

Are these the words of a moderate leader?



Mr Malcolm Fraser with Chief Buthelezi.

The former Prime Minister of Australia, Mr Malcolm Fraser, was told at a meeting in Johannesburg in September that Chief Buthelezi was often referred to in the media as a "moderate" Black leader.

Chief Buthelezi told him that he could not understand why because he asked for no less for Black South Africans than other Black leaders.

"The media frequently refers to me as a "moderate" leader and it frequently qualifies my leadership by calling me a Zulu leader and Inkatha a Zulu organisation. This is at the most polite level of distortion..."

Writers politically hostile to him went a step further and called him a "Bantustan leader" and a "tribal leader" and, even worse, a "sell-out" and somebody who was "working within the system..."

The facts were that he rejected the South African constitution and had campaigned vigorously against it. He and Inkatha had refused to participate in the State President's Black Advisory Council, the Special Cabinet Committee and Community Councils.

Chief Buthelezi said he had "served his apprenticeship" in the African National Congress under Chief Albert Luthuli and others.

It was Chief Luthuli (the Nobel Peace Prize winner) who had persuaded him to take up his hereditary position as Chief of the Buthelezi people. The Government had been vehemently opposed to him doing so and had done everything possible to make this impossible.

When he succeeded, the Government withdrew his passport and for nine years he was regarded as "a threat" and was *persona non grata*.

Pretoria hoisted by its own petard

The people of KwaZulu regard themselves as South Africans demanding one South Africa with one people under one government, Chief Buthelezi told Mr Fraser.

"It was the South African Government which created KwaZulu as a political arena and not the people of KwaZulu," he said.

He emphasised that, contrary to widespread misconception, KwaZulu was not the creation of apartheid.

KwaZulu existed as a sovereign State before the British occupation of Natal in the nineteenth century. KwaZulu had its origins in the Zulu kingdom which the full might of the British army defeated in 1879 at the Battle of Ulundi.

Parts of the original Zulu Kingdom had been cut off and added to the Transvaal and KwaZulu had been fragmented by apartheid.

Parts of it were now occupied as so-called White South Africa by Whites, Indians and Coloureds. However, KwaZulu as such was not a creation either of the National Party or of any White Government.

It was ironic, he added, that many of

those who called him names and denigrated him because he was an hereditary and an elected leader in KwaZulu, had failed to do what he had done in the areas to which they traced their ethnic origins.

"They have failed to stop the South African Government in making the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei so-called independent States and for them now to turn to denigrating me as working within the system must be seen as malicious propaganda."

KwaZulu was the only so-called homeland where the Government had in the end to force the machinery of its homeland policy with the "full might" of the State.

"Just as it forces on the people of Soweto or Guguletu the townships and structures in which they have by sheer necessity to live..."

Because of his radical background and because of his success in mobilising the people of KwaZulu to reject the homeland policy, he was asked to lead them through "the political minefield" which had been established.

"Ever since then, I have used that same support of the people to reject apartheid and make the homeland policy unworkable.

"I have made the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly into a bastion of Black strength in opposition to apartheid. I have hoisted Pretoria with its own petard.

"The State tried everything to undermine my support and to remove me from power — even to the extent of getting the Bureau of State Security (as it was then) to mobilise opposition to me and to provide funds to establish an opposition party to me in KwaZulu/Natal.

KwaZulu was the largest so-called homeland in the country. Zulus numbered six million and, alone, they outnumbered Whites.

KwaZulu was the most politicised of the so-called homelands and had he succumbed to the tremendous pressure being exerted on him to accept the kind of quasi-independence which Pretoria was offering, the face of South African politics would be totally dif-

continued

ferent.

"We would by now already have had the State President's dreamed of constellation of South African States," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It was KwaZulu's rejection of independence which forced on the Government the necessity of rethinking their homeland policy."

He had told (Cabinet Minister) Dr Koornhof at a meeting in Ulundi that if the South Africa Government attempted to force KwaZulu to take independence at the point of a gun, KwaZulu would respond with a gun.

"I was quite prepared to lead my people into an armed defence of our South African citizenship. I have often

been accused by Cabinet Ministers of sabre-rattling."

Could this political track-record be described as "moderate"?

His people did not support it as moderate and he had not got a mass following of more than one million paid-up members of Inkatha because he was a moderate.

Fraser calls for sanctions aimed at Whites

International sanctions against South Africa could be structured to hit the heart of the White community, Mr Fraser told a Press conference at the end of his brief fact-finding mission to the country.

Summing up the impression he had gained during his talks with Government and opposition leaders, Black leaders and many others — as well as scenes he had witnessed — he said his views against apartheid had been "intensified and strengthened".

He added that apartheid was a "brutally enforced system ... which denies any semblance of human dignity".

There was probably only one other regime in this century which had been as racist, he said.

Asked if he was referring to the German Nazis, he told

reporters they should make their own deductions.

Mr Fraser was en route to the United Nations to serve on a commission to investigate and recommend rules for the operation of transnational companies operating in South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

Mr Fraser said that nobody wanted "blanket sanctions" but that these should be "phased and stepped" to achieve the desired result.

He believed sanctions could be so structured as to go to the heart of the White community in the Republic.

An example of this was the recent financial crisis caused by international bankers refusing to roll over short-term loans.

Mr Fraser said he felt the "sands of time were running out" for South Africa and that "drastic action" should be taken by the Government.

Tutu envisages a system of socialism in South Africa

A socialist system is the ideal that the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, envisages for South Africa.

The Nobel Peace Prize recipient was quoted in an interview in the Star of September 3 that he did not like capitalism.

He told reporter Estelle Trengrove that he believed that in the system he envisaged, there should be a bill of rights — individual rights, not group rights, protecting a specific group.

"I would prefer a system closer to socialism than to capitalism," he said.

"I don't like capitalism. I'd like a system in which you have caring, compassion, sharing..."

Turning to reports that the jailed

African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, had said the time for a national convention was over, Bishop Tutu said he and Mandela shared the same dream of a future South Africa but that did not mean he supported Mandela on every point.

Referring to his threat that he would leave the country if the violence in the township against those branded as "collaborators with the system" did not stop, Bishop Tutu said:

"People must realise that was an unpremeditated remark which expressed the depth of my feeling and my abhorrence of all violence. I was trying to say to people that violence is something that discredits a worthy and noble cause."



Reform will rescue SA economy, says Howe

If the South Africans wanted to maintain the strength of their economy they would have to make political changes, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said in a recent interview.

He said Britain had no intention of becoming South Africa's "solitary protector".

He also made a distinction between punitive sanctions and "judgements of the real world and the market place".

Sir Geoffrey acknowledged the role of international pressures being brought to bear "through economic judgements on the political consequences of what is being done in South Africa".

But he again ruled out "mandatory and coercive sanctions" as an effective instrument for bringing about reform.

He said punitive sanctions would "drive the SA government in the wrong direction at the cost of damage to African interests."

Pressure and judgements of the market place, which had led to the rand crisis, could only be avoided by political changes.

"The South African government has got to get into meaningful dialogue with the Black leadership in South Africa."

Britain wanted to see fundamental changes in SA, Sir Geoffrey said.