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MEMORANDUM BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU  
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA  
FOR A DISCUSSION IN ULUNDI ON 18TH OCTOBER 1989 WITH A DELEGATION  
FROM ZAIRE:

Dr K-N Gahiga Member of the President's Round Table of  
the African Development Bank, President of  
Transafrika Zaire

Mr J Gahiga From Zaire

Prof NE Wiehahn UNISA and Director of companies

Mr GRD Gosmann Siemens Ltd. Johannesburg  
and Mrs Gosmann

Mrs. Gosmann, I welcome vyou to Ulundi but I must first bid Dr.  
Gahiga and Mr. Gahiga welcome to Ulundi as visitors from afar. I  
am always very, very pleased to have an opportunity to speak to my  
brothers and sisters from other parts of Africa. There is a shared  
something between Africans no matter where they come from which I  
do not think you will find in any other continent.

In South Africa's case the sense of brotherhood has been  
intensified by apartheid which has isolated us from the rest of the  
world. Ever-increasingly the punitive political, economic and  
social isolation of South Africa from the rest of mankind has been

biting deeply into the relationships which should be forged between  
us and the rest of Africa at this point in time.

I speak for millions of Black South Africans when I say that  
apartheid is doomed and that there is no prospect whatsoever of the  
ruling National Party ever being able to return to imposing  
classical Verwoerdian apartheid. Far right politics no longer  
takes place within monolithic powers capable of forcing its will on  
the majority of people in South Africa.

The majority of the people in South Africa know that the back of  
apartheid is broken and that victory will be ours. I have a deep  
sense of urgency when I think about what has yet to be done before  
the politics of negotiation finally puts apartheid behind . us and  
establishes an open, race-free democracy.

It lis at this point in time that we most need to do everything we  
can to maximise the number of contacts with Africa and the rest of  
the world and to work hard to deepen every contact that has been

made or is being made. A solution to South Africa's problems  
cannot be a solution in isolation.

Now that the world's super-powers are withdrawing their prescriptive and proscriptive interference in Southern Africa and Africa beyond, we should be doing a lot more to find each other across State borders than we are doing.

I see the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia needing to be made into a watershed event. Whatever riches there are in South Africa, Central Africa and Africa beyond, we must all recognise that Africa is still paying the price of its colonial past and that the escape from poverty, ignorance and disease is in some important

senses proving to be more difficult than the escape from colonial domination.

In South Africa itself, which has perhaps more going for it than many parts of Africa have, it will take a generation or more of very hard work before political victories are made really meaningful to the people in terms of substantial increases in standards of living. When I realise that in South Africa the highest possible rates of growth that can be realistically expected in an industrialising society will be insufficient to stem the rates at which unemployment has been growing for a generation or more, I begin to have insights into how difficult the problem really must be for countries which do not have South Africa's mineral wealth and mining, industrial and commercial infrastructures through which job opportunities could be multiplied.

I have always had a vision of Africa in which the central economic backbone running from Zambia to Cape Town could be employed in the upliftment of vast tracts of Africa. We need to take the mineral backbone running down from Zaire through Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana and through South Africa right down to the Cape Province, and turn it into a great highway for human development. Every country in South and Central Africa should be brought into a symbiotic relationship with every other country. There should be give and take and there should be the spread of knowledge, initiative and technical know-how across countries joined together in economic terms to create vast internal markets and vast internal productive capacities for exporting to First World countries.

The raw material that leaves Southern and Central Africa should be processed in Africa to generate more jobs and more wealth. We should have our own sub-continental banking institutions and trade agreements so that we maximise both the development of wealth and the flow of wealth between countries. There is indeed a vast

amount to dream about and there is therefore a vast amount of hard work to do.

I am quite convinced that we should be able to make differences in ideology and differences in philosophy, and differences in constitutional form, quite irrelevant when it comes to economic development. If I was the leader of South Africa it would be quite irrelevant to me whether Mocambique had a Marxist government or not, or what form of government there was in Zambia or Zaire. What would be relevant to me is how we could come together each to help the other face our Third World problems, and each with the other prove that the term "Third World" was a misnomer applied by the haves of the world to the have-nots of the world because they thought the have-nots would remain have-nots.

Wherever I have met human problems in the midst of vast poverty, it has become very clear to me that that which works to produce wealth and make money will generate the kind of forces to solve human problems. Let there be a metamorphosis of Southern Africa and Africa in which each State becomes whatever it wants to become provided

that we get on with the job of producing wealth that any and every government would need to govern wisely.

Democracy is greatly prized in Africa, whether it is conceived as a one-Party democracy, a socialist democracy or as any other kind of democracy. We could all be brought to see that wherever mass poverty really spreads in Africa, democracy of whatever form has succumbed to internal destructive forces. There is common ground which could be found between States, regardless of their

ideologies, and that common ground is the need for economic development.

To me it is very tragic that we Africans have not begun to institutionalise our interdependence. What societies, what organisations - whether government, semi-government or private - actually exist to create channels of communication between Black and Black and between country and country? We need the free flow of people between countries; we need the free flow of ideas; we need the free flow of technology and the free flow of a host of different skills between countries in Africa. The time has come when we should establish mechanisms of sharing.

I sit in my place in Southern Africa looking at the rest of Africa and I ask how the Organisation of African Unity has actually helped my starving brothers and sisters a stone's throw away from me in one direction in Lesotho and a stone's throw away from me in another direction in Mocambique and Swaziland. My African pride is hurt when I see that Presidents of poverty-stricken governments have to turn to Western industrial nations. When President Nyerere had his difficulties in making his ujamaa system work, or when President Machel and later President Chissano had problems with

making their socialist economy productive, why do they have to turn to Western inputs?

I know on one level the answers are simple and seemingly sufficient. But on another level, the question I am asking is very pertinent. Are we not failing each other because we in Africa have not institutionalised our dependence one upon the other? It sides this vision of sharing in Southern Africa and sharing between

Southern Africa and Africa beyond which makes me so angrily impatient with apartheid.

Apartheid has kept us isolated from the rest of Africa. When apartheid is vanquished – and it will be – it will be a victory for the whole of Africa. Again, I ask questions. I ask how are we preparing to make a liberated South Africa meaningful to the rest of Africa in terms of being used as a springboard for development? Some things will flow fairly easily and immediately after liberation in South Africa has been achieved but there has been

virtually no attention given to future scenarios in which South Africa will be free.

There ought to be at every university in South Africa and in the rest of Africa Chairs of International Co-operation and Development. Every Foreign Affairs Minister ought to have a deputy charged with international co-operation and development. South Africa's Development Bank and the African Development Bank should be exploring how best to shake hands and how best to roll up their sleeves and get on with generating the production of wealth.

Dr. Gahiga and Mr. Gahiga, I say all of this to welcome you to Ulundi and to express a Black African brotherhood and to say gentlemen, with my welcome I ask what is there that I can do for you, or what can we do together as brothers?

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