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MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN DR, THE HON. P.G.J. KOORNHOF, MP, MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE HONOURABLE MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, MLA, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET.

CO=OPERATION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

("ON HOW CO-OPERATION CAN BE IMPROVED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA")

When I asked for the programme for a meeting such as the one we are having here this morning, I was told that you, Sir, wanted to know from us how co-operation can be improved between the Government and black people of South Africa. So I will try

here to address that issue put to us by the Minister.

We, as practical politicians, have to think very carefully about the extent to which we co-operate with the South African Government. Right at the outset I must state that we all look forward to the time when we need not consider it necessary to qualify our willingness to co-operate. When we know where we are going in this country and we have decided to pull together because we are agreed that we should go there together, then co=operation

will know no bounds.

It is time now to recognise that the South African Government, acting on a mandate from Whites and reporting back to Whites, will never succeed without the co-operation of Blacks. We Blacks are necessary for the building of roads and the running of industry. We are just as necessary for the running of government and general

administration. We are just as necessary for building a future.

The only thing Whites can achieve on their own in a future

Blacks do not want, is a scorched earth. Nobody wants that.

It is vital, on the other hand, to recognise that Blacks can not achieve a future worth having without the active co=operation of Whites.

It may well be that before we can act in the kind of freedom Black/White agreement will give both groups, we have somehow to live with each other and strive sometimes together and sometimes in opposition to each other to find the road forward.

It is wishful thinking to hope that we can find each other today or tomorrow. It is also wishful thinking that we can force each other to do what each wants today or tomorrow.

We have to come to terms with the fact that at this point in time the goals we each seek appear to be poles apart.

Stripped of all trappings and politics laid bare to its bones, Whites want to retain power sufficient to ensure that they can continue to direct the events which surround them to ensure survival as a group. They do not consider power sharing because their power must be complete to assuage their fears that they will be swamped and decimated as a racial group.

White political bones are the armies, police, security laus, foreign policy and fiscal policy which dominate Southern Africa. Stripped to the bone black politics also seeks after power. White and Black both see the need for absolute control to ensure the other does not dominate to their detriment.

While this is the formal political position, there is substantial goodwill on both sides. Whites, taken as a broad category realise that our future is shared and if the Government

stopped working so hard to convince them otherwise, Whites would support major reforms towards some kind of a shared future.

In broad terms, Blacks accept that a Black Utopia is not feasible and they too could be led into a shared future.

The transformation of South Africa from hardline confrontationist politics to the politics of survival in co-operation is still an option for us.

I have, as far as it has been humanly possible for me to do so, striven for co-operation and development. I have, I feel, been repeatedly rebuffed. If one takes the meetings that have taken place between myself and both Mr. Vorster and the Hon. Mr. P.W. Botha, you, Sir, will see that I have requested a wide range

of things all of which are reasonable.

Both of us enact our role in the spotlight of international concern and in the chapters of a history which will be recorded. In all honesty, I think you must agree that a consensus among Western nations and among all enlightened and reasonable men would

be that my demands were for the decent and the feasible.

Let us pause to look at the kind of things leaders pleaded for in 1973, 1974 and 1975 with Mr. Vorster and again later with

the Hon. Mr. P.W. Botha.

- We asked for security of tenure and home ownership for Blacks in urban areas = for the foundations on which

sound Christian family security rests.

We asked for the right for Blacks to develop their business and commercial skills by allowing them to have more than

one business and businesses in more than one area. How else can we evolve a Black entrepreneurial class? How else can we ensure Black participation in productive undertakings and

which we all rest?

We asked for Black professionals to have as much freedom as Whites to choose the area and the institution within which

they can practice their professions.

We asked simply this: it is recognised that professional people in this country be treated the same and that they be given equality of opportunity and similar freedoms of

movement of choice.

We asked for the lifting of influx control regulations and the abolition of the pass system to avoid having a permanent jail population which runs into tens upon tens of thousands of 'offenders' against petty administrative measures which

would not be tolerated in any civilised society.

We asked for improvements in the educational system for our children and we asked that mobility of scholars be permitted so that a child's schooling can be adapted to parental

requirements and movements.

We asked that key positions in so-called Black universities be given to Blacks without necessitating removing the

teaching staff simply because they are White.

We asked for urban Blacks to be given civil rights similar to those enjoyed within South Africa's municipal and

village management boards enjoyed by Whites.

We asked the Government to desist from removing Blacks from urban areas to rural areas where there are no life=

improvement opportunities.

We asked for the same trade union rights for White workers

and Black workers.

We asked for improvement to mass transport systems in view of the burden commuters have to face in apartheid society

where they are not allowed to live near their jobs.

We pleaded for the release of political prisoners and the

granting of amnesties to Blacks in political exile.

We asked for a more equitable distribution of land than is

possible within the restrictions of the 1936 Act.

These and other similar requests appear to us to be the

requests of reasonable men and I repeat that it would appear to us that the international community enjoying civilised standards, and the great religious institutions of the world, would agree that such requests as these are more than remarkably mild given the

circumstances we are in.

We have asked the South African Government to declare a moratorium on constitutional developments as changes in the

constitution are further invitations to the spilling of blood.

I am, in particular, deeply aggrieved that we as leaders of our people within that capacity have been unable to get the Government to move in the right direction. I am aggrieved because we all know that the right direction is indicated by these sane requests. When we made the request for a more enlightened labour relations in South Africa, the then Prime Minister Mr. B.J. Vorster, was adamant in his refusal to think further about the matter. Since then, radical changes have in fact been made. The gains that there are in the enlightened legislation are politically not traceable back to the so-called 'homeland' governments. It is tragic that the small advances which have been made in urban areas, such as the freedom of building societies and commercial interests to participate in home building, can also not be traced back to our

petitions for a better deal for the urban Blacks in 1974 and 1975.

We are, we think, in a pivotal position to bring about peaceful change in this country and yet it would appear to us that the Government drives a wedge between ourselves and urban Blacks. If ever there is the likelihood of partnership between Black and White in this country, I represent that opportunity. As a practising politician of many years standing, you will know that constituency backing is vital. I feel aggrieved because I cannot go to my constituencies and report successes through co-operation.

The kind of successes I can report so far are the successes which came from my refusal to accept 'independence' or to co-operate with the establishment of a Black Advisory Council, or my refusal to give passes by sitting on a committee which the Government used to 'improve' instead of abolishing the 'pass system.'

Thus, when we talk about co-operation we have got to talk about co-operation within the context of agreed programmes which recognise that we are marking political time and searching for a way out of a political morass. We sincerely hope that the next phase of Black/White political relationships in this country is not going to be characterised by a sense of desperation on the part of the present Government in its attempt to get Blacks to toe the political line which will lead to their encapsulation in both

economic and political experience.

We must realise that co-operation is a delicate and vulnerable thing. It is not useful to propagate party political lines in

situations in which we are groping towards co-operation. I think

it is true to say that the attempts we made in our think-tank to

get Nationalist Party MPs, members of parliament and Inkatha officials round the discussion table broke down partly because my constant warnings, which are really necessitated by the urgency

of our time that we are in an eleventh hour situation, were read as a threat. As one of my Ministers put it, if somebody came into the hotel where the discussions were being held and said: gentlemen this pillar is going to collapse, it does not imply that he, the speaker, was going to push the pillar over. Mr. P.W. Botha finds it necessary, within his framework, to talk about the total onslaught. That does not mean he is working for it or would

welcome it.

I repeat today my desperate concern to do something in coe

operation with the Government while we have the limited time at

our disposal to do so. I quite believe the Prime Minister when in Parliament last week he said terrible consequences would follow the use of violence in South Africa. I believe violence in South Africa is coming unless we do something about it. I believe the terrible consequences Mr. Botha talks about will in fact materialise unless we do something about it. I speak about these matters in some urgency and I do not want to be misread. There are those who think I strut around making empty threats. Mr. Minister, it is not in my nature to make empty threats. I

am not stampeded by the left or the right. I am my own political man and I walk along the corridors of history knowing that I have a job to do and I am going to do it.

Failure by the Government to deliver goods in terms of our representations over a number of years, as seen above, has created problems. It has enabled our political enemies to dub our co-operation as collaborations. They do so even where it is in the interests of our people to co-operate with your Government. There is a persuasive and vociferous clique who see the Government as the black man's enemy. The Afrikaners themselves did not 'collaborate' with their enemies when they were struggling. But they co-operated in schemes and projects which furthered the interests of their own people.

I say this knowing full well that those who rely solely on protest politics and who do not desire to be involved in fighting for day to day improvements in the lives of our people, want to tar all of us who still stand for peaceful change as 'collaborators'.



They want to be seen as standing alone in the arena of black politics as veritable political 'angels', and as the "only authentic leaders." That does not bother me because my people's support is concrete and has been proven over the years and it is there for all to see. But the disappointments over the President's Council and the above-mentioned disappointments, including the declaration from the Prime Minister that he will stick through thick and thin to classical apartheid, has the effect of removing the carpet from under my feet. In the long run this will corrode

and destroy that support.

If I fall into attending meetings with you, Mr. Minister, or your other colleagues, without tangible results my credibility will become suspect. Blacks see our meetings, rightly or wrongly, as giving a facade of there being "something cooking" as Americans say, while the Government has no intention of being involved with

Blacks in initiating change.

I pledge my full co-operation and I reiterate my total preparedness to bear the brunt of all criticism and to withstand harsh denigration in order to forge a future through non-violent means. And I also reiterate my dedication to my people that no matter how much I abhor violence, in the final analysis I will not betray their trust in me which demands that I work for equality for

all in a shared future with whatever means are available to me at any given time.

When I met the Prime Minister shortly after he assumed office I made the undertaking that I would co-operate with him in

all those things where apartheid was being dismantled. I would not co-operate, in other words, where more measures were being implemented in order to tighten the stranglehold of apartheid on black people's necks. This is where I stand even at this late hour. I wish, Mr. Minister, that during this session of your Parliament, I will become

convinced that there are things from your side which warrant my giving you and your Government that kind of co-operation.

Cape Town. 11 February 1982