

NO SOLUTION CAN BE IMPOSED UNILATERALLY

Telling as it is to the Afrikaners of Potchefstroom University, is Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, the biggest political movement, Black South Africa ever produced.

I came to you today as a Black South African and what is more, a Black South African who is rapidly accumulating the kind of experience with Afrikaners accumulated before 1948. Afrikaners ought to know what I am talking about when I talk about being made to feel alien in the land of my birth; when I talk about rejection in the corridors of power; when I talk about being ruled by alien forces; and when I talk about experiencing economic, social and political rejection. Afrikaners ought to know that people who experience these things are welded together in opposition to the forces which are responsible for alienation and deprivation. Afrikaners of all people should be the most aware that the collective experience of deprivation and alienation gives rise to collective responses. Afrikaners of all people ought to know that the policy of separate development, combined as it is with social, economic, and political deprivation will result in the kind of broad multi-strategy approach among Blacks which will become an invincible movement of political migration towards the corridors of power.

AFRIKANER IDENTITY

Afrikaner social, cultural and political drive stand in the very real danger of having emerged and coalesced in order to establish Afrikaner identity which, while it affords to others the right also groups achieve identities and thereby control the nature of the achieved identity. The fostering of this kind of identity in Afrikaners will give rise to equal and opposing identities in other groups. It is politically futile for Afrikaners to justify group identity while they themselves entrench their

identity in a dominating political role in South and Southern Africa.

AFRIKANER POLITICAL DOMINANCE

Afrikaners have become South Africans, just the way Blacks have become South Africans. The diversity of Afrikaner cultural origins is the same kind of diversity that we find in Blacks. The political process in this country can take cognizance of Afrikaner identity only to the extent that Afrikaner identity can be divorced from Afrikaner political dominance. The view that future political relationships will be dominantly relationships between ethnics groups in this country, is the kind of mass wishful thinking which blinds Afrikaners to reality.

THE ACT OF UNION

The Act of Union was an act of Unification which created a new South Africa, and there is a little prospect of the National Party finally sub-dividing the country into some kind of quasi reflection of pre-unification states as it would be impossible for the Reagan Administration, or the West Germany government or the Italian Government to dismember America, Germany or Italy and to reconstitute those countries into confederations of independent constituent states.

The National Party is intent upon the destruction of the richness which could flow from interlinked and interlocked cultural diversity in one country with one political system. This is our destiny; delaying at may impair it, and impairing it won't help the National Party, Afrikaners or White South Africa.

FRAGMENTATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

Government policy recognises that in the Black/Black relationships of the future, these gentlemen will not be determining factors in 87% of the country. And in recognition of this situation, the Government is going to attempt to set about solving the political dilemma that the fragmentation of Black South Africa has created for it. Government policy is going to regard Urban City Councillors as the most important leaders amongst more than half of South Africa's African population who are permanently located in so-called White South Africa. When one stops thinking about Africans as a different kind of human being, the absurdity of placing national responsibilities on village councils, town councils and city councils is patently clear.

"WHITE SOUTH AFRICA"

The attempt by the Government to solve the Black Urban problem that its own policies have created, white South Africa is going to be taken into every deeper political waters by his sub-conceived notion that in this day and age local Government can carry the burden of national responsibilities. The error upon error which the Government is making stresses from the National Party myth that ethnic origins play a dominantly determining role in the creation of and in the direction of African political aspiration. Ethnic based politics super-imposed on reality will unmeasurably compound our problems in facing up to the need for radical change and bedevil political relationships between Black and White.

SOUL-SEARCHING

Homeland institutions were foisted on us, willy-nilly against our will. And because I compounded so arduously, and when these institutions were finally foisted on us, it was of the people turned to demand that I occupy the dominating political role in the new set-up. After much soul-searching, I bowed to the pressures exerted on me and accepted the role that I now occupy in KwaZulu. Ever since my acceptance I have stomped the countryside and campaigned actively for the rejection on the next step in the Government design for us. I have won massive public support and I have won landslide victories at the polls because I reject the quasi type of independence which the South African Government is offering us.

The 19th century South Africa cannot now be recreated. A South African Nation state was created in 1910 which cannot be dismantled. For better or worse history has already ordained that there is one South Africa, with one people — as diverse as that people may be, and with one destiny.

PARTY POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

In the final analysis, the future is not going to be shaped by National Party ideology, nor do I believe that it will be shaped by any existing ideology. There are, among Black leaders and Black opinion — former those who believe that the future can be shaped through Africanist ideology, Black consciousness ideology, or a Socialist or Marxist ideology. I believe that together they err with the National Party in thinking that specific Party political ideologies can author the future and determine Black and White political relationships in the long run.

For me, the new constitution amounts to a gross mismanagement of the forces of change. Real political change in this country revolves around the crucial question of Black/White power-sharing, and the constitution is the political step towards the negation of the concept of power-sharing between Africans and Whites,

that is between 72% of the country's population and a politically entrenched white minority.

BLACKS AND WHITES

There is nothing in the new constitution which addresses the question of Black or White political relationships. In fact the new constitution rests on the assumption that there can be no constitutionalised relationship between Blacks and Whites in 87% of the country. The new constitution rests on the assumption that the only way Whites can relate to Blacks is through a confederal structure in which Blacks are foreigners and not South Africans.

BLACK/WHITE POLARIZATION

Apartheid aims to fragment Black Society. To the extent that it does so, it is destructive of the very national will among Blacks which White Society will one day so urgently need to complement the White national will to establish a stable and democratic society. At the heart of the matter, we have White control over the existing State threatened by a constitutionally disowned 72% of the population. The fragmentation of the 72% of of the population into constituent components, each of which can be made into manageable political forces, is an understandable temptation. The South African Government doing what it is doing in this respect may well be taking white South Africa into an all on nothing position. If it fails to bring all the so-called homelands to accept the kind of independence being offered to them; and if it fails to deal politically with Africans in so-called White South Africa who already outnumber Whites, then the Black politics of despair and anger which would evolve during the National party's misconceived attempt will become an uncontrollable force which may not serve the best interest of Whites and South Africa. The Black/White polarization which is an adjunct of National Party policy is dangerous for all of our futures. Apartheid will not lead to national reconciliation, and national reconciliation alone can give rise to a national will to grapple with

the problems together which we confound when we tackle them separately.

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION

The Buthelezi Commission has so far not been accepted by the South African Government. Although we are still going to produce White papers on each of the reports for presentation to the Government, I am not confident that the Government is in the mood to look at any Black initiative as far as the resolution of South Africa's problems is concerned. For them, only their way is the right way.

The Buthelezi Commission was unique in many ways. It was the first Commission of its kind where Black and White joined in seeking a solution for the Natal/KwaZulu region in the context of South and Southern Africa. People of all race groups were represented in the Commission. People of all shades of political opinion in South Africa were represented, except the National party and the External Mission of the ANC. The former declined to have a role, and the latter never answered one way or the other.

WHITE MINORITY POWER ELITE

To me, the only formula for the resolution of South Africa's problems is one which involves participation by people of all population groups on the basis of equality, as happened in the case of the Buthelezi Commission. No lasting solution can be imposed unilaterally by one group on the rest of the population. This is true even where the White minority power elite seeks the support of other minority groups, such as Indians and Coloureds, as is happening under the new constitution. They will not find a lasting solution with no participation by the African majority. Black and White relations can only be resolved by Black and White sitting as equals around the table. As long as Whites consider themselves to be divinely appointed to impose solutions on the African majority, we will move further away from resolving our problems in South Africa.