

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH PROFESSOR O LEHTO, VICE-PRINCIPAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITIES AND PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI, FINLAND AND DR OLLI LEHTO BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

ULUNDI. 5TH MARCH 1991

Professor Lehto and Dr. Olli Lehto, I welcome you to Ulundi and in doing so I want to express my deep appreciation for the fact that you have actually come here to see me to gather your own information.

This is so very important because there is so much point and counter point that confuses foreign observers about realities in South Africa that I find that I have to spend a considerable proportion of my time undoing the damage that misrepresentations of South Africa have done to perceptions of South Africa.

This has been the case for years but in recent months I have been able to advance arguments very much more easily and convincingly that things are not what they appear to be in South Africa. All I do now is say that South Africa today was thought totally impossible two years ago by virtually all the foreign observers of this country. Foreign correspondents filing their stories made assumptions of the inability of South African society to bring about the reform that the whole world was demanding. They fell prey to ANC propaganda at the time that apartheid cannot be reformed and must be destroyed.

We are showing that the ANC was then wrong. We are showing that powerful forces are producing reform moves which nobody will now stop. We are showing that what was thought impossible is now actually taking place.

One of my gravest concerns about the misrepresentation of South Africa as a place in which politics was such that international sanctions and the armed struggle were justified, is that this false view does irreparable damage to the real issues that are at stake.

Those who painted pictures of South Africa as some kind of extremity of political existence beyond which there will probably only be very vast bloodshed in a race war because apartheid would

not be eliminated in time to avert it, blinded the world to the real problems of the country and to the action which was needed.

For years I have been arguing that reform can work in South Africa. For years I have been arguing that non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid is far more powerful than any armed struggle or any international sanctions could be.

I have argued thus because I have watched Black South Africans here in this country dismantling apartheid piece by piece by their opposition to it and by their refusal to be finally subjugated into being their own keepers in apartheid.

While revolutionaries were drumming up support in the external world justifying the armed struggle and seeking punitive economic sanctions against South Africa, Black South Africans in the country have got on with the job of doing that which had to be done.

Even now I am astounded that there are still some in the world who respond to the ANC-type statements which maintain that sanctions are needed and that its private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must be kept ready because; there are prospects. of:Mr, F.W. de . Klerk reneging on his undertakings to bring about fundamental reform.

This is just not true and I say this because it is politically impossible for Mr. de Klerk to renege on his undertakings in the way the ANC thinks that he could do so. Anybody could, of course, fail but Mr. de Klerk's failure would bring down the South African Government. Mr. de Klerk cannot fail in the way the ANC says he can fail - that is by failing but remaining in government to preside over White recalcitrance.

Mr. de Klerk only has a viable constituency support base for the reforms that he has committed himself to bring about. If he failed to bring about these reforms, his Party would be reduced to political shambles and alternative forms would take over.

I say this because institutionalised White South Africa, and indeed all institutionalised South Africa, are now the driving force behind Mr. de Klerk's reform politics. South Africans across all colour groups and across all the major Party political lines of division are ripe and ready to be united in a massive South African endeavour to normalise South Africa as a modern, Western-type, industrial, multi-Party democracy.

South Africans across the board now want a normalised society. They want an end to apartheid and they want a South Africa in which Black and White can join together in establishing a multi-Party democracy.

South Africa's organised mining, commerce, agriculture, banking and industry contain a very large proportion of groups and individuals

who shape the opinion of opinion-makers. All organised mining, commerce, banking and industry is now working for the new South Africa which we all envisage beyond apartheid. They are working

to establish the responses to our political environment which will be capable of carrying us through to the multi-Party democracy we want for the future. They have been doing so for years now and it is tragic that the world has fallen more behind the mistaken analyses of revolutionaries calling for sanctions and the punitive isolation of South Africa, than they have fallen behind institutionalised change taking place in South Africa which has for some time now already ensured the final and total demise of apartheid.

I have been terribly upset about the lack of support that there has been for the reform process which has really been at work in South Africa because I have a sense of urgency which drives me ever onwards to make every endeavour to move as rapidly as possible to normalise South Africa as a modern, Western-type, industrial, multi-party democracy.

I am intensely aware that more than half of all Black South

Africans are 15 years old and younger. There is right now a huge new generation population bulge bearing down on South Africa's market places. We already have vast unemployment and we are now going to face very substantial increases in the levels of

unemployment because during recent years - and perhaps even during the last half a decade - the world has been blinded about the need that there is to create jobs and to educate and train people for them,

I have not yet seen research findings bold enough, progressive enough and of large enough scale to actually quantify the problems we are facing reducing unemployment to acceptable levels.

From every projection from which I have been able to extrapolate in my own mind, whatever we do now will be insufficient to bring about a significant reduction in unemployment rates and a significant increase in the standards of living for as far as we can see ahead

economically. If you stop to think in terms of the vastness of the unemployment crisis and the cost to industry of creating new jobs, you will come up with astounding capital investment requirements.

If you could stop now to look at the kind of distribution of skills that will be needed in South African society to run an economy which would ensure that unemployment rates were reduced to acceptable levels, you would find that we do not have enough technical class-rooms and lecture halls available to produce the workers of the future that we will need. Going back from there, you would find that we would not have the time to recruit and to train the number of lecturers that will be needed to man the technikons even if we could build them in time. If you go even a step further back from that and look at the number of school graduates that will have to be produced to fill the training colleges at which lecturers at technikons could be trained, you would find that we do not have the high school facilities to do so. Going even a stage further back than that, you would find that if we started now we could not even find the teachers that will be needed to man the schools that will be needed to produce the graduates that will be needed to man the technical colleges that will be needed to produce the workers that will be needed to run the kind of economy which we ideally should have in the future.

That is in the field of education per se but the field of education exists in a veritable sea of want which must also be looked at. The huge population bulge bearing down on the market place and dramatically endangering already dangerous rates of unemployment

also has vast implications for health and welfare. The same thought process must be entertained as I have just been presenting about education. Millions upon millions of Black South Africans

live quite outside any form of State-run health care. They are too impoverished to find health care from private practitioners and clinics. The vastness of the problem that already exists is difficult to exaggerate. The huge population bulge bearing down on the market place is also bearing down on health and welfare facilities.

Around every major city in South Africa, there are vast squatter areas where even rudimentary township hygiene is totally lacking.

The backlog in health care is exacerbated by the fact that it is not only a shortage of clinics, doctors and hospitals we are talking about. We are talking about a huge backlog that there is in the provision of water-borne sewerage and refuse removal systems without which there is a very limited extent to which adequate health care facilities can be introduced.

If you take a city like Durban and realise that there are more than two ' randila thalf: million black squatters lliving in informal settlements, slums and shanty towns around it, which know no local government and which do not even have rudimentary services normally provided by a Local Authority, you will gather something of the enormity of the problems we face in providing health services for the masses.

When I look at the problems we are going to face in the field of education, health and welfare - and of course you can add certainly housing and more besides - I am astounded that there are still those lin the world who talk about the need to maintain sanctions against apartheid.

Apartheid is doomed; it is finished and all that is left is for us to dismember it finally and throw the pieces away. It is no threat to future south Africa. It is the lack of preparedness to produce a society capable of establishing a democracy and maintaining it because governments of the future will have the means to govern for the benefit of the people, that constitutes the real threat we have to face.

Everywhere across the length and breadth of Africa poverty has been the mortal enemy of democracy. I cannot tire of pointing this out to people and saying that political victories which are won at the expense of economic development, are foolhardy victories that will bring no real ultimate benefits to the people.

There is something very frightening about exponential growth rates. The famous illustration of lillies in a pond doubling their number each month really must be taken to heart in South Africa. We are already at the point where the last month of doubling will actually fill the whole pond.

While South Africa's population growth continues around three per cent per annum - which it will do for as long as there are the present levels of poverty in the country - our society will have the gravest of difficulties in producing the wealth that governments will need to govern for the benefit of the people.

Every factory that was not started five, ten years ago that could have been started five or ten years ago, is a tragedy today because ten years ago it would have contributed to help the base-line

population figure which has grown exponentially since. Over that ten years that that factory did not contribute to that base-line is a ten years in which the offspring of that base-line worker group have been subjected to malnutrition diseases and have contributed towards the population bulge sector which will demand rather than give to the new South Africa.

It is against these demographic and economic realities that I set Inkatha . Freedom Party's highest priorities to bring about reconciliation now so that in the final dismantling of apartheid, we can develop the national will not only to produce a democracy but to go on to make the national sacrifices, the regional sacrifices, the local sacrifices, the family sacrifices and the

230 individual sacrifices which will be needed to pull South Africa up by its own bootstraps and to enable it as a country to care for its own people. This process of reconciliation, this putting economic reality where it belongs, and this prioritisation of national endeavour is imperative.

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