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MEMORANDUM BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA
FOR DISCUSSION WITH INTERNATIONAL BANKERS VISITING SOUTH AFRICA
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF FRANKEL, KRUGER, VINDERINE INC.
JOHANNESBURG. 2ND AUGUST 1989

Mr J Cole - Chief Executive Cole National Corp.
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr A di Novi - Vice-President Thomas H Lee Co. Boston

Mr SA Wehrwein - Managing Director Drexel Burnham Lambert
London

Ms L McCarthy Vice-President, Banker's Trust Co. Los
Angeles

Mr KH Davis - Partner, Kohlberg & Co. New York

Mr SL Frankel - Managing Director, Frankel Kruger
Vinderine Inc.

Mr G Rothschild - Director Frankel Kruger Vinderine Inc.

Dr L Frankel - Chairman Frankel Kruger Vinderine Inc.

Mr J Kier - Thomas H Lee Co. Boston

Mr S Lipchin - Berkshire Partners

It was in 1486 that Bartolomeu Dias arrived at the Cape and the
first Dutch settlement of the Cape took place:in 1652. The slaves
were first imported in 1658. South Africa has known racism for a
great long time because racism came with the first settlers.

Blacks in this country have known Whites as conquerors and rulers
who adopted despotic power to dominate their vanquished. This
experience of racism is the most dominant Black experience even
through this four-fifths of the twentieth century. Long after
other colonial powers divested themselves of their colonial
holdings and actually turned to assist those whom they had
conquered to exploit, South African Whites continued with racist
oppression of Blacks.

I am mentioning this not because I want to emphasise white racism.
It needs no emphasis, it needs no exaggeration. I am merely
casting my mind back over time to say that I really do understand
why the rest of the world has come to regard South Africa as a
place in which forceful measures must now be used to bring about
justice. I understand a feeling by the rest of the world that only
outside pressure can bring about the downfall of apartheid. The
view that South Africa will not change unless foreign governments

â200\230 interfere o unless there lis an internal insurrection or
revolution, must however now be looked at within the framework of
what is happening in South and Southern Africa today.

I just want initially to say that some Black South Africans, and most Black South Africans in exile or in the revolutionary wings of the ANC and PAC, have cultivated this view that there can be no reform in South Africa, but this is just not true. Those who cry out the loudest for revolutionary violence are the ones who cry out loudest for punitive international action against South Africa.

In turn, those who most want to set up a one-Party State and are most committed to Marxism or one or another brand of socialism, cry the most for revolution. I observe that we have the strange phenomena that in sanctions against South Africa the Western industrial world is most supporting those who least strive for the democratic and civic ideals that Western history has distilled out of experience as the most valuable.

Putting that aside as a consideration all on its own which requires in-depth analysis, I would like to look at South Africa with you as a place where the majority of the victims of apartheid, the majority of Black South Africans, stand four-square behind the stances adopted by Black South Africa's leadership in 1912. In 1912 when the African National Congress was formed as a direct result of the 1910 Act of Union which excluded the vast majority of Blacks as voters, Black South Africans began gathering themselves together to oppose racism through non-violent tactics and strategies.

The real Black struggle for liberation that has been going on in this country ever since 1912 has been a struggle to gain Black acceptance as equals in every institution of South Africa. We have always struggled to take racism out of South Africa's institutions. Our struggle has never been a struggle to drive the white man into the sea and to destroy the institutions that have emerged in South Africa over the centuries. All we want is our God-given right to be free and equal in the land of our birth.

I lead in politics and it is politics which makes for very tough going. I would stand totally unacclaimed and totally rejected if I did not speak the language of the people - if I had no rapport with them - if I misrepresented their thinking and did not strive with them to achieve their objectives.

The fact that Inkatha emerged in 1975 as a membership-based organisation to pick up the democratic non-violent struggle where the ANC had left off when it was crushed by banning orders in 1960, ensured that Inkatha would grow in leaps and bounds.

South Africa went through very traumatic experiences in 1976, 1977

and . . . 1978. They were years in which the world saw Blacks on the rampage and a euphoria developed in which the imminent doom of apartheid was forecast. Those years were the years of

unprecedented protest and violence. Yet it was during 1976, 1977

and 1978 that Inkatha doubled and re-doubled its membership every year. Three years after it came into being Inkatha had more paid up members than the ANC had gathered after a life time of work.

Inkatha's membership has continued growing ever since 1975 and now stands at around 1.7 million. These are card-carrying members I am talking about; ordinary people who have put their hands in their pockets to find subscriptions so that they could pay their dues and become members.

I am not making these points for any reason other than to back up my statements that Black South Africa really does support non-violent tactics and strategies against apartheid. This Black South Africa that constitutes the masses against apartheid rejects all revolution and rejects punitive economic action against South Africa as action which <could really only be supported by revolutionaries.

We suffer in this country from the problem that black politics has been shackled for so long that the who's who of politics is a matter of opinion. There are no elections being fought and won, or fought and llost, to determine the who's who. I must therefore advance alternative support for the strength of what I am saying.

If I was not correct and if Black South Africa was not seeking entry into society as it is known but purged of racism, the armed struggle which has now been enduring for over 25 years would in fact have succeeded by now. A quarter of a century is a long time to pursue a failing armed struggle. This quarter of a century in our circumstances is a quarter of a century in which really massive international, financial, diplomatic and military aid was given to revolutionaries.

The full force of Soviet assistance was available to revolutionaries and yet they did not succeed. I was very interested to see now that Dr. Fidel Castro, in addressing the Cuban Council of State on the 9th July this year, says clearly that he decided to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola because he saw that the war could not be won by his side.

Quite clearly the late President Samora Machel saw that the war would not be won by revolutionaries. Had he faith that revolutionaries could win, he would never have signed the Nkomati Accord. Just as Angola and Cuba would not have been signatories to the Brazzaville Protocol if they thought the war against Dr. Jonas Savimbi, supported by South Africa, could be won.

It goes even further. The United States, Cuba, Angola and the Soviet Union now talk in unison that issues in Southern Africa cannot be settled through violence. There is a very much broader recognition that non-violent tactics and strategies are tactically and logistically superior to war and revolution.

I advance the most telling argument of all, however, when I say that even if black democracy has been shackled by Draconian laws and the banning and jailing of individuals and organisations, one can clearly see that Black South Africans vote with their feet in support of non-violent tactics and strategies.

When the world's media writes about South Africa going up in smoke, Blacks continue to work in our mines, factories and offices. There is now not one factory in the whole of South Africa which has been brought to its knees by revolutionary activity. Black workers in factories keep factories alive.

There is not one bridge, nor one electricity supply system, nor one section even of a water supply system, which is not entirely intact. South Africa is a country of vast spaces in which attacks against infrastructure could be highly successful if our black population was truly committed to war and revolution.

The message that the West must now hear is that the politics of negotiation can get off the ground and that there is now real hope that the politics of negotiation will get off the ground.

I am not saying this because I believe that there will be a change of heart among White South Africans. I believe this because White South Africans will be as pragmatic as necessary to protect their vested interests. White vested interests can now best be protected in a process of integration in which race groups become politically interdependent, just as they already are economically interdependent.

The National Party is not a monolithic power. It is a Party in trouble and a great many very important thinkers in the Party really understand that political survival for the National Party means abandoning apartheid as a failure. The leadership crisis which led to the State President being replaced by Mr. F.W. de Klerk as leader of the National Party, followed a developing crisis in which the National Party was losing people to the left and to the right.

Quite clearly the present constitution of South Africa has to be scrapped because within its framework there can be no negotiations. Mr. P.W. Botha as State President has attempted to mount negotiations within the framework of the present parliamentary

system ever since the day it was introduced. It was introduced as a vehicle for negotiation - as he understood the meaning of negotiation. :

The rigid partition of South Africa into a central white power surrounded by powerless black satellites, has been abandoned as an ideal. The old National Party demand that so-called White South Africa will get whiter and Blacks will seek their political destiny in black States, has been abandoned. There is now formal, legal and constitutional recognition that Black South Africans are South Africans and that they can remain South Africans in one State.

I do not want to say anything which gives anybody the impression that battles have been won and that it is now a matter of mopping up. Nothing could be further from the truth. The going is going to get very tough yet and we will have to live through a difficult transition period.

The message I would like all of you to take away with you is that not only is it going to be the political Parties now on the ground working for the politics of negotiation which will succeed in forming the first post-apartheid government, but mining, commercial and industrial enterprises which are now in South Africa and stay the course, will have advantages which will be extremely difficult to buy after liberation.

South Africa is not going to go up in smoke. Efforts now being made to bring about peace in Angola and Mocambique could succeed. Resolution 435 can now be successfully implemented. The politics of negotiation in South Africa can now win. Everywhere trade will follow the negotiator and every quelling of violence will create investment opportunities.

There will be some rueful directors in the large international corporations who have abandoned South Africa and disposed of their holdings here. How can Mobil, for example, hope to regain the competitive position it had in South Africa? What hope have any of the large corporations of buying back into the South African market as easily as they sold out?

I am very glad that the Whites-only general election being held on

September 6th is coming at this point in time. There have been dramatic events in Southern Africa, just as there have been dramatic reappraisals between the West and the East. It is most

opportune that at this point in time Mr F.W. de Klerk is fighting an election which I believe will show that the Conservative Party is no ultimate threat to the politics of negotiation.

White South Africans generally speaking want the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western industrial type democracy. There may be some nervousness but they do not believe that the heavens will fall down if apartheid goes. They do not want South Africa to continue to be the pariah of the world and they do not want to attempt to exist on the continent of Africa with the whole world and the whole of Africa against them.

We have the very distinct advantage of South Africa being the most industrialised State in Africa. Millions of Black South Africans are born and have been bred into a society where work is essential for life. Millions of Black South Africans would actually starve within one week if factories closed down everywhere. The weekly pay packet means life and quite clearly Black South Africans see that if they want to graduate from subsistence to affluence, it will have to be through hard work. We are not a nation of beggars. We expect nothing for nothing and we have the advantage of being able to look across the rest of Africa to see what can happen after liberation.

Black South Africans do not want to be worse off after liberation than they were before apartheid was vanquished. What Black and White in this country now begin to do in rational attempts to protect vested interests, will have to be done in harmony with what is best for a free enterprise system. There will be no leap into socialism in South Africa. Southern Africa has already learnt that ideologies do not fill bellies. I am quite sure that this country will maximise its benefits if it maximises the advantages of being located in a north/south global economic axis. I am also quite sure that Black South Africans will see to it that the maximum number of jobs are created and that the maximum redistribution of wealth takes place to liberalise our somewhat restricted free enterprise system.

I have confined myself to talking about large-scale thoughts and global things because these are now the driving forces at work in South and Southern Africa.