

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

The "vicious circle" in which SA finds itself

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has extended the national State of Emergency declared on June 12 last year.

In a statement following Mr Botha's announcement, Dr M G Buthelezi said it was "inevitable" that the Government would do so because it had failed to negotiate with blacks "around the core issues" which were generating political unrest.

"It is a vicious circle," he said. "Unrest sweeps the

country and despite the appearance of curtailed violence, the base of violence is actually being extended."

States of Emergency could address some of the consequences of unrest but they could not address the reasons for the unrest.

"Last year I warned that "violence is a wanton thing which rapidly spreads out of control, and violence out of control is totally antagonistic to meaningful negotiations . . ."

"The extension of the nationwide State of Emergency is a clear indication that

violence is still out of control and there are still circumstances antagonistic to meaningful negotiations.

"States of Emergency are actually violent responses to violence and I for one cannot see how I can be drawn into real negotiations if States of Emergency disrupt normal political life and I cannot back my negotiating positions up by my democratic behaviour on the ground among the masses.

"All of us who are really committed to the politics of negotiation lament obstacles to it. We lament the fact that there is now yet another year of emergency regulations ahead."

Dr Buthelezi said the more difficult negotiations were, the more prone the SA Government would be to commence whatever negotiations they could within "terrible restrictions."

This would mean that the Government would be prone to negotiate ineffectively with the "wrong people about the wrong issues . . ."

He added that had the State of Emergency been applied as rigorously to whites as it is to blacks, whites could not have had a general election on May 6.

The mandate that the State President sought from whites demanded the kind of meetings which blacks could not hold to give their leaders mandates to enter negotiations.

"Once again discrimination spreads everywhere and what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. White South Africans now really must take this point I am making.

"I ask for no more as far as seeking mandates from black South Africans is concerned than the State President provided for himself to hold an election."

Mandela belongs in a free SA

"I am sad that the State President in his announcement of the extension of the State of Emergency saw fit to present the incarceration of Dr Nelson Mandela as being the responsibility of the ANC because the ANC did not allow Dr Mandela to disavow violence.

"It is the South African Government which keeps Dr Mandela incarcerated in jail. I say I am sad because the reasoning of the State President yet again discounts the historic importance of the fact that the majority of black South Africans really want non-violent solutions to our country's problems and will back leaders like myself in the politics of negotiation.

"Let ordinary black South Africans become the keepers of Dr Mandela's freedom. He belongs in a free South Africa. His release is crucial to the normalisation of black politics and alone can ensure that States of Emergency are not necessary.

"The extension of the State of Emergency is a declaration of a lack of faith in black democracy, and black democracy is the only thing in our country which can save our country from the awful fate of political degeneration which drives the State President to declare States of Emergency." —

Dr M G Buthelezi

Clarion Call is published quarterly as a permanent document of record and reference and as such is printed in this format. Individuals, companies, institutions and others are welcome to subscribe. A R100 P/A subscription fee is requested to assist in defraying publication and postage costs. Cheques should be made out to the Bureau of Communications, KwaZulu Government, and addressed to P O Box 650915, Benmore, 2010, RSA. Please clearly print the sender's name and address.

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STOP PRESS

The Rev. Leon Sullivan has replied to a letter written to him by Dr M G Buthelezi on the disinvestment issue. (See Pages 21-25).

Rev. Sullivan wrote (his letter has been abridged): "You know by now I have taken my position and called for the withdrawal of American companies, until statutory apartheid has been abolished and . . . agreements reached with

authentic and representative black South African leaders such as yourself.

"I took this position after deep, deep concentration and much prayer. I thought it was necessary for me to take the next step with Corporate Force to help, hopefully, along with other efforts, to move the South African Government to meaningful changes . . .

"I will never turn my back

on your efforts in South Africa, and one way or another will remain in the struggle with you. I admire you so very, very much, and one day all of South Africa will benefit in much broader ways from your historic and extraordinary leadership.

" . . . Although we seem to be going in different directions, we are both converging on the same goals . . ."