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A REPORT BACK TO THE REEF AFRICANS ON THE CONFERENCE
OF BLACK LEADERS WITH THE HON. B.J. VORSTER, PRIME
MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA - ON THE 22ND JANUARY 1975.

by: The Hon. M.G. Buthelezi: - 9 FEBRUARY 1975

To put matters in perspective before I go into the purpose of this meeting, I would like to remind my brothers and sisters gathered here, that the meeting of black leaders with the Prime Minister, was a second Conference of its kind. The first one took place on the 6th March, 1974.

We are all aware like anyone else, that the over-emphasis on our ethnic groupings, by the powers-that-be, was largely a matter of the old divide and rule technique, which is as old as the Roman Empire. That is why we as black leaders decided to meet at Umtata, on the 8th of November 1973. We knew that black people were one people, and their problems were the same, and had very little to do with ethnic grouping. We realised that we could only tackle these problems with any hope of any success at all, if we have a common front and, if we adopt a common strategy. With this end in view, we approached the Prime Minister of South Africa, the Hon. B.J. Vorster, to allow us to meet him together, so that we could present black grievancies on a Common platform. This the Prime Minister acceded to, and thus the interview he granted us on the 6th of March last year, as I have already indicated.

We presented the black man's case formally, and through memoranda we discussed with him. At the March 1974, meeting, it might be a good thing for me to remind you that we presented matters as follows:

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1. (a) The meaning of independence, and the discussion was led by me and I was supported in making the initial presentation by the Hon. Chief L.M. Mangope, the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana.
(b) The basic principles of consolidation and the discussion was led by the Hon. Mr. L.L. Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei
2. Racial discrimination and the discussion on this subject was led by me, and in the initial representation, I was supported by the Hon. L.M. Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana.
3. The wage gap and disparity in revenue and expenditure in the 'Homelands': The matter was presented by the Hon. Chief L.M. Mangope, Chief Minister of the Bophuthatswana.
4. The position of the Urban Blacks and the problems of Black businessmen in Urban Areas: The discussion was led by the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, and he was supported in the presentation of this item particularly as it referred to problems of the black businessman in the Urban Areas, by me.
5. The medium of instruction in African schools was presented by the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa.
6. The phasing out of passes and influx control regulations: The discussion was presented by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and in this presentation, he was supported by the Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima of the Transkei.

7. The question of departments excluded from 'Homeland' governments: The discussion was led by the Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei.

All black leaders participated in the discussions. There was a strong divergence of opinion on most of the subjects discussed. The Prime Minister said that we were free to ask for independence, and no one came forward amongst us to ask for what the Prime Minister calls "independence". The main reason being that most of the leaders could not accept the basis of such independence, purely ^{on} the basis of the 1936 Natives Land and Trust Act. Moreover most of us felt that it would not be right to do so, without a clear mandate from you. The Prime Minister stuck to his guns, that he would not contemplate going beyond the provisions of the 1936 Act, which means that blacks end up with nothing more than 13 per cent of the whole area of South Africa, when they make 80 per cent of the population. While we acknowledged the fact that the present Nationalist government, had bought more land for black occupation, than any of the previous governments, we could not accept that the mere purchase of all this land settles the question of land between black and white, in South Africa. There was no ^{whether by 'independence'} clarity ^{on} the Prime Minister on the one hand, and the black leaders on the other have in mind, one and the same thing. The leaders spelled out point by point what they regarded as true independence. This area was never fully canvassed point by point in reply, except that the Prime Minister emphasized that he means independence in the dictionary sense of the word. Although there was a promise that during the current financial year, more money would be used (three times more than previously spent), the purchases under the 1936 Act can only be completed in 5 or 10 years time. The main point here is

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that even if the full quota of land promised under the 1936 Act is purchased we still remain not fully consolidated into compact and contiguous 'Countries'.

On racial discrimination there was a very emotional and in-depth discussion on the basis that racial discrimination is an assault on the human dignity of blacks. The Prime Minister's view was that he would educate his own people, and that we should also educate our own people on attitudes. The Prime Minister said that racial friction could not be avoided through legislation, but by education. He admitted that there were some amongst his own people who addressed blacks in a crude manner. He said that the other side of the coin, was that there were certain blacks who were arrogant when they met whites.

On the point that there was the wage gap and disparity in the revenue and expenditure of these so-called 'Homelands' and the revenue and expenditure for whites, it was decided to set up, a committee of experts, one nominated by Blacks, and one by the Prime Minister. They were to go into the whole contention by black leaders, that Africans in general, and the 'Homelands governments' in particular, are not getting a fair share, of services from taxes paid directly and indirectly by Africans.

Black leaders requested the Government to devise ways and means of closing the gap in salaries paid to different racial groups.

On the medium of instruction, that the language used in schools in the so-called 'white areas', should be the same, with that used in the 'Homelands' the Prime Minister suggested that the Minister of Bantu Administration goes into the legal constitutional and educational aspects and then report at the next meeting.

On Urban Blacks, and black businessmen in urban areas, the Prime Minister suggested a full day to be set aside to discuss the problems of Urban Blacks, as the Prime Minister admitted that the subject was important and big enough, to warrant the setting aside of the whole day to discuss it. That is how the Conference we had with the Prime Minister on the 22nd of January, 1975 came about.

When we approached the Prime Minister initially, we did so in order to discuss black problems, regardless of whether they were rural or urban, as black oppression in South Africa is the same. It is something based on colour and it is a system which forces all blacks, wherever they are, to live under the most untenable conditions, under which no other racial group, even those who share discrimination with Africans, has to live.

In this context we were most surprised after we had accomplished an achievement, in getting the Prime Minister, to sit down with us around a table to discuss Urban blacks, that some blacks baited in the main by the white press, took it upon themselves to question our credentials for speaking for our people here. The struggle of the blackman is one, and even during the hey-day of the banned African organisations, such as The African National Congress, and the Pan-Africanist Congress, no distinction was ever made between urban and rural leadership. There were several leaders who served even as Presidents-General of the African National Congress, who came from rural areas. I dispute that there is any blackman who is not acquainted with the whole impact of black oppression, in South Africa, I am dealing with this at such length because, I think this is the time which calls for each one of us whether he is urban or rural to join forces, coordinate efforts and adopt a common strategy. This is no

time for chewing the cud of mutual recrimination, purely on the basis of who should speak, for whom amongst Blacks. If we do not guard against this great 'Divide', on the basis of the press bait, we will find when it is too late, that we have fallen, into yet another trap which seeks to weaken our full impact, and which creates an artificial barrier between oppressed people, on the basis of whether they are Urban or rural. This is ridiculous and farcical. Its price is too great, we cannot afford to allow it.

Having said that I now come to the main purpose of this meeting. I came here to report back to Urban Africans of the Reef, on the discussion on Urban Blacks we had with the Hon. B.J. Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa, on the 22nd of January, 1975.

Urban Black problems were dealt with as follows:

(a) Security of Tenure and Home Ownership and this discussion was led by the Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei. The Chief Minister of the Transkei supported by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, submitted that unless Black people in the Urban Areas, particularly second and third generation inhabitants, associated and identified themselves with a Homeland, their permanency in the 'white' urban areas should be recognised. The Black leaders proposed a free -hold form of land tenure for Blacks in Urban Areas.

The Prime Minister did not accept the granting of free-hold rights to urban blacks; his argument being that whites cannot have free-hold rights in most 'Homelands', ^{that} and he cannot

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therefore allow Blacks to have freehold rights in 'White' areas. He argued that whites were not allowed to purchase land in freehold in the so-called Black areas, to protect the Black population groups who were an economically-weak population group. He promised to look into a form of lease-hold which he stated would give blacks, a right to make improvements on their houses, and to get compensation for them. Most black leaders participated in the discussion as did the Minister of Bantu Administration, his two Deputies and Secretaries.

(b) Trading rights of the Blacks in the Urban areas:

The discussion on this item was led by me, and I was supported by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu. ^{before Conference} I put the memorandum I presented at the March Conference on the subject. We went through that memorandum point by point. I requested that the one-man one-business rule be relaxed; that Black businessmen should be able to own business establishments other than that providing only for the daily essentials and domestic of Black residents; that the ban on the establishment of Black partnerships, financial institutions and wholesale operations should be lifted and that the licencing procedures for businessmen be the same as those of white businessmen. I further submitted for consideration and discussion a memorandum on the same subjects submitted to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, on October 31, 1974 by Mr. S.M. Motsuenyane, and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. Other Black leaders also participated.

The Prime Minister said that the points raised were all valid. He promised that these matters would be

evaluated and laws and regulations affecting this situation would be reconsidered.

- (c) Influx Control Regulations: The discussion on this item was led by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and he was supported by the Hon. Chief L.M. Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana. The Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, took up the question of the Bantu Administration Boards.

Professor Ntsanwisi appealed for the complete abolition of influx control and he described influx control regulations as a denial of the fundamental human rights. Chief Mangope pointed out that these regulations caused hardships which needed at least to be eased. Paramount-Chief Matanzima pointed out that the institution of the Administration Boards had not alleviated the position of work-seekers, who were looking for work in the Urban Areas. He emphasized that there was hardly enough employment opportunities in the 'Homelands'. Other leaders also participated, as did members of the Prime Minister's team.

The Prime Minister said there was no alternative to influx control and he said that it could not be done away with. He stated that it was the Government's view that the influx control regulations protected the existing black labour force in the Urban Areas. He stated that a certain official by the name of Mr. Meyer, was at present investigating possible amendments to the regulations. The Prime Minister invited the leaders to submit suggestions and, if it could be found, a solution, for the entire system. The leaders

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excepting me, agreed to appoint three representatives, at the Prime Minister's suggestion, from among themselves, who would sit down with the official concerned, and possibly others as well, to work out a better system. I suggested that it might be better if we as leaders and other Blacks, gave evidence and submitted memoranda on the influx control regulations, instead of joining the officials in working out what was considered "a better system of influx control". This was rejected by the Prime Minister and my colleagues said that the Prime Minister's suggestion was reasonable. In the light of the Prime Minister's categorical statement that, if we were suggesting that the pass-laws be repealed, as we did, it cannot be done, I felt that I could not sit down and produce as a co-author with government officials, and "improved influx control system". I believe that one can give evidence to an official Committee, entrusted with the job of doing this, but not risk being the co-author of something that one's people would still not be satisfied with. I quite appreciate the difficulties entailed in the influx of people without jobs into the Cities throughout the World, but I cannot accept it in South Africa, so long as it is discriminatory, in so far as it applies only to Africans, and to no other racial group. I felt that this was a question of principle.

- (d) The position of professional Blacks in the Townships:
The discussion on this was led by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi. He dealt with the position of professional Blacks, and in particular that of doctors. It was felt that professional Blacks, should be free to practise their professions in the Urban Areas without any difficulties. The question of disparity in pay in

the case of doctors, was also dealt with. The Hon. M.C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told the meeting that it was Government policy to encourage professionally trained Blacks to settle in the 'Homelands'. The leaders felt that African professional people, such as doctors, should not be forced to go into the 'Homelands' and must make up their own decisions. The Prime Minister said that this policy was aimed at helping the 'Homelands', but if the 'Homelands' did not require this protection, the policy would be revised.

As far as salaries were concerned, the Hon. M.C. Botha, pointed out that in a Homeland with self-government such as the Transkei, which has its own department of health, doctors employed by the Transkei received the same salaries as white doctors. It was further stated in a bland statement, that it was Government policy to narrow the wage gap, in the urban areas. Other leaders also fully participated in the discussion.

- (e) Civic Rights for Blacks in the Urban Areas: The discussion was led by the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. The Chief Minister pointed out that Urban Blacks were sophisticated and politically conscious, and needed to have their own local government. The position as exists at present, it was pointed out, was far from satisfactory. He was supported by the Chief Minister of the Transkei and me. I pointed out that Urban Councils needed to have a budget like all, other Civic Councils. The Prime Minister asked whether this meant clothing Urban Councils with more responsibility and we concurred.

A suggestion was made by the Hon. M.C. Botha, on the merging of Urban Councils with Representatives' Urban Boards. This it was stated, would be looked into.

At this point I read an excerpt from the memorandum presented to us by the Mayor of Soweto, Mr. Makhaya. I put to the Prime Minister the suggestion the Mayor of Soweto made, that Soweto be proclaimed a Black Homeland. I recalled that at a meeting I attended here in Soweto, the then Mayor, Mr. Lengene, once requested me to make representations to that effect, in the middle of a mammoth gathering at the Jabulani Stadium. The Prime Ministers' response was terse, and it was to the effect that the proclamation of Soweto as a Homeland, was out of the question. The Minister of Bantu Administration remarked to the effect that this would be too easy a solution. The Prime Minister went on to say that if I asked, him to concede on this suggestion of making Soweto a Homeland, he must reply with a "No". That disposed of that item.

- (f) Public Transport facilities: On this item discussions were led by the Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei. The Chief Minister pointed out the inadequacies of the maximum transport facilities afforded Blacks from and to their places of employment. He pointed out that these had reached a saturation point. He said that the contrast of these facilities with those provided for whites, can only cause more and more bitter anti-white feelings. He pointed out how people had to stand in queues for long stretches of time, and how they had to go into expenses of hiring taxis as a result. The Chief Minister of the Transkei proposed an inter-departmental Committee representing Transport and the department of Bantu Administration

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and Development to go into the matter.

The Prime Minister pointed out that conditions were much worse in other Countries. He said that the problem of moving huge masses of people at peak hours, was an international problem. It was pointed out that an inter-departmental Committee does review the problem yearly, and that millions were spent to improve transport facilities. The Matter, it was decided would be discussed at the next meeting.

(g) Mass removals of Blacks from Urban Areas to Homeland Areas:

The discussion was led by the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. He complained about lack of facilities, in the areas to which people were being removed. He said that people suffered when they were "dumped", penniless in areas without facilities. Then certain specific removals in Lebowa were discussed at great length. The Hon. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, told the meeting that the Government objected to the use of the word "dumping". He said that it was a principle of the resettlement programme that no one was sent to a place where essential facilities such as water, schools and housing were non-existent. He told the meeting that people were compensated for whatever they might have to leave behind. He said the policy was to resettle only "the workless".

(h) Ethnic Grouping in Urban Townships: The discussion was led by the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. The Chief Minister pointed out that ethnic groupings amongst blacks, were taken too far by the administration, in spite of the fact that our people in the Urban townships,

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were living together in one milieu. He pleaded for people to be able to live in free association in the urban townships, and not by way of regulations. He said, that this applied to residential areas, and schools.

The Prime Minister said that in the Urban areas Blacks were free to associate, and that the Black leaders themselves requested that in Urban Areas Schools should be organised along lines corresponding with those of the various 'Homelands'. It was stated that the matter would nevertheless, be investigated.

(i) Education Problems: The Discussion was led by the Hon. Professor Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and was supported by the Hon. Mr. L.L. Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei. The subject was sub-divided into:

- (i) Medium of instruction to tally with the medium of instruction, used in the area of a particular 'Homeland' Legislature, to which citizens in a particular 'Homeland' belong.
- (ii) The new rule concerning the equal use of English and Africans as media of instruction.
- (iii) Africanisation of black Universities.

The Discussion as I have already pointed out, was led by the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi. He proposed that the medium of instruction used in schools in the Urban areas should be the same as that used in the schools in the 'Black Homelands'. The Hon. Professor Ntsanwisi, supported by the Hon. L.L. Sebe, submitted for discussion and consideration, a memorandum on the same subject, submitted to the Secretary for Bantu

Education on January 7, 1974 by the Joint School-Boards and Committee-Boards of the Southern and Northern Transvaal Regions of Bantu Education. I pointed out that this question of not allowing our people in the urban areas to use the same medium, as that used in those areas, called 'Homelands' to which their taxes are channelled, and in which they are supposed to be voters cut right across the principle of self-government, offered blacks and in fact made a mockery of it. I was supported in expressing this view by the Hon. Chief L.M. Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, who said that this was not in keeping with self-government, since the Urban black population, who were denied the right to use the language which the 'Homeland' Legislature has decided should be used, as a medium of instruction, were supposed to be Citizens of those 'Homelands'.

It was contended by the leaders that English was more generally used in the 'Homelands' High Schools and at all the Black Universities. A request was also made for the change in the rule, concerning equal use of English and Afrikaans as media of instruction, in the Urban Schools. A case for the administration and control of Black Universities to be placed into Black hands so as to bring about "Africanisation" of Black Universities, was very ably, presented on behalf of Leaders, by the Hon. Professor Ntsanwisi. It was argued that key-decision-making posts and bodies, should be placed in the hands of black people. It was pointed out that black academic staff should also get equal pay with their white colleagues, especially now that this has been put right at the University of the Western Cape.

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On the medium of instruction, the Hon. M.C. Botha said that the matter was extremely complicated, posing enormous practical problems involving more than 5,000 schools and required further investigation. The matter was presently being taken up with various school boards by the Secretary for Bantu Education. I asked what the time schedule for putting right this question of medium of instruction would be, and the Minister of Bantu Administration Development and Education, the Hon. M.C. Botha, said that "the matter could not be rushed". I pointed out that the feelings of the people on this issue had been expressed for quite sometime now. The Minister said that the matter could not be "steam-rollered". I denied that I wanted the matter "steam-rollered" but that a time schedule for fixing it up, needs to be set down. The Minister disputed that the issue had been going on for a long time, arguing that, we had mentioned it at our conference in March 1974, and that it had also been mentioned by the kwaZulu Cabinet about two years ago.

The question of mother-tongue instruction for pupils of one 'Homeland' residing in another was discussed at great length. A few misunderstandings, especially regarding the position in Garankuwa and Mabopane East were cleared. On this aspect of the matter, a meeting of the respective Chief Ministers to discuss these problems would be convened by the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Education, the Hon. T.N.H. Janson. Most black leaders participated in the discussion.

- (j) Trade Unions for Blacks: This discussion was led by the Hon. Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana.

Before the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana could speak, the Prime Minister pointed out that this matter of Trade Unions had been fully canvassed in Parliament in 1974, and that legislation was passed. He thought it could not be taken any further.

The Chief Minister asked whether the Prime Minister meant that the matter could not even be discussed, pointing out that our people were not satisfied with Works Committees. Chief Mangope then placed before the Conference a letter and memorandum sent by Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, to the Minister of Labour on behalf of the National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.) on the subject of Trade Unions. The Minister of Bantu Administration the Hon. M.C. Botha pointed out that the Minister of Labour had dealt with matter. The Prime Minister however, finally offered to arrange a meeting between the leaders and the Minister of Labour, although it was not indicated when such a meeting is likely to be held, as the Prime Minister still had to approach the Minister of Labour.

- (k) The Detente in Southern Africa: This discussion was led by me, and was probably the most controversial part of our whole conference, with the Prime Minister. I was supported by the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana. Other leaders who participated in this particular discussion were the following: Chief Ministers; the Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima of the Transkei, the Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi of Lebowa, the Hon. Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, the Hon. Mr. L.L. Sebe of the Ciskei.

In my presentation, I congratulated and applauded the Prime Minister of South Africa the Hon. B.J. Vorster

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and the President of Zambia, H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda on their efforts to promote detente in Southern Africa. I also read excerpts from a letter from a P.A.C. refugee abroad, in which he praised the Prime Minister and expressed hopes that the Prime Minister would rise to the occasion, and that his new deal would not just be "a repetition of the same policies that are already unacceptable to the International Community at large", and this African patriot expressed a hope that "the Prime Minister can, certainly deliver a lightening stroke from the Southern Africa dark horizon and save our people and Country, as a Nation, from being the international Community's "whipping boy", that should be pilloried at every other following conference". I quoted other excerpts, but I will only end up with that one to show you, to what extent I felt I should encourage the Prime Minister on black expectations, after he has taken initiatives on a détente in Southern Africa.

I reminded the Prime Minister of what he had said to us, in March 1974 that he does not believe on racial discrimination, but in differentiation and I told him that we can hardly tell the difference between the two.

I reminded him, that by cooperating with his government, in implementing this policy, we had been slated as "collaborators with the Oppressors", by certain elements, within South Africa, and others outside South Africa.

I reminded him that there were those amongst us who do not believe in Apartheid as a philosophy, but who have cooperated merely there were no other alternatives allowed in the interests of a peaceful settlement being found. I pointed out the hopes raised that Blacks were going to have a meaningful change in view of his

"give-us-six-months", speech.

I told the Prime Minister that this was to us, a natural corollary of his initiatives in the present détente in Southern Africa. We hoped to share power, and decision - making, in a new and meaningful way. I told the Prime Minister of the assurances I was given by H.E. President Kaunda, when I visited him in December, 1973 that he also believes in a peaceful change, on the basis of the Lusaka Manifesto. I reminded the Prime Minister that we had presented the Lusaka Manifesto to him, in March 1974, as a reasonable basis for a peaceful change in South Africa. I told the Prime Minister that President Kaunda had then told me that he believed in a meaningful dialogue, with South Africa, but that a meaningful dialogue should take place between us within South Africa, first before, he is interested in it. I told the Prime Minister of a similar statement by the President of Liberia, H.E. Dr. William R. Tolbert Jr. to me this year, when he said that if the Prime Minister wanted to meet him as an equal, that he would be interested only, if the Prime Minister regarded his black brothers in South Africa first, as equals.

I told the Prime Minister that I had told the President of Liberia, that although the Prime Minister does meet us as equals around the table, as today, it was too early for me to judge whether we are moving towards real and meaningful equality, in South Africa. I told the Prime Minister, that President Tolbert had expressed the view, that they would be guided by us, their black brothers, as to what stance they should adopt towards South Africa.

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I told the Prime Minister that we do not regard the present government policy on consolidating these areas, on the basis of the 1936 Natives Land Act, as leading us to such real and meaningful equality. But that after his Senate Speech, his Nigel Speech, and Mr. R.F. Botha's speech at the United Nations, in which the latter, condemned racial discrimination, we were full of expectations, and that our hopes had been raised even on a more meaningful consolidation of the 'Homeland' areas, I hoped that and that he would seriously consider a federal formula on the basis of properly consolidated 'homeland' areas.

I then stated that although the item on the détente had been placed on the agenda with the concurrence of my fellow black leaders, I wanted to point out that I did not want to embarrass them, by assuming that they also agree with me, on the part of my memorandum, I was then about to read. I told the Prime Minister that I took full responsibility for this part of my memorandum. I warned: "We have been prepared to endure abuse, in the hope that the government's policy may be a road to real fulfillment for Blacks. If this road, as appears under the circumstances described above, is leading only to cul-de-sac, then our only alternative is to seek fulfilment not in unreal "separate freedoms", but in one South Africa and in the only seat of power which is Parliament". I went on:

"I would like to make it crystal-clear, that I am not saying these things, in any spirit of ill-will or threats, but I feel that it is my moral duty, at this point in time to point out, the only logical alternatives we have, if we do not want our people to resort to Civil disobedience and disruption of Services in this land. Not that I

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intend leading my people in this direction at the moment, but I do feel judging by the mood of my people, that it is timely, that I should point out that if no meaningful change is forthcoming for them through the governments' policies, this will come as a logical alternative. I believe in avoiding situations, when we as South Africans can only hurt each other, with no real victors on either side. At the same time, I want to say that I cannot be expected to successfully ward off the venting of pent-up frustrations of my people, if the government continually fails to offer them anything meaningful through their policy." I quoted a number of excerpts from Mr. R.F. Botha's speech at the United Nations. I also quoted extensively from the now famous speech by Mr. R.F. Botha, South Africa's representative at the United Nations. On page 6 of his substantive text Mr. R.F. Botha said:

"I would be naive Sir, to pretend that I do not know why it is that members of this Organization especially the African members display towards us this antagonism, this lack of goodwill. It is basically because these members think that the Whites of South Africa have some inborn hatred and prejudice against the Blacks, that they consider themselves to be superior to or in some ways better than the Blacks and that on these grounds they discriminate against them in order to deny them fundamental rights and freedoms". and on page 9 to 10:

"A policy such as our which is designed to avoid disaster, to eliminate friction and confrontation between different peoples to eliminate domination of one group by another and to give every man his due can surely not be said to run counter to civilized concepts of human

dignities and freedoms

"Our policy is not based on any concepts of superiority or inferiority, but on the historical fact that different peoples differ in their loyalties, cultures, outlook and modes of life and that they wish to retain them.

"I do not deny that unsavoury and reprehensible incidents between Black and White do occur in South Africa, incidents which no civilized man can defend, incidents which I cannot condemn too strongly".

Owing to the fact that it was getting late, I was not able to quote one of the most important passages in that whole speech, which appears on page 13. I think it will be of great interest to this meeting if I quote this passage from Mr. R.F. Botha's speech at the United Nations:

"Despite this I know very well that many members of this Organisation will say to us: Well that all sounds very fine but if you really feel as you say you do why is it that the policies of your Government are discriminatory? Why is it that your legislation or some of it anyway distinguishes between persons on the grounds of colour and race?

"We do have discriminatory practices and we do have discriminatory laws. And it is precisely because of this that the greatest misunderstandings occur and our motives are most misrepresented. But that discrimination must not be equated with racialism. If we have that discrimination is not because the Whites in South Africa have any 'terrenvol' Complex. We are not

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better than the Black people, we are not cleverer than they are. What we can achieve so can they. Those laws and practices are a part of the historical evolution of our Country, they were introduced to avoid friction and to promote and protect the interests and the development of every group not only those of the Whites. But I want to state here today and categorically: My Government does not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race or colour. Discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin cannot be defended. And we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour.

May I refer to just one example, the field of Sport. To use the words of my Minister of Sport, if by apartheid in Sport is meant discrimination on grounds of colour or race then apartheid is disappearing and will disappear from Sport in South Africa. I would mislead you if I imply this will happen overnight. There are schools of thought, traditions and practices which cannot be changed overnight. But we are moving in that direction. We shall continue to do so".

I quoted some of these extracts to show the Prime Minister what has heightened black expectations as a result of his utterances, and the utterances of South Africa's permanent Representative at the United Nations.

The Hon. Chief L.M. Mangope, referred to the March 1974 Conference and the Prime Minister's statement that he did not believe in racial discrimination. He asked whether we are going to be separate and equal, and wanted to know what the import of the Prime Minister's speeches was, and that of Mr. R.F. Botha, at the United Nations.

The Chief 23/

The Chief Minister wanted to know what had been done to educate the people in South Africa to avoid harmful racial incidents. The Hon. Prof. H.W. Ntsanwisi praised the Prime Minister for his role in promoting détente, and hoped that this would lead to an improvement of conditions for black people in South Africa. The Hon. Paramount-Chief K.D. Matanzima, supported him, and also pleaded with the Prime Minister to take the Black leaders into his confidence on the question of where South Africa was going. The Hon. Dr. C.N. Phatudi also stressed the expectancy created by the recent speeches. The Hon. Mr. L.L. Sebe, expressed hopes of meaningful change and the expectancy he had encountered in his travels even abroad.

The Prime Minister repeated the main theme of his speech in the Senate, dealing with peace and cooperation in Southern Africa. He outlined the reactions in Zambia and else where and then dealt in detail with his speech in Nigel. Quoting from the type-written text of the speech, the Prime Minister said, that he had not asked for six-months for himself, or for his party, or for his policy, but for South Africa, and that even those who refused to give him that time will see where South Africa stands in 6 - 12 months. He was referring here not to domestic affairs of South Africa, but to the question of South Africa's position in Africa and the World. He repeated that if peace could be achieved in Southern Africa, the black leaders would appreciate where South Africa would then stand.

The Prime Minister said that those people who now **feted** the 'Homeland' leaders at Conferences had had their opportunity in the past and asked what they had done for

the black 24/

the black people, and leaders, of that period. The black leaders, were now recognised as such, and could discuss matters with him as equals. He said, that Government policy was indeed to get away from purely racial discrimination. However, he pointed out that there are many differences, which existed in South Africa's multi-national composition. He said, that very day's meeting with black leaders, on matters of vital importance to them was proof of how the Government was trying to eliminate friction and how the black leaders shared in the considerations, and decisions on matters affecting black people.

On the question of sharing power in one Parliament, the Prime Minister said that this was not the policy of his Party and his Government. However, black leaders would eventually have sole power in independent States. Meanwhile more and more opportunities would be created for black people to exercise power and responsibilities in the "Homelands", and to obtain experience in for example international affairs. The Prime Minister mentioned in this connection the recent what he called "multi-national" delegation to the United Nations and the training of Black diplomats and information Officers abroad.

Referring to my memorandum, in which as you have heard, I referred to Civil disobedience and disruption of Services, if black aspirations are not met, the Prime Minister said that I should consider my position and statements. He said no one would be allowed to take the law into his hands, and South Africa would be administered on the basis of law and order.

He said, he envisaged independence for all 'Homelands'

and promised 25/

and promised that South Africa would, after their independence provide financial and technical expertise to the new Countries. He said that we must wait and see what happens when the Transkei gets its independence.

- (1) The question of Amnesty for South African political exiles and prisoners: This discussion was led by me, and most leaders participated with great feeling in it. When the Prime Minister asked me what I meant by political prisoners, I said I have in mind people like Mr. Nelson Mandela. I told the Prime Minister that even on the basis of common law offenders, a remission of sentence is given after a certain period of time, and I appealed that this matter be dealt with in the same way. I pointed out that the Rhodesian political detainees had been released as a result of the Prime Minister's initiatives. I felt this was the psychological moment to release our own political detainees. The Chief Minister of the Transkei, the Hon. K.D. Matanzima, in supporting my presentation, said that special consideration ought to be given to those who left the Country without a passport, and who now wished to return to 'Homelands' such as the Transkei.

The Prime Minister said that if people left South Africa, and did not commit a crime, and were not Communists, but their only crime was leaving the Country without a passport, he would consider their return sympathetically, if the leaders vouch for them. The same applied to those who left with an exit permit. The Prime Minister said that he had warned these people at the time, that if they had been sentenced by a Court for breaking the law and later fled the Country, they would receive no mercy. Referring to one of the prisoners whose names

had been26/

had been mentioned, and others who are in prison with him, the Prime Minister said the prisoner in question boasted of being a Communist in Court, and he had not changed his mind. He said the same applied to some of his fellow-prisoners. He went on to say, that all people in South Africa, Blacks and Whites, needed protection against the aspirations of Communists such as the individual, who did not, in his opinion, speak for Black people, but on behalf of the Communist Party.

On the questions put to the Prime Minister by Dr. Phatudi and others by me, on Mr. Robert Sobukwe, the Prime Minister said that Mr. Sobukwe did not fall into the above-mentioned category. In other words, he was not a Communist, even though he had other problems. He said that his case was reviewed from time to time. On being asked by me, on whether he could not initiate a special review of Mr. Sobukwe's case, at his special instance, the Prime Minister said he would do so, although he cannot bind the Minister of Justice and vice-versa.

Other issues discussed were, Foreign Investments in 'the Homelands', the powers and functions of Commissioners-General and the proposed new autonomous Homeland Development Corporations. I will not go into them.

I have come here because I believe that I have a moral obligation to report to you as our Constituents. I do not consider that it is good enough for me to trust that you will get tit-bits, of what was discussed through mass-media. That is why I am here to day.

As you have seen on peripheral issues, there, were a few concessions, here and there. I believe that it is time,

we hear 27/

we hear from you whether we can adopt a new strategy, in the light of the reactions to our presentation of your grievances by the Prime Minister.

At the same time, since I went so far as to issue the warning of what might happen, I felt that I need to come and explain exactly what I said, and exactly what I meant. I have not deviated from my path of non-violence, in spite of all the violence arrayed against us, as ^{the} powerless and voiceless people of this land. Since our people can never meet violence with violence, even if one assumed some wanted this, I do believe that they have other non-violent methods, which will come to hand automatically, if nothing meaningful emerges for them, in terms of sharing real decision making, political power and of sharing the wealth of South Africa which we have also worked to produce, over decades of years. These are no threats at all, but responsible warnings of what is logical, if the détente leaves us cold, in this part of Southern Africa, with nothing meaningful for us, in terms of the sharing ^{of wealth} and decision-making, I have referred to above.

All these things cannot be over-simplified. These things mean an uphill struggle such as the Afrikaner himself had. In many ways our struggle is, and will be much more arduous than that of the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner at least had the advantage of a White-skin, the veritable measuring -rod of Security, and privilege in South Africa, for the last three hundred years.

What I have come to say is, that we need to think seriously, of the only alternatives, that might be forced on us by circumstances, white intransigence, and white greed. I fear that if, we are taken by surprise and we are caught napping, I would never forgive myself for not issuing these

warnings.

These are not things, I say lightly, nor are these things we can be jubilant about. These spell for us the painful path which all oppressed people have at one time or another to traverse, as there are hardly any short-cuts to freedom.

Our Afrikaner Countrymen who are today wielding power over us, should know these things, better than anyone, since their own memories of their own subjugation are still so fresh, being less than a century ago.

I realise only too well that just like the Afrikaner, our path to freedom is full of dangers. The Afrikaner will bear me out, that this is a path fraught with suffering, and I am afraid even with death, for some of us. The consolation I have which, I hope is well founded, is that the Afrikaner himself did not ascend to power only through bloodshed. My daily prayer for him, is that God should give him the grace, He gave the English, to bow to the inevitable, while there is time.

Most of you might expect miracles from us. Some of you use us even to ventilate their frustrations, as if we retard the pace of your march, to freedom. That is one of the reasons why I have decided to come and tell it to you, like it is!. This I am doing in the hope that you will realise that we have a great moral duty to make sacrifices for our posterity. The Afrikaner who is ruling us today is reaping the fruits of many sacrifices, his forebears made for him. The way to freedom was for him, sprinkled with the sweat with blood and with tears. If we expected any less than this, it can only mean one thing, which is that we are living in a Fool's paradise.

We as your leaders cannot dictate sacrifices to you. We must liaise with you, and reach some **consensus**, as to where we are going, and how we are getting there. We have to learn from past experiences and avoid some of the mistakes of some of our predecessors. It is no longer good enough to promote sporadic dramatic actions, which will be topical in the World press for a few weeks or even months and then peter out. We must aim for something which will make our rulers come to terms with us not just on the basis of a make-shift arrangement, but on the basis of finding a formula for peaceful co-existence of people of South Africa, of every race, and of every colour. It is no longer good enough to blast us, for not "talking sense into the Prime Minister", as some of you would say. We want to know alternative suggestions given direct to us and not through mass media. This we must do, if we are all convinced that black solidarity is the answer to black oppression. We do not pretend to be some demi-Gods, we are human like each one of you, we are no more some devils or angels, than anyone of you can be either of those things. We have power, and we can only use it effectively, only ^{do not by} if we ^{stop} talking black solidarity, but if we act as if we really believe in it.