisely this expectation and many of our

Brothers and sisters in exile encourage this false expectation.

Having looked at the overall context within which we struggle for Liberation and made comparisons with the context within which other struggles for Liberation took place, we believe this conference could well go on to look at the extent to which we are locked into an international north/south axis and to go on to see what should be done in order to mobilise the forces which could flow naturally along this axis. There are some who believe that the struggle for Liberation dig in essence a struggle against capitalism, and they would deny the reality of the north/south axis into which we are locked. An analysis of places like Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania would show the extent to which they too are locked into this axis. The dreams about socialist

futures which can never materialise destroy the determination

with which we pursue our objectives here in this country.

Having looked at the overall context within which we struggle, having looked at the international axis along which forces should be flowing to assist the struggle here in South Africa, the implications for tactics and strategies on the ground in South Africa should be examined. The extent to which these tactics and

strategies should now be mobilising the forces with which we will

Barlan P1

have to build the future and day should also be scrutinised.

believe that the whole question of regionalism in South Africa should be looked at and the extent to which this regionalism must be taken into account by realistic politics must be examined. In this regard I believe that an examination of the Buthe/Lezid Commission findings, and the pertinence they have for the scene of the unfolding under the new political dispensation, should be examined.

would hope that this conference recognises very clearly that if we are not going to leap into a one-man-one-vote unitary state whereby we all so long for, because the cost of doing so would be terrible for our children to bear, we have to look at alternatives. If we are not going to have a revolutionary force coming here to overthrow the government, and if a future government is going to be a government of national reconciliation, then the political process of radical change needs to be examined. I believe that the Buthe/Lezid Commission findings have a particular relevance in this regard. The conference will, I hope, examine the extent to which

the massive input which KwadZindlu and Inkatha can make in step-by-

step regional movements towards a government of national

reconciliation will be recognised.

Mr: Speaker, my Honourable Members, it would be wrong of us at this early stage of thinking and planning to make these

general statements in which we express our hopes and views. We are,

however, need a starting point and I would like this House to comment on this formulation of our orientating thoughts which could then be formally transmitted to the Dutch support group who will be undertaking the arduous task of organising an international conference which will draw a very wide range of top international participants. I believe that there is a real need for such a conference and that we should distinguish between a conference we would hold there and a conference that this support group could hold. We cannot do everything in one fell swoop and I believe that there is a very distinct need for Europeans themselves who are seriously minded people genuinely concerned about South Africa to get together with our active support and to talk amongst themselves about our realities as they actually are. I am making this point because there is a lot of validity in the statement that Europeans cannot dictate to us what we should do and what we should do. I do not see this conference doing this. I see this conference as a European conference deciding how best to support us in doing what we are doing because they believe that we are doing the right thing. If we accept the need for European allies, then we must afford those allies every opportunity of mobilising their own Forces in their own way to support us in what we are doing in our own way. This is the meaning of partnership and I believe it is the lack of this kind of partnership which has cost the struggle

so dearly in the past.

Barlan P1

Mr : Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, while I have been talking about the massive propaganda machine which anti-apartheid money says, I have been aware that this machine has tentacles in Soweto

(SR 3 g Nt dtserd f . I4 one looks at the cartoon which appeared in The Star on the 11th March this year which I have circulated to Members, these point to me as being glibly and figuratively and metaphorically illustrated.

wrote the following letter to the Editor of the Star, Mr. Tyson:

My . H. Tyson 154 April 1989
The Editor

The Star

PO Box 1014

Johannesburg

2000

Dear Mr . Tyson,

My attention has been drawn to a cartoon published in The Star on the 11th March 1989 depicting Mr. P. Botha talking to me and apologising for not being able to give me a personal membership of the National Party because he appreciated what X did for them in America.

The Star is one of the largest English-speaking dailies in the country, if not the largest, and for your newspaper, Sir, at this time ' ' of our history., It is LG 1 times too convey the impression that I went to the United States to speak there on Behalf of the National Party is appalling in the extreme.

In this particular case, you as editor cannot even claim that a reporting views which are newsworthy. It is a direct message from the newspaper to the public. It is editorial comment in the picture and I am writing you this personal letter asking you to explain to me why this cartoon was published.

I had not intended going to the United States this year, and I was going to decline an invitation to attend the United States National Prayer Breakfast, but colleagues persuaded me that it

Barlan P1

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woudad e in the interests of Blaock South Africa if I accepted
Fresident Reasganâ\200\231s persanal droeitation to me to see Poim. X
adid not seek & meeting with him, @and I only went there bhecasuse
Â¥ was persuded to do soa by my collesgues. Everywthing I saia
there, and everything I did there, I said and did for the sske
af Black Souwth Affrica. T slawened aparthedd; I rejected the
new constitution; I rejected the informal non-statuwrtory forum;
K told President Reagan himself that Black Sowtkky Africes was
pleased Lo see evidence of & Little bit of stick after o mach
carvrot .

Â¥ ! exhicor ted the international commuarsi bty Lo Pt Pressire o
South MAfrica Lo change, and 4F I reject violence ag & prime
means of bringing a&bout change and 4F T reject disinvestmernt
as a strategy which will hurt Blacks, Â¥ did so for the sake of
Black South Africs.

X am enclosing for your converniene & copy af my vemar ke b
President Reagan, together with & copy of & Press Statemeant 1
maEcle o omy veturn, e whickh ds asttached my scheditle of
appoaintments .

T there, sir, anything that The Star 88 & newspaper ol o
poassibly object to in what T said to President Reagan? Whern IÂ©
returned I reported to Black Souwth Africe what Â¥ had seid aodd
closme . Does The Star think that I did the wrong things in the
Uriited HStates and Canadsâ\200\231? Whsaat., Siv, would The Star hanee
expected me tao say and do there?

s I perceive the editorial opindion of The Star, Â¥ said things
which The Star would approve of, and I lobbied for positions
which The Star would support . Whye , thierry, ircdulge dn the
hasest of villification of my name? Ifingldt difficulty e
brelieve that The Star is so ingensitive Lo Black opinioan that
it was unaware of the deep insult which this artoarn holds,
ot sa mach for myself buwt Ffor the millicns of peopelea whioe
support Inkatha and are preparved to suffer for Inkathas.

Thie cartoon mast surely represent one of the WO T st
aberrations The Htar has evidenced.

This, 8ir, e @ restrained respomse Lo your NEWEpaeper < s
acltion, and I have made points carefully and in & @ measared
WHERY . T certainly do boape that vow s the editoar of & large
daily newspapeyr will reply to my letter.

Yours sinceraly,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER KWaZLu

Barlan P1

PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

Members will see that it was a restrained letter and that it reflects the bitter anger and the disillusionment which we experienced about the role of the Star as a mass daily newspaper. There is no doubt

often to be a blindness to Black feelings in White-owned
INDONESIA & . Where millions of Black South African people are living in
desperate poverty; when they know the very real meaning
deprivation and hunger; and when ordinary people massed together as
they have amassed in Inkatha in vehement opposition to apartheid,
ignorance and worse which can then talk about the
elected leader as somebody who is rushing around the world to
support the ruling National Party. This kind of message which the
Star is giving to South Africa and the world is the kind of message
which raises extremely bitter feelings from which it is difficult
to exclude racist attitudes. Those who support me do not see this
as a human tragedy, they see it as a White Human Blunder. In fact,
many do not see it as a blunder at all. They have
calculated and, and they see it as the Star painting a picture
of me being a subservient kaffir carrying Mr. P.W. Botha's
prelitical bags for him. Therefore the cartoon deeply offensive and
my colleagues and supporters are incensed about it. Mr. Speaker,
Honourable Members, I believe that we should wait to see what
Mr. Tysan says in his defence and in defence of the Star before we
react further.

Barlan P1

2E0

Mr . Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, history i moving bhefore our
eves and we could remainr din Session the whale yestr withowt wamsting
& minute or & cent. I could speak for a& great length of time wvet
@l still not do justice to drawing the atterntion of this House to

avaery aspect of the struggle for lLiberation which we need to bhe

Looking at. I must, however, move towardcs clogsing my sddress, and

I think it ig appropriate for me to close by sayving something aboait
the new political dipensaticn and the vrole which Rlack L.ocal
Aunthorities are playing in it. Black Town Councillors sre wunder
st tack @z they bhave never been befoare and this House needs to
@ERPTese itself very clearly about the role they are playing, vl
oy attitude towsyds the wviolence which has been directed asgasinst
e . Whatever one says in this regard is Likely to be distorted
by those who swesr at us being participants in the syatem, g0
cal led. Wer can, however , not shirk our duaty and we mast say vaery

clearly what we think.

The Ffirst thing that I owant to say s that we conderrys vialence ,
wherever we find it being wsed for political purposes, and W
candemrry ouwtright thosge who burrn the houses of councillors because
they oppose them politically, and we regard with abhorrvrence the
brerhavicary caf SO wher aall themselwves Blaok whor burrs not oanly
houses but who roasst councillors alive in their houses. This dos
Bavbaric behsviour unbefitting of any Buman eing and Mr . Speasmbier,
BLY Hoaoncurable Members, this House clearly condemns the repeasted

attempts to use violence @me a politicsl wespon agsinst the people

Barlan P1

election to town councils. We did not condemn them for doing so

But they did so & individuals, and we did not swing the Inkatha machinery behind their candidatures. We then and we do now respect the right of individuals to choose what they want to do, and we respect their right to go to the people to persuade them that what

they were doing was in the best interests of the nation.

Inkatha's position was hardened when during the re-

branch campaign

the Government made it very clear that it was cleaving between Black local politics as a substitute for Black participation in national politics. This House will remember that I reacted very strongly to the information sheet put out by the Department of Information and the Department of Foreign Affairs. I made it very clear that I and Inkatha would never participate in Black local authority developments because they were seen to be a prolepsis for their new constitution. We have not moved one jot or one iota from this position. At the time that the information sheet was published, I demanded a categorical statement from Mr. P.W. Botha that participation in Black local authority politics would in no way be seen to be an endorsement of the new constitution by the government. I asked for the recognition that Black South Africans have the right to strive for participation in national politics. This measure has never been given and Inkatha's refusal to be drawn into Black local authority elections therefore remains

unaltered.

Barlan P1

Black local authority affairs. Inkatha is not alone in having

debated this point: It is an old issue which dates back to the late fifties and the early sixties. It was debated by the old ANC

and it also was debated by the Indian Congresses. There is no simple

authoritative statement which anybody can quote as a 2 Black South
African statement. Inkatha has always made its statement in this
context and we in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly have done

nothing.

In the controversy about participation in Black local authorities
which arose in the late seventies, Inkatha adopted a firm position.
We then said that Inkathas would not participate as Inkathas until we
were satisfied that the financing arrangements of local
authorities left them with at least the freedom of choice which
White local authorities enjoy. We rejected Black local authorities
bearing the fetters and carrying bows for apartheid interstitions. We
refused to participate in Black town council developments while
they were being used as administrative arms of the Central
Government to achieve Central Government ideological aims
by jectives. While we clearly adopted this position as Inkathas, we
did so as democrats, and I repeatedly said that each community must
make up its mind about the extent to which it wanted to
participate in local town council elections. We did not see it as
a matter on which we could dictate to local communities about what
was in their best interests. Inkatha members did in fact stand for

@lasewheare. This is& where the matter must rest, Mr. Speaker . oY
the rest, history will decide whether those who have chosen Lo wark
through local awthorities have chosern wisely or net.