

Volume 3, 1989

*Classical  
Call*

FACTORS  
INFLUENCING  
CHANGE  
IN  
SOUTH AFRICA

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# TIME TO NEGOTIATE HAS ARRIVED

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**T**he Central Committee of the 1.7 million-member national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, has decided to enter into preliminary negotiations with the SA Government about negotiations.

This follows months of talks between a joint committee of the KwaZulu Government and the SA Government identifying "obstacles to negotiations" which resulted in a document being prepared for the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk. A working document of the KwaZulu Government was earlier presented to the joint committee in which the KwaZulu representatives outlined obstacles they had identified. (See *Clarion Call* Volume 1, 1989 and *Clarion Call* Volume 2, 1989).

The Central Committee of Inkatha has now set out its belief in the kind of constitution it believes South Africa should strive for. It has also called on all Parties in the country to ensure that negotiations are not unnecessarily

delayed.

It asks all black political Parties in South Africa to put the good of South Africa first and to strive for black unity based on the need for a "multi-strategy" approach to finally eradicate apartheid.

The following are the resolutions passed by the Central Committee at a meeting on November 12, 1989:

**W**e the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha state our conviction that the time to negotiate a new constitution has arrived and we urge all Parties so to behave and so to encourage their members that negotiations are not unnecessarily delayed. We particularly call on black political Parties not to let any delays be laid at our black political doors.

**I**n order to facilitate first-phase negotiations we resolve to declare Inkatha's convictions about the kind of constitution we believe South Africa should have. We therefore resolve yet again to state:

1. There shall be one united South Africa.
2. There shall be one sovereign Parliament.
3. There shall be a multi-Party parliamentary democracy.
4. There shall be the rule of law.
5. There shall be total equality for all citizens before the law and the constitution.
6. There shall be entrenched individual civic rights and

***"In the urgency of the times, Inkatha will do everything it can to facilitate final negotiations by facilitating talks about talks, talks about negotiations and negotiations about negotiations . . ."***

Inkatha Central Committee,  
November 1989

# ECONOMIC IMPLIC

***"We are aware of the time restraints that are placed on all South Africans who would want to get together to establish a fair and just South Africa, in which all are ruled the way they are willing to be ruled . . ."***

government which expresses the basic principles of democracy all civilised mankind respects.

## RESOLUTION 2

We the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha express our own joy at the release from jail of Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsosledi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Jafta Masemola.

We express our deep appreciation and great gratitude to these and all other political prisoners for the years and decades of their incarceration as witnesses to Black South Africa's commitment to democratic ideals.

We add to this joy and deep appreciation and gratitude our sense of dismay and concern for Black unity which Inkatha's exclusion from adding our joy to the joy of others has created.

entrenched rights of freedom of political association and the freedom of speech which only a Supreme Court interdict could pronounce upon.

and approaches to the formulation of group rights which a minority could not use for anything other than to guard against any form of tyranny by the majority.

### AND WE FURTHER RESOLVE:

7. To enter preliminary

8. To enter preliminary negotiations declaring Inkatha's

***"We the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha understand that economics and politics are two sides of the common coin of the good for the people of South Africa and wish to state our total conviction that politics which destroys the economic growth foundations of South Africa, or which in any way will make victories against poverty, ignorance and disease after victories against apartheid impossible, must be rejected . . ."***

negotiations about negotiations with these six points in mind and to negotiate approaches to the formulation of entrenched individual rights which cannot be used by a majority in tyranny against a minority;

own conviction that a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary State is Inkatha's first and cherished choice but that for the sake of South Africa, Inkatha is prepared to negotiate a federal, canton or other system of

### WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To express our great appreciation for the idiom in which our President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, wrote to all those who were released from jail with Mr Walter Sisulu and we identify ourselves with the word and the spirit of the letters

# TIONS IMPERATIVE

which our President wrote.

2. To call again on all black political Parties now to put the good of South Africa first and strive for Black political unity in diversity based on the general acceptance of the need for a multi-strategy approach to finally eradicate apartheid.

## RESOLUTION 3

We the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha are aware of the time restraints that are placed on all South Africans who would want to get together to establish a fair and just South Africa, in which all are ruled the way they are willing to be ruled.

We are determined to keep Inkatha ever ready to respond to any and all opportunities to negotiate as and when they arise, whether they are negotiations from the bottom upwards or from the top downwards.

In the urgency of the times, Inkatha will do everything it can to facilitate final negotiations by facilitating talks about talks, talks about negotiations and negotiations about negotiations.

## WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To call upon the South African Government to recognise that a lot can be done in negotiations on the local and regional level in KwaZulu/Natal and with Inkatha to examine what negotiations can be initiated at the Joint Executive Authority level about a joint Black/White endeavour to redefine Local Authority structures and to finalise thinking about alternatives to Regional Services

Councils in this region.

2. To call upon the South African Government to call for a meeting of all political Parties in the region, including banned organisations, to discuss how to maximise the benefit of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba experience and the constitutional recommendations that the Indaba made.
3. To call upon all organised business and farming to meet in association and to formulate a message to the State President urging him to commence negotiating where he can negotiate while he works for consensus on the final form that national negotiations must take. The State President must be persuaded that in this region a start can be made now without further delay to get upward negotiation off the ground.
4. To call upon the Churches of the region to bless every effort we make towards reconciliation and to support every effort we make to establish the politics of negotiation in the region.

## RESOLUTION 4

We the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha understand that economics and politics are the two sides of the common coin of the good for the people of South Africa and we wish to state our total conviction that politics which destroys the economic growth foundations of South Africa, or which in any way will make victories against poverty, ignorance and disease after victories against apartheid impossible, must be rejected.

We are aware that there should

be negotiations not only between political Parties and the South African Government, but between political Parties and organised mining, commerce, banking and industry, so that those finally negotiating constitutional changes around political tables, can be aware of the economic implications of their policies and principles.

## WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To call upon chambers of commerce and industry and kamers van handel en nywerheid to establish a national secretariat charged with approaching each political Party and grouping in turn to invite ongoing discussions with the chambers and kamers.
2. To call on the Chamber of Mines to liaise with the chambers of commerce and industry and with kamers van handel en nywerheid to determine whether they too should establish a national secretariat for the same purpose, or whether they wish to join in with organised commerce and industry.
3. To call on agricultural unions to meet as a matter of urgency at a national level also to decide whether they want their voice added to the voices of mining, commerce and industry, or whether they want their own independent secretariat to look at agricultural interests in a new South Africa.
4. To state to all in the private sector that there now must be forums for orderly, ongoing and achievement-orientated political discussion between big business and politics.

***"We are aware that there should be negotiations not only between political Parties and the South African Government, but between political Parties and organised mining, commerce, banking and industry, so that those finally negotiating constitutional changes around political tables, can be aware of the economic implications of their policies and principles . . ."***

# Background issues outlined by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

## **ACTION NEEDED NOW**

**A**ll races and the international community must now join hands in removing apartheid and establishing a democracy in South Africa, says the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, will "sink or swim" by his ability to establish a new government based on a universal adult franchise system.

Stirring events would be happening in the next unfolding of South African history and there was more fluidity than ever before. There was one certainty and that was there was no prospect whatsoever of a return to Verwoerdian apartheid.

Outlining factors in the current political situation, Dr Buthelezi said that having "moved down to the very centre of gravity of South

**"I am ready to be dealt a negotiating hand. If we talk about negotiation taking place within the framework of what I call "centre-stage" politics, then I believe Mr F W de Klerk is not that far away from being ready to be dealt a negotiating hand. Do we sit frozen while others get their act together? Or are we going to be pressurised into participating in negotiations in which there is the revolutionary veto right or the "abandon-the-negotiations-to-destroy-them" element?"**

*Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, October 1989*

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destroy-them' element.

"It is I think becoming clear that Mr de Klerk has won some kind of respite in terms of mounting international pressure against South Africa. There are now heightened expectations of Mr de Klerk doing something or other of significance which will at least make it very difficult to gain international consensus about harshened action against South Africa.

"Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs

***Do we sit frozen while others get their act together?***

# **REVOLUTIONARIES WON'T WIN IN SOUTH AFRICA**

***“There are no prospects of a revolutionary movement bringing the South African Government to the point where it has to sue for peace as in Mozambique and, as it was, Rhodesia.***

***“There will be no final and definitive military advantage to revolutionaries in South Africa as there was in both Mozambique and Angola. It was such a military advantage that brought the Portuguese and Mozambican Governments and the Rhodesian Government to the point where they had to negotiate for humanitarian reasons.***

***“These Governments knew they were beaten by the revolutionaries and it was vital for them to capitulate before they were put into the revolutionary shredding machine.***

***“Nobody in their right mind would look at Mr F W de Klerk and say he is doing what he is doing because he is driven to despair and is trying to capitulate in order to save lives in South Africa.***

***“Behind Mr de Klerk there is a very vast and yet hardly used military and State might that could be employed to not quite perpetuate, but certainly prolong, the balance of power in the State/revolutionary equilibrium.***

***“Mr de Klerk appears to be the first State President to be facing up to the fact that the politics of prescription has ended. Mr de Klerk’s predecessor did not consult any blacks when he established an entirely new political constitution for South Africa. He did not consult any blacks before he disbanded the old Provincial Council system and replaced it with what really are despised Regional Services Councils.***

***“We were not consulted when the South African Government formed the homeland policy which has caused such political strife for so long.***

***“My guess is that in the very first year of his Presidency, Mr de Klerk will at least attempt to set matters right . . .”***

# ***What role will the international community play?***

Margaret Thatcher, has adopted a very firm position and this alone must introduce international complications in reaching consensus for even more further and more punitive action against South Africa.

"Inside South Africa there would also appear to be somewhat of what one can perhaps call a loosening up of the political situation. The release of Mr Walter Sisulu and the other seven and the evidence that they are producing that Dr Nelson Mandela is counselling the kind of moderation that is compatible with putting the politics of negotiation on track, is important in this regard.

"I am adopting a cautious position which some would perhaps even call jaundiced. I have been in politics a long time and I am intensely aware of the dangers of regarding facades as new structures. Past political campaigning and what amounts to decades of constant endeavour, have a kind of momentum all of their own. Some politics cannot be switched on and off at the drop of a negotiating hat.

"There is nothing that has yet persuaded me that the ANC is even thinking of taking up its place at a negotiating table as an equal amongst equals. At this stage of development, one can hope for the ANC's inclusion but I am quite sure that politically they intend coming either with a recognised

veto right or with a "departure to wreck if necessary" intention.

The ANC, the UDF and COSATU only have the momentum of whatever politics of confrontation they have generated behind them. When dramatic politics stops, their steam is shut off.

"There are no indications that the ANC/UDF/COSATU trio, or the ANC and the UDF separately, could stomach a constituency-based organisation like Inkatha or have to deal with a white minority which, with Zimbabwean hindsight, will make sure that minority group protection really is that and will remain that for as long as minority groups feel they need protection.

"There are live politics in the air, on the ground, in black townships, in vast squatter areas and in black society generally. There is a kind of political vitriol poured out over me, Inkatha, over any and all black local authorities and indeed over all who caution against political adventurism.

"There are street corner committees, there are groups of comrades, there are the working elements in civic associations, trade unions and other organisations which are out of rational reach. The whirlwinds that have been sown in them will have to be reaped.

"Where you had the then Rhodesian army fighting the army

of the Patriotic Front, you could talk about a cease fire. You could talk about a cease fire between SWAPO with its allies and South Africa with its allies. You can talk about a cease fire between Frelimo and Renamo. But who talks to whom about, for example, the violence in KwaZulu/Natal? I cannot offer a cease fire simply because I am not at war.

"I am also quite sure that there is no constituted ANC/UDF/COSATU high command sending, deploying, recalling and controlling violence against Inkatha.

"There is just a bloody awful mess in which the philosophy of killing for political purposes has already been permeated into active sections of the population and they are proceeding like some kind of killing automatons out of control.

"We really do have to look at realities when we look at how to put a halt to a whole process which has been shaping South Africa up for a winner-takes-all conflict. However far that final conflict is ahead of us down the road, how realistic is it to think of suspending everything and leaping into future defining negotiations?

"I am asking questions which are not rhetorical questions because I do not have the answers. The ANC has not yet revealed a strategy hand. We do not know what decision-making weight the ANC Rivonia trialists will have now that they are released.

**"The outside world must be careful in likening South Africa to pre-independence countries like Zimbabwe or Mozambique . . . A great many people regard South Africa as some kind of blown-up version of these countries. They see revolutionaries in exile returning home to become a Government returned from exile and they make the analytically fatal error of judgment of looking at white society in South Africa as they looked at white society, say, in Zimbabwe. White South Africa is not dominated by expatriates who can be repatriated or who have somewhere to go when the going gets tough. South Africa is, for whites in the country, an end-of-the-line country. It is a live, do or die country . . ."**



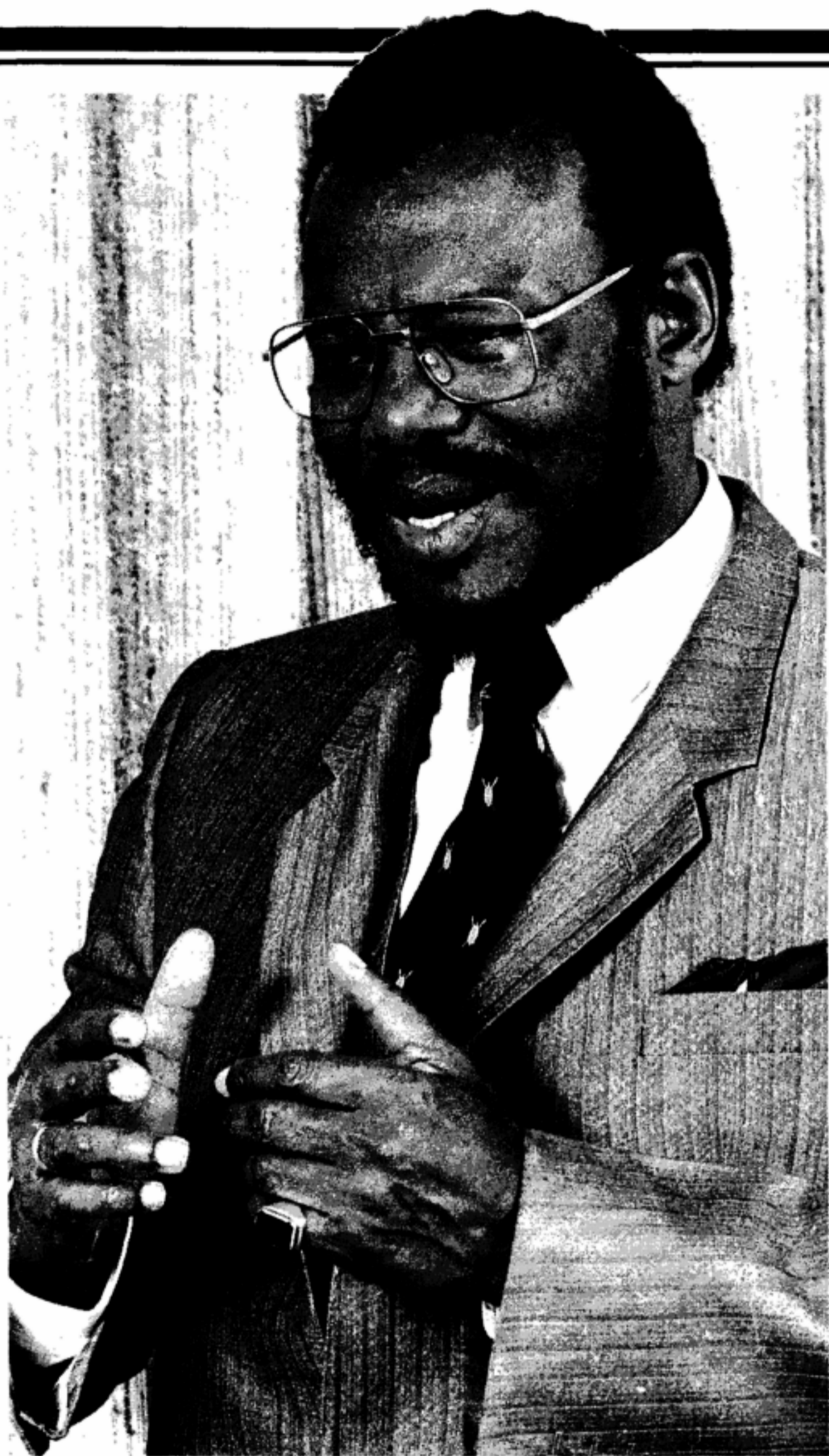
Dr Nelson Mandela is not yet released. Even though there are some indications, there are some hopes, we in fact do not know how he will put his own political act together.

"We do not know about him and his Robben Island/Pollsmoor colleagues in the broader unknowns of what is going to happen now that Mr Oliver Tambo will quite clearly not take up the presidency of the ANC again. The ANC is somewhat hung by its own consultative conference petard. One is due next year. Does the National Executive make their own choice of successor and present a *fait accompli* to next year's consultative conference? If it does not do this and Mr Alfred Nzo continues as caretaker until the consultative conference receives nominations and selects a successor, we have a headless ANC in the critical six months ahead.

"Then of course there is a sense in which the hastier negotiations are put on track, the more parties have to arrive there with whatever they have got. Look at this situation in which the South African Government will be at the negotiating table, supported by whatever facilities there are in each of the Government Departments, the President's Council, the Human Sciences Research Council, the Afrikaans-speaking universities, a hard core collection of top Afrikaans industrialists and, amongst others — probably one of the most important — the Broederbond. Then look at other negotiators around the table and ask fundamental questions about equality and fairness in negotiation.

"If you did some back-of-an-envelope sums and looked at the millions that Scandinavian countries give the ANC, at the millions that come to it and its South African working allies from the EEC; if you look at what churches and interdenominational donor agencies make available to the ANC and its partners, you would end up with telephone number figures.

"If you then looked at any other South African group present at the negotiating table and asked questions about the relationship



*Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.*

between equality and fairness in negotiating positions and financial, political, diplomatic and other backing, you would be looking at the kind of gross inequalities which have significant political implications.

"Add to this the absolute certainty that negotiations in South Africa will not be "big-bang"

negotiations" which result from one party suing for peace and the other party being prepared to cut short the time and the consequences of a final defeat in return for at least some give and take, like there was at the Lancaster House talks.

"When I look across all the factors involved and bring each

# ***Will the ANC be prepared to negotiate as equals?***

**“The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, cannot succeed without blacks and I, as a black, cannot succeed without whites. Both he and I must give effect to the already established fact that political interdependence between black and white must follow the already irreversible economic interdependence that there already is. The President must succeed in doing not what whites want but what blacks demand.”**

*Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi*

into focus and add them all up, I am quite sure that I am right when I say that negotiations in South Africa will be part and parcel of the process in which these very issues are confronted, teased out and their problems solved.

“We do not, however, have even rudimentary consensus on this last statement. We have not even got the mechanisms of achieving rudimentary consensus outside the political process which negotiation will turn out to be. We have to do a lot more thinking about pre-negotiation strategies and I am terribly concerned that attempts will be made to build negotiations on foundations which are nothing but political myths.

“It is a myth that the ANC, UDF and COSATU want to negotiate in the sense that Mr F W de Klerk wants to negotiate. I and Inkatha are already far enough away from Mr F W de Klerk and the National Party in this regard to create awesome difficulties. Those who are political light years further away are talked about as though they are around me and Mr de Klerk.

“These are the kind of background issues and the underlay and overlay of South African politics which led me a couple of years ago now to propose that the international community also be dealt part of the South African negotiating hand.

“I suggested that consensus be reached at international level about which foreign government would represent the merits of what South African party in pre-negotiation jockeying.

“I suggested that whatever government with acceptable bona fides could represent, say, the ANC's interests to a government which represented, say, the National Party's interests, should get together with an international commitment to make the outside world work for peace and successful negotiation in South Africa.

“Negotiation is a process. As this process unfolds, foreign

governments with their embassies in South Africa would be in a position to establish a permanent Secretariat in South Africa which could act like some kind of negotiating ombudsman. At least this way there would be mechanisms of parties in South Africa talking to other parties about the kind of issues I am raising here.

“We could of course say that there is nothing other to do than to run with the balls that are thrown us and catch whatever ball bounces near us and the negotiating thing will work out one way or another. There are a lot of negotiating wreckers who would love to play that game. Maybe we will have to deal with them because playing this game is all we will be able to do.

“I make the point that West European Governments who hold international community trump cards, have not shown signs of being able to deal with South African complexities in the sophisticated way in which these complexities should be dealt with. The blundering of sanctions show this.

“Perhaps we would in fact be better off by dealing them all out of the South African negotiating game. We cannot do so, however, as again the sanction blundering has shown. There is the real prospect that international impatience just wants something to start along the negotiating road in South Africa, regardless of whether it is a good start or a bad start. The international cry is for action and action now.

“The international community is keen to have “something” to start going in South Africa, regardless of what the results may be. The same attitude is shown by the international community on the sanctions issue. The hardships entailed in sanctions for ordinary poor black people is of no consequence to them, as long as sanctions get the international community off the hook from those who are pressurising them both there and abroad.”

# No stopping reform now says State President

## DECISIVE PERIOD IN SA HISTORY

**T**he State President, Mr F W de Klerk, says an "irreversible process" has started in South Africa in which the country is "inexorably moving" to a new dispensation which will include all South Africans.

Addressing journalists at the annual dinner of the Foreign Correspondents Association in Johannesburg in November, Mr de Klerk said the Government sincerely believed that this process, if it was to result in a better, new South Africa, must comply with a number of reasonable requirements. Some of these were:

- The process must be orderly and must take place within the ambit of the law.

- Each step in the process must flow from preceding steps in a natural and logical way. Efforts to straitjacket the process into fixed time schedules are absolutely counter-productive.

- Rigid adherence to so-called "preconditions" will take nobody anywhere. What is needed is dialogue, also with regard to stumbling blocks which might be standing in the way of negotiation.

"I regard the process which has started as the beginning of one of the most decisive periods in our country's history," he said.

"The South African Government is not playing games. People who accuse us of doing what we are doing, and saying what we are saying, merely for the sake of short term goals such as fighting off sanctions, are the ones playing games.

"The truth is that the Government is deeply committed to the goals which I have enunciated since my election, first as leader of the National Party and later as President. Short term and selfish goals have nothing to do with this commitment.

"It is the future of South Africa which is at stake. And it is for the sake of a safe, secure and prosperous future for all South Africans that we have embarked on the road for fundamental renewal through negotiation.

"We are determined to follow that road to its logical conclusion — a new, fair and just South Africa."

Now was the time, he added, to



*Mr F W de Klerk,  
State President*

**"My view of Mr F W de Klerk is one in which I see him as incapable of halting the gathering momentum of the final victory over apartheid.**

**It would be so much better for South Africa and the future of the whole of Southern Africa, if during this gathering momentum we allow Mr de Klerk the time and the scope within which to show that he is prepared to tackle fundamental constitutional reform from his side. I believe that South Africans will be getting together around negotiating tables . . ."**

*Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, letter to Sir Shridah Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, October 1989*

adopt a "positive attitude" toward the positive developments in South Africa and Southern Africa.

South Africa was undoubtedly one of the most fascinating and relevant countries in the world today.

"Although we are a small country, the waves of history are breaking on our shores."

Processes which were now underway in South Africa were part of the normal but turbulent course of societal development.

"They are perhaps more evident in South Africa because, more so than anywhere else in the world, they are all present in one country at the same time.

"They are perhaps more visible in South Africa than in many other societies at our stage of economic

development, because in South Africa the cleavages in levels of economic development often coincide with the cleavages of race. They have probably been more controversial in South Africa because of our practice in the past of attempting to determine inter-group relationships by legislation, rather than allowing them to develop organically, as has been the case elsewhere."

The challenge was to understand that South African society was, in many ways, not so abnormal as some people imagined; that many processes which were at present underway in the country were processes which took place in Western societies not so long ago — processes which were taking place in much of the rest of the developing world at this very moment.

# Factors influencing change in South Africa

The following are extracts from papers delivered recently by DR OSCAR DHLOMO, Secretary-General of Inkatha, KwaZulu Government Minister of Education and Culture and Chairman, KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. Dr Dhlomo also led KwaZulu's delegation on the joint SA Government/KwaZulu committee to identify obstacles to negotiations in South Africa.

**T**he national and international climate regarding South Africa has changed drastically. Less than a decade ago I was told by distinguished churchmen, to whom I was speaking in Europe, that any South African liberation movement — such as Inkatha — that believed peaceful negotiation and not armed revolution was a viable strategy, was a welfare society parading as a liberation movement.

On many occasions abroad I was given lengthy lectures on how liberation movements in South Africa that used to share my apparent faith in negotiation politics were now promoting the so-called armed struggle as the sole and authentic means of struggle for a just society.

Now, not only is there a convergence of viewpoints on the possibility of peaceful change, but there is even consensus that this

*“Any serious observer of the South African political scene will readily agree that the emphasis of the debate about political change has somewhat shifted during the past five to ten years. In the past the South African debate revolved around the possibility of political change. The inevitable conclusion was always that change was not possible.*

*“Today the debate is about the nature and extent of the change we desire, as well as the mechanisms for bringing it about. Even on these issues an amazing convergence of viewpoints has become apparent. There is now general agreement that the change we desire would have to transform South Africa into a united non-racial democracy affording political participation to all citizens regardless of race, colour or creed. There is even consensus that this political transformation of South Africa will have to come about peacefully through negotiations involving representatives of all the people of South Africa.*

*“Consequently those who travel regularly to South Africa will agree with me that “negotiation” has become the new buzz word in our country. Everybody now talks about negotiations. Even the Conservative Party claims that it is prepared to negotiate the boundaries of its ‘boerestaat’.”*

*Address to the United States Council for International Business, Harvard Club, October 1989*

will come about as a result of negotiations involving representatives of all the people of South Africa.

Consequently those political groups that have devoted all their energies to pursuing the revolutionary option are now scurrying around attempting to put together their so-called negotiating positions. On the other hand, those political groups that have all along devoted their energies to pursuing negotiation politics have learnt to perfect their negotiation skills and are looking forward to making a positive contribution at the negotiating table.

Inkatha leads within the ranks of those that nailed their colours to the mast on negotiation politics from the very beginning. Inkatha did not need American, Russian, British, or OAU pressure to tell us the obvious — that negotiation and not revolution is the gateway to a new democratic South Africa.

*Many factors have conspired to bring about this socio-political climate which makes political change in South Africa both desirable and inevitable. The following are some, obviously not all, of the factors that have influenced political change in South Africa.*

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION

The historic negotiations on Namibian independence involving South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States of America — with the Soviet Union lending significant diplomatic support in the background — opened up numerous opportunities for resolving regional conflicts in



*Dr Oscar Dhlomo*

Southern Africa through negotiations.

Two super powers (America and the Soviet Union) decided to temporarily sink their ideological differences and work for the promotion of common policy objectives in Southern Africa. Similarly, South Africa, Angola and Cuba decided to lay down arms and promote a negotiated settlement in Namibia in terms of United National Resolution 435.

It is my submission that this

historic event significantly influenced political thinking inside South Africa and revived the fading hope that a negotiated political solution would also be possible here.

The argument in black political circles was: if South African rulers could successfully negotiate with foreign Marxist regimes, then it was possible for them also to negotiate with black fellow countrymen, the majority of whom were not Marxists. Even today

***“I am pleased to say that Inkatha leads within the ranks of those that nailed their colours to the mast on negotiation politics from the very beginning. Inkatha did not need American, Russian, British or OAU pressure to tell us the obvious — that negotiation and not revolution is the gateway to a new democratic South Africa.” — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, address at the conference of the Foundation for European and International Cooperation, West Germany, October 1989.***

South African politics continues to bask in the success of negotiations for Namibian independence.

## **INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATED PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Another recent positive development is the support that the international community is now giving to a negotiated settlement and are subtly advising these liberation movements to pursue negotiation instead of revolution.

Inside South Africa this strategic shift has had many positive effects amongst black political groups that supported the so-called armed struggle: it rescued black politics from the belief in an impending armed revolution spearheaded by foreign armies marching to Pretoria to seize political power. It also rescued black politics from what I prefer to call a "political dependence syndrome", and revived the belief that the struggle for liberation is in fact a South African struggle which will be fought, won or lost in South Africa. Black politics has genuinely been put back to work as liberation movements that have hitherto placed implicit trust in the armed struggle are now scurrying around and attempting to put together their negotiating positions in anticipation of negotiations that are in the offing.

## **THE OUTCOME OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL ELECTION**

Different views have been expressed on the outcome of the recent South African general election. There is, however, general consensus amongst political commentators that the fact that the National Party lost seats to both the left and right wings of the political spectrum is indeed a positive political development. The phenomenal growth of the Democratic Party is also seen as a

positive political development even though this party still failed to become the official opposition. It is possible that the general election results might have taught National Party strategists that it is dangerous for a political party to attempt to be all things to all voters.

***"Black politics has genuinely been put back to work as liberation movements that have hitherto placed implicit trust in the armed struggle are now scurrying around and attempting to put together their negotiating positions in anticipation of negotiations that are in the offing . . ."***

There is now a pressing need for the National Party to re-define its political position in relation to two opposing political camps in white politics which are represented by the Conservative Party on the right and the Democratic Party on the left. I expect that this re-definition will most probably be in the direction of the Democratic Party and not the Conservative Party. This expectation is possibly backed by President de Klerk's own comments on the election results when he said that over 70 percent of white voters in South Africa had supported political change in one form or the other. In so saying President de Klerk was of course alluding to the fact that the National and Democratic Party voters constituted one pro-reform bloc while the Conservative Party voters constituted another anti-reform bloc.

Finally, the recent election also underlined the urgent need for a new negotiated constitution to replace the thoroughly discredited tricameral parliamentary system. Although one leg of the tricameral parliament in the form of the white House Of Assembly remains reasonably viable, the other two legs, namely, the Coloured House Of Representatives and the Indian House Of Delegates have been thoroughly discredited as a result of boycotts, lack of real political power and allegations of corruption among members. This is not to say of course that there

have been no allegations of corruption in the House Of Assembly. The difference perhaps lies in the fact that culprits in the House Of Assembly have been weeded out by Commissions Of Inquiry while in the House Of Delegates they have remained members of Parliament.

## **THE QUIET BLACK REVOLUTION**

Not much has been written or said about what I prefer to call here the "quiet black revolution" taking place in South Africa today. Commentators such as John Kane-Berman of the South African Institute Of Race Relations and Andrew Clark, an American living in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, have written extensively about this quiet black revolution. This is a revolution conceived and spearheaded by blacks themselves and it harnesses black assertive skills in a variety of socio-economic spheres:

When the Conservative Party — controlled City Council of Boksburg applied apartheid laws which debarred blacks from using public facilities in that town, the town was hit by unprecedented consumer boycotts which threatened to bring economic activity to a virtual standstill. These consumer boycotts dampened the enthusiasm of the Conservative Party to introduce more apartheid in other towns under its control, and enabled the National Party to win the Boksburg seat fairly comfortably during the last general election.

The efficacy of consumer boycotts as strategies to dismantle apartheid has of course been enhanced by the increase in the

*continued on page 16*

# The release of political prisoners and its aftermath

**T**he Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he is "delighted" about the release of eight political prisoners. It was a "good thing" for South Africa and he congratulated the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, for his "step forward".

"It is clear we are dealing with a different kind of leader than previous leaders of the National Party," he said.

The Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said he also "rejoiced" in the freedom of the prominent political prisoners but he was not surprised by the release having participated with the Government, as an envoy of Dr Buthelezi, on "long drawn discussions on the subject."

"By the time we concluded our discussions the Government had already accepted our submission that no negotiations were possible without the release of Dr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists," he said.

"The Government had already given us an assurance that these leaders would soon be released and I would like to commend Mr de Klerk and his Government for having kept their promise to us . . .

"I say this quite deliberately because as a negotiator, I want to emphasise that the release represents a win-win situation for both parties. The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have been reunited with their top leaderships after many years, while the South African Government has contributed substantially to the creation of a positive climate for negotiation."

Dr Dhlomo said the KwaZulu negotiating team were not party to the negotiations pertaining to the delayed release of Dr Mandela.

"As far as we are concerned, and in terms of our submission, we expected him to be released with his other colleagues and not later," he said. "We did gather from Government sources, however, that this arrangement had Dr Mandela's blessing. We are unable to test the authenticity of this allegation since we are not in contact with Dr Mandela. Therefore, for us, Dr Mandela's continued imprisonment still remains an obstacle to negotiations."

The public response to the release had been "equally encouraging" and the mature and stabilising influence of the released leaders had undoubtedly played an important role in this regard.

"We hope that this encouraging public response will endure so that the releases we have just welcomed will soon be followed by the release of Dr Mandela."

Dr Dhlomo said he was now sure that the Government had begun to implement the terms of the joint report on obstacles impeding negotiations submitted to President de Klerk and Dr Buthelezi.

"It would appear that the Government has, in its wisdom, decided to implement the terms of this report in instalments. If peace and stability persist over the next

sixty to ninety days after the recent release, we expect the Government to lift the State of Emergency (either simultaneously or gradually according to districts), release Dr Mandela, allow exiles to return and unban the ANC and other banned organisations.

"It is possible that the unbanning of organisations will be the last step, coming after initial discussions on this issue between Dr Mandela and his colleagues on the one hand, and the Government on the other hand. We think the Government will require certain assurances from the ANC and PAC leaders before unbanning their organisations. Once the above obstacles have been removed the Government will then conduct discussions across the political spectrum focussing on the negotiation process.

"The discussions will cover three main aspects of the process, namely, the means for selecting participants in negotiations, the ground rules during negotiations and the mechanism for implementing proposals emanating from negotiations.

"The responsibility for ensuring that all the above steps are completed timeously rests with both the Government and black political leaders in our country. As President de Klerk has rightly stated, all leaders must now contribute in creating the right climate for negotiations to begin .

"It is no longer realistic to expect that only the Government is responsible for the creation of this climate. Black leaders and their organisations must now make it impossible for the Government to justify the maintenance of the State of Emergency, keeping troops in the townships, debarring exiles from returning and keeping Dr Mandela in jail.

"Leaders must issue clear and unambiguous directives to their followers to pursue their political ideals in a peaceful and disciplined manner. In this regard, the disciplined and statesmanlike leadership so far displayed by Mr Walter Sisulu and some of his released colleagues needs to be commended and emulated unreservedly. We hope that ANC and PAC supporters will take heed.

"I am not privy to the future political plans of Dr Mandela and his recently released colleagues. My personal wish, however, is that these leaders should waste no time in contacting Dr Buthelezi to discuss possibilities for a common approach to our political problems especially during negotiations. A mutually agreed upon negotiating strategy amongst all black leaders and organisations is a dire necessity at this point in time.

"Attempts by any one political grouping to impose its negotiating strategy on others is a recipe for disaster.

"Prospects for negotiations are now brighter than they have ever been before. I believe the Government of President de Klerk as well as our black leaders are now ready to create a climate conducive to the start of such negotiations."

buying power of blacks. This buying power now exceeds that of whites, especially if Indians and Coloureds are included. South African business houses are

***“Changes that we are presently talking about are taking place in spite of and not because of calls for sanctions and disinvestment. They are taking place because the victims of apartheid have been empowered and not emasculated. More importantly, these changes are taking place because the victims of apartheid have decided to kill apartheid in a manner that ensures that they survive after its death. Those international businesses that support this strategy therefore need to be commended . . .”***

beginning to treat the so-called “black market” with the respect it deserves and so-called “black market” specialists and consultants are having quite a field day in our economy. Advertisements on South African television screens are beginning to direct themselves to this market, and advertising revenue in the black press has increased.

Blacks who have been regarded for decades as mere job-seekers are now quietly transforming themselves into job-creators through the informal business sector. The taxi business leads the field in this regard, with growth estimated at about one billion dollars over the last five years. In the city of Durban where I come from, black taxi owners have

recently offered to buy out the entire metropolitan bus transportation system from the Durban City Council.

Residential segregation, commonly referred to as the Group Areas Act is under threat as Africans, Indians and Coloureds move into residential areas hitherto reserved for whites. The South African Government has reacted with a scheme to create so-called Free Settlement Areas or Grey Areas where multi-racial communities will settle and send their children to multi-racial schools. Although the concept of Free Settlement Areas is still unacceptable to us because we demand the total scrapping of the Group Areas Act, it nevertheless eloquently demonstrates the actions of a government under pressure from the quiet revolution.

## **THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS**

International business has played an important role in supporting and encouraging this quiet black revolution.

International business is actively involved in the promotion of the informal business sector in South Africa as is evidenced by the support the Black taxi industry receives from some oil companies doing business in South Africa. International business also struggles side by side with black people in the assault against the Group Areas Act. Many international businesses have consistently provided housing for their senior black executives in residential areas normally reserved for whites. Some international businesses have promoted and funded housing projects such as District Six in Cape Town whose aim is to break down residential apartheid barriers. Yet other international businesses have funded private schools that admit pupils of all races in South Africa. That is what we mean when we say that foreign businesses that have remained involved in South Africa in spite of pressures to withdraw or disinvest are our comrades in the struggle to dismantle apartheid.

Changes that we are presently talking about are taking place in spite of and not because of calls for sanctions and disinvestment. They are taking place because the victims of apartheid have been empowered and not emasculated. More importantly, these changes are taking place because the victims of apartheid have decided to kill apartheid in a manner that ensures that they survive after its death. Those international businesses that support this strategy therefore need to be commended.

## **THE KWA-ZULU NATAL INDABA**

In conclusion, I wish to refer briefly to the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba as one of the factors that have promoted change in South Africa. If there is any single event inside South Africa that can be said to have legitimised negotiation politics and enhanced the prospects for peaceful change, that event is the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba.

Before the meeting of the Indaba in 1986, negotiation in South Africa was very much a matter of theory and not practice. No one ever expected that South Africans of diverse social and political backgrounds could meet continuously for eight months, discuss constitutional problems facing their country and come up with solutions supported by 82% of the participants. The publicity that this exercise received in South Africa no doubt helped to convince many political doubting Thomases that negotiation and not revolution was the key to a new democratic South Africa.

Although the KwaZulu-Indaba was a regional constitutional initiative, there is no doubt in my mind that its spirit will be present when national negotiations begin in South Africa. No serious-minded negotiator in South Africa would totally disregard the wealth of experience that was gathered during eight months of serious negotiations in the Indaba. Similarly no lasting constitutional solution can be found in South Africa without addressing the very same constitutional complexities that the Indaba had to address.



# INKATHA'S STANDPOINT ON NEGOTIATIONS

By Oscar Dhlomo

**N**ow that we have reached the pre-negotiation stage in South Africa, it is important for us to state clearly and unambiguously how we see the way forward. We have already informed the South African Government that Inkatha cannot begin to negotiate until obstacles impeding negotiations have been identified and addressed. Consequently we have recently emerged from nine months of discussions with representatives of the South African Government. Our sole task in these discussions was to identify and address obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa. For the record I think it is important to once again summarize these obstacles as follows:

- (a) *The unconditional release of Dr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists.*
- (b) *The release of other political prisoners.*
- (c) *The unbanning of banned Organisations.*
- (d) *The unconditional return of political exiles.*
- (e) *The lifting of the State of Emergency.*
- (f) *The abolition of discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act. Coupled with this, is a demand for an assurance from the Government that the two Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 would also be abolished during or after negotiations.*
- (g) *The scrapping of the Tricameral Parliament.*



**“No one must be excluded from the process of shaping a new and democratic South Africa and this includes banned organisations as well as imprisoned and exiled leaders. We further agreed that violence as a political strategy was counter-productive and should be abandoned . . .”**

We have reached consensus with the Government on the release of Dr Mandela and the Rivonia trialists. Eight have been released. We were not party to the negotiations pertaining to the delayed release of Dr Mandela.

We have also reached consensus on the view that negotiations will have to be inclusive and not exclusive. No one must be excluded from the process of shaping a new and democratic South Africa, and this includes banned organisations as well as imprisoned and exiled leaders. We further agreed that violence as a political strategy was counter-productive and should be abandoned.

On the other obstacles we identified, we gained the impression that the Government, while not denying that these could be obstacles, nevertheless expected them to be discussed at the

negotiating table. I pray that Government negotiators do not stick to this view because if they do no one will come forward to negotiate. No credible black leader will sit at the negotiation table and argue about whether or not apartheid should be abolished. Black leaders will sit at the table to argue about elements of a new democratic constitution for South Africa. I personally feel this is one axiom Government negotiators still have to accept.

Once the above obstacles have been removed Inkatha will then negotiate. It is also important to note that Inkatha has not said it will negotiate only if Mr Mandela, the ANC, the PAC and others also agree to negotiate. All we are asking from Government is that these leaders and organisations must be afforded a democratic right to choose as free agents

between negotiation and revolution. Once they have been afforded this right we will respect their choice and continue in pursuit of our strategy of negotiation.

We can also reassure the Government that we shall not move the goalposts and invent new obstacles once those we have identified have been addressed.

We are not career freedom fighters and we derive no material benefits from overseas Foundations in our struggle against apartheid. The struggle for liberation is therefore no income generating industry for us and we have no interest in unreasonably prolonging it and derailing the process of negotiation. When the climate is right we will be first at the negotiating table.

mass protests is perhaps the clearest demonstration of this shift. The fact that the Government sought relief from the Courts and not from the might of the security forces or the police in order to stop what was regarded as an illegal protest march by women in Pretoria, also demonstrates this apparent shift.

For the majority of blacks, however, President de Klerk must still translate his positive political statements into positive political action leading to negotiations. If he fails to do this, the consequences would perhaps be far more ghastly than what we witnessed after P W Botha's "Rubicon speech" in Durban.

For negotiations to be productive once they start, we believe that the

French, Jewish, Italian, Portuguese, German and Spanish South Africans as belonging to one white nation, in spite of obvious cultural differences, it denies that Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Swazis, Shangaans and Ndebeles belong to one black nation, and the argument used is that these ethnic groups are culturally different!

There is also what I would call "a historical reason" why black South Africans would reject any race-based or ethnic constitution.

Throughout the constitutional history of South Africa all race-based or ethnic constitutional arrangements have tended to work against the socio-political interests of the black majority and in favour of the socio-political interests of the white minority.



**"Inkatha has not said it will negotiate only if Dr Mandela, the ANC, the PAC and others will also agree to negotiate. All we are asking from Government is that these leaders and organisations must be afforded a democratic right to choose as free agents between negotiation and revolution. Once they have been afforded this right we will respect their choice and continue in pursuit of our strategy of negotiation . . ."**

## ***OUR EXPECTATIONS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT***

The change of leadership in the National Party, coupled with the results of the recent elections did arouse expectations and re-kindled hopes in various sectors of South African society. Some sections of the South African press have described the de Klerk era that has just begun as South Africa's version of Pretoriastroika.

It is true that the new State President has made positive statements about change and negotiations in South Africa. It is also true that he has apparently shifted slightly from the tendency of slavishly using security as the basis for policy formulation. His flexible attitude on the question of

National Party would need to seriously re-assess its position on the following issues:

### ***THE GROUP CONCEPT***

It appears that the National Party is still wedded to the idea that the basis for meaningful political participation is pre-determined groups. These groups are furthermore defined on the basis of race or ethnicity. It is still ideologically difficult for the National Party to imagine groups forming on the basis of common ideology or common interests which have little or nothing to do with race or ethnicity.

This standpoint on groups poses a serious problem for the majority of South Africans for a number of reasons. One obvious reason is that the standpoint is neither honest nor consistent. While the National Party accepts Afrikaner, English,

The South Africa Act of 1909 which established the Union of South Africa excluded blacks from political participation. The two Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 allotted 87% of the land surface of South Africa to the white minority and only 13% to the black majority which constitutes over 70% of the total population. The Black Authorities Act of 1951 and the Black States Constitution Act of 1971 denied blacks political rights over the whole of South Africa and confined black political participation to so-called black homelands. The Act of 1983 which established the Tricameral parliament excluded the black majority from political participation and co-opted Indians and Coloureds as junior partners. Successive Governments in South Africa have consistently abused race and ethnicity to undermine and erode black civil and political

rights whilst simultaneously entrenching white political rights and privileges in the process.

It is against this background that the National Party must understand black rejection of any

wrongly claimed that this development is identical to the provision in the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba where a similarly open "South African Background Group" is provided for. However,


the negotiating table.

## **BLACK PARTICIPATION IN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT**

There was a time during the term of office of former President Mr P W Botha when the National Party hoped that blacks were perhaps interested in participating in the present Government. Consequently arrangements were made for the appointment of a black cabinet minister and rumours were rife that blacks would also be nominated as members of the President's Council. It is gratifying to note that the new President Mr de Klerk did not appoint any black minister and no blacks were nominated as members of the President's Council.

The fact of the matter is that blacks want the present tricameral parliament entirely scrapped in favour of a new non-racial democratic system of government. It would therefore be futile to attempt to lure blacks into the very same tricameral parliament they want scrapped. In other words, Blacks do not want inclusion or co-option into the existing race-based political structures. On the contrary, they want full and equal participation in the new political structures that will result from negotiations.

Prospects for constitutional negotiations in South Africa are exceedingly promising. The responsibility of all South Africans in general and the leaders of the National Party in particular is to create and nurture a positive climate in preparation for such negotiations. It is only when such a climate has been created that mutual trust will replace mutual suspicion and the political aspirations of the majority will be reconciled with the political concerns of the minority.



**"For the majority of blacks, President de Klerk must still translate his positive statements into positive political action leading to negotiations. If he fails to do this, the consequences would perhaps be far more ghastly than what we witnessed after former President P W Botha's "Rubicon" speech in Durban . . ."**

race-based constitutional arrangements. The Party must also understand that this rejection is deep seated and is not mere political posturing.

Therefore, it is our view that as long as the National Party uses race and ethnicity as building blocs for a new South African constitution, consensus at the negotiating table will be well nigh impossible.

### **THE CONCEPT OF AN OPEN GROUP:**

In its recently published five-year plan the National Party makes provision for what it calls an "open group" to which people who do not favour racial or ethnic categorization can affiliate. Many political commentators have

the vital difference between the two proposals is that while the National Party regards an open society as the exception rather than the rule, the Indaba regards an open society as the rule rather than the exception. We understand the National Party to be saying "The name of the game is race based on ethnic politics and those who want freedom of association can opt out through a small backdoor and affiliate with an open group". On the other hand, we understand the Indaba to be saying:

"The name of the game is freedom of association and those who do not like it can opt out through a small back door and affiliate with an ethnic or racial group."

I believe this is another issue which will make it almost impossible to achieve consensus at

**"The National Party must understand black rejection of any race-based constitutional arrangements. The Party must also understand that this rejection is deep-seated and is not mere political posturing . . ."**

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# *Zulu King speaks to the Nation*

## **PLEA FOR PEACE AND UNITY**

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**A**t a special convention "Imbizo" called by King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu in Durban in November, the Zulu monarch invited the recently released ANC and PAC leaders to sit down with him and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to promote peace and reconciliation between black and black and between black and white in South Africa.

More than 75 000 people gathered at King's Park Stadium in Durban and unanimously applauded the King's call to his nation for peace and unity.

"Let us promote reconciliation between black and black and between black and white, as the time for negotiations draws nearer every day. If we are not reconciled now before liberation — I fear that we may have the terrible experience of black killing black going on even after liberation, such as we have seen in some countries in Southern Africa," he said.

***"I put every Party political consideration aside when I say there shall now be black unity amongst my people. Anyone who wants to divide Zulu brother from Zulu brother, and Zulu sister from Zulu sister, husband from wife, parent from child and the modern generation from the older generation, shall henceforth be cursed amongst us. There will now be unity amongst the people . . ."***

*His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, November 1989.*

"It is heart-rending to me that this has already started in the areas of Natal/KwaZulu. As King of the Zulus, I call on all of us to commit ourselves to peace in the KwaZulu/Natal Region and in South Africa."

The King of the Zulu nation, which numbers seven million, asked all black leaders to hear his message and noted that his people were "spurned" when he was excluded from the public meeting held in the Transvaal to welcome the recently released political prisoners Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Jafta Masemola.

"I know of no single person who has campaigned for the release of Dr Nelson Mandela and all the Rivonia Trialists more than my Uncle, the leader of Inkatha," he said.

"Dr Mandela has acknowledged this fact many times, even in letters, yet when his fellow prisoners are released not a word is uttered to acknowledge the campaign for their release waged so relentlessly for decades by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu . . . The Zulu nation was spurned by this rejection. I was spurned in this ignoring of who we are and how we can be powerful friends and how we can add to everything that anybody is doing for any just cause."



*"The more unity there is amongst Zulus as Zulus, the more Zulus can do what Zulus now have to do to bring about national unity and the final liberation of South Africa . . . there must be unity which is not disrupted by ethnic barriers . . ." His Majesty the King of the Zulu nation.*

*"Let me pause my father's people to assure you that I understand many things. I understand that you are oppressed. I understand the anger which throbs in every true Zulu soul because we are an oppressed nation. I understand that South Africa is a great country and that in its greatness, there must be national unity between all blacks and that any compartmentalisation of blacks is wrong. I understand that there must be unity which is not disrupted by ethnic barriers . . ."*

*"I also understand that black unity and black strength to finally rid South Africa of oppression cannot be achieved by people snapping and snarling at each other as though they were some mangy dogs fighting over a bone or a bit of skin. I understand the nation as it now is because I understand history. I understand that the more unity there is amongst Zulus as Zulus, the more Zulus can do what Zulus now have to do to bring about national unity and the final liberation of South Africa . . ."*

*"I say let no man, no woman, no leader, no Party or even no nation on earth, be deluded. We the Zulu people of South Africa have always drawn together as a nation and we now do so again. From today onwards, we are again a people who have come together to fulfill our glorious role in the outworking of black power in the struggle for liberation . . ."*

**HIS MAJESTY KING GOODWILL  
ZWELITHINI KA BHEKUZULU —  
Address to the Nation, King's Park  
Stadium, Durban, November 19,  
1989**

King Goodwill said he was now inviting all those released to sit down with him and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to talk about numerous issues.

"Let us now put black divisiveness aside. Let us go forth as the black oppressed to scale the very heights of achievement as we put together a united South Africa which apartheid has so attempted to keep divided," he stressed.

Soon after the King's address, former ANC Secretary-General, Mr Walter Sisulu, was reported as saying that talks between KwaZulu leaders and newly released ANC leaders would be "highly welcomed". He said he would discuss the King's call with his colleagues.

The King emphasised in his speech that he was "not a Party political king". No Party could ever own the Royal throne of KwaZulu.

"The throne stands aloof and independent and it stands above all Party politics. Let me ask this though. How can I not condemn divisiveness amongst my people? How can I not condemn black killing black amongst my people? How can I not say enough is enough and call the people to resist those who come into our midst to divide us? I must say No to divisions amongst my father's people and I will say No to whatever political force comes into the midst of my people to divide them . . ."

"I am not talking about Party politics. I am talking about the proud role that the Zulu nation must play in the unification of South Africa and in the total eradication of apartheid."

He added: "I say this, Zulus and all other South Africans present. Hear me. I say any organisation, and any political Party, which sets black brother against black brother in your midst is a black political party or black political organisation which must be thrust aside, spurned and trampled on if necessary.

"My people, let me say this to you. You are proud as a people because you were never crushed by white racism. You are proud as a people because you were never made party to your own subjugation. You are proud as a people because you were never

crushed in spirit even if you were conquered by armies and jailed by unjust laws. Why now, my father's people, must we stand aside and allow those who want to crush our dignity, trample our Zulu identity under foot and laugh at our Zuluness to succeed?

"There has been just too much mud-slinging in black politics and the swearing by blacks at blacks which causes black to kill black must now stop. My uncle, the Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, quite correctly calls for an end to killing talk."

"The King said he endorsed "wholeheartedly" the view that the Prince of KwaPhindangene, Dr Buthelezi, had expressed so frequently that reconciliation must be established now in the process of bringing about change.

"If we do not become reconciled now we must know that it will be a lot more difficult to become reconciled after apartheid has been eradicated," he said.

In the "great and important missions" that history had always allotted to the Zulu people, there had never been any Party politics.

"When we act as a people, we act as South Africans. When we act as a people, we act beyond Party politics. Party politics must not destroy our unity. Anybody who sets black brother against black brother is un-Zulu. They are destructive. They undermine Zulu strength. They undermine Zulu dignity and they interfere with the historic role that Zulus are playing and will continue to play."

The King said there was "nothing wrong" with a people with their own identity, having their own region in which that identity was forged by history.

"Let me say there will be no major change in South Africa which we as Zulus do not support. There can be no successful negotiations with the South African Government by any black group if they try to ride roughshod over us as a Zulu nation. The South African Government with all its might will not be able to translate any agreement with any black group in South Africa into action if the action rides roughshod over us as a Zulu people. The Government cannot move forward without us.

*"There has been an ever-increasing attack against us as Zulus in more recent years. Let me say I despise those who attack us. KwaZulu, as it now is, is only a fragment of what our Zulu kingdom used to be. It is, however, ours. It is no creation of Pretoria and every hill has seen the march of Zulu feet.*

*Every part of what is now KwaZulu — and a great deal more — was in one way or another involved in the emergence of the Zulu people out of history itself. We the people of KwaZulu say the area known as KwaZulu is ours by traditional right and by inheritance. We are not ashamed of who we are. We are not ashamed of our history. We are not ashamed of the warrior blood that courses in our veins . . ."*

*" . . . Because we live and struggle in KwaZulu, we are sworn at when the word "Bantustan" is used to talk about the land which is so precious to our souls. Do you ever pause to think that of all the so-called 'Homelands' in South Africa, it is only KwaZulu which is a remnant of what was once a sovereign state. We are attacked when we do what we can do and what has to be done to keep body and soul together in this region of South Africa which is the region of our origin. When we struggle to keep our Zulu decision-making in the hands of Zulus, we are attacked by those who despise our culture and want to see it rot on history's rubbish heap . . ."*

**HIS MAJESTY KING GOODWILL ZWELITHINI KA BHEKUZULU —**  
Address to the Nation, King's Park Stadium, Durban, November 19, 1989



*His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi greet the audience of more than 75 000 at King's Park Stadium in Durban.*

*"I say let no man, no woman, no leader, no Party or even no nation on earth, be deluded. We the Zulu people of South Africa have always been drawn together as a nation and we now do so again. From today onwards, we are again a people who have come together to fulfill our glorious role in the outworking of black power in the struggle for liberation."*

*"Let me give you the total assurance that it is not only the Government which cannot proceed without us. No revolution could succeed without us. We are a people thrust into South Africa by history, moulded into a nation by history, forged into a powerful force by history, made a building block of a new South Africa by history."*



*Part of the huge crowd that gathered to hear the King address the nation.*



*"The Royal family will continue to deepen its concern about black unity in general . . ."*





**"MEASURE ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND ALL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE CRITERIA OF WHETHER THEY UNITE ZULUS OR DIVIDE ZULUS FROM EACH OTHER. DON'T ASK WHAT OTHER PEOPLE SAY. ASK WHAT YOU IN YOUR OWN HEARTS ACTUALLY KNOW . . ."**

## **PUT SOUTH AFRICA FIRST**

**"H**is Majesty has talked outside of Party politics because there is such an urgent need to put the good of the State now before the good of the Party. I join His Majesty outside of Party politics to make a serious appeal for the cessation of all black-on-black confrontations leading to violence . . . the conflict between ANC/UDF/COSATU on the one hand and Inkatha on the other hand must be contained.

"Let all sides add to whatever we say that we put the good of the State first, that we put the struggle for a just society first and that we will do everything in our power as leaders and as organisations to discover the things that we have in common and pursue them together.

"I have always called for national unity on the basis of the general acceptance of the principle of accepting the need for a multi-strategy approach. Clocks have turned; time has marched on and there is now a great re-shaping taking place in the whole of

Southern Africa. It is now hideously wrong — in fact treacherously wrong — for black to continue killing black because there are political differences between them.

"I appeal to the ANC/UDF/COSATU to drop all wars of words that lead to wars of death. We must stop the talk that precedes killing. We must stop the decimation of black power to change South Africa. We must stop destroying black power capable of bringing about a just society . . .

"The preparation of the youth for war makes them soft for peace. Hear me when I say this. Let every educator, whether it is at a school, at a college, or at a university, become part of a vast effort to make our new generation strong enough to maintain peace. Do not weaken them by preparing them for war . . .

"And then there is the extreme urgency in the need to prepare ourselves for participation in the politics of negotiation . . . There will be no one-off national conference that will solve all South

Africa's problems. This country's problems will have to be solved by a process. There can be no process which is not a process rooted in the people. We need national unity because that process must get underway among the people of South Africa — the people of all race groups in the country . . .

"Our highest priority is to get rid of apartheid once and for all — get rid of it in part and in whole. All history now wants to culminate in the removal of apartheid and the establishment of a just society in South Africa. I appeal to every one of you today to walk with history to enter the new era of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. Let there now be a massive movement amongst all South Africans to bring about a fair and just society . . ."

**DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA, IN HIS VOTE OF THANKS TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE ZULUS.**

# 500 000 JOBS LOST:

## *The real cost of sanctions*

**At a meeting in London recently Britain's Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, reached a "broad area of agreement" on the two leaders' opposition to sanctions. Both are implacably opposed to the anti-apartheid strategy because of the suffering they cause black South Africans.**

**R**esearch has now shown that sanctions have already cost half a million jobs in South Africa and a million more black people will be jobless if sanctions continue throughout the 1990's.

Giving the results of a Trust Bank econometric calculation of the multiplier effects of sanctions, Bankorp Chief Executive Chris van Wyk said another decade of sanctions would render two-million more black people destitute.

Dr van Wyk said about 500 000 fewer people were employed than could have been because of the many new jobs not created, as sanctions had stifled the economy.

Sanctions had also:

- Cost South Africa a cumulative R40 billion in foreign exchange, resulting in production losses of about R80 billion and total "standard of living" losses of R100 billion;
- Cut real consumer spending 15

percent and GDP about 10 percent;

- Curtailed spending on education and health;
- Impaired South Africa's ability to reach its full export potential; and
- Radicalised blacks to the left and whites to the right, hampering political settlement.

He said the total multiplier effect of sanctions and disinvestment was equivalent to a halving of the gold price between 1985 and 1989.

Despite the vast economic damage caused by sanctions and disinvestment, there had been "positive" spin-offs. These included long overdue adjustments to the public and private sectors, adherence to strict foreign debt repayment schedules and the application of monetary and fiscal discipline.

These largely accidental side-effects meant that South Africa was entering the 1990's much leaner and fitter than at the beginning of 1980's.

Dr van Wyk added: "Through impoverishing and radicalising the nation, sanctions have raised the chance of political confrontation at the expense of political reconciliation."

An example of the effect of sanctions is the closing down of a British-owned pineapple canning factory near East London. More than 1 100 black workers are now unemployed.

Newspaper reports quoted Mrs Evalina Diko, who has been employed at the factory for 22 years, as saying: "Whoever is making this factory close is making a big mistake. These people dreaming of sanctions are going to make us starve and we will be eating from the rubbish heaps . . ."

The plant, owned by the Vesty family's conglomerate Union International, has been liquidated following a drastic decline in profits, largely as a result of US sanctions imposed in November 1986. UK companies like John West

**"Whoever is making this factory close is making a big mistake. These people dreaming of sanctions are going to make us starve and we will be eating from the rubbish heaps . . . I'm the only breadwinner for myself and five others in my family . . ."**

Mrs Evalina Diko, unemployed factory worker, after the closure of a British-owned pineapple canning factory near East London.

and Sainsbury later added to the burden by cancelling long-standing contracts after pressure by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Mrs Diko, who was promoted three months ago after the retirement of a white woman, said: "I'm very worried. Jobs are scarce and I don't know where I am going to get another one. I'm the only breadwinner for myself and five others in my family." (Business Day, October 31, 1989)

Black unemployment in the East London area is above 60 percent.

The International Labour Office, in a report released in Nairobi in October, says that by the year 1995 over 400 million Africans — 55 percent of the population — will be living below the poverty line.

"Increased poverty means not only deteriorated standards of living but also wealth destruction," the report stated.

"Physical capital, particularly infrastructure, has been affected by the fall in investment while human resources have less access today to good employment opportunities, health, food, education and shelter . . ."

In another recent report the chairman of South Africa's Council for Population Development, Mr J P de Lange, said the country's economy could be bogged down by 8-million unemployed by the end of the century unless population growth was curbed.

He said South Africa's population growth was amongst the world's highest, doubling every 30 years with a baby born every 26 seconds.

At the current rate, the country's natural resources would be overtaken in two decades. This would result in total social disintegration, unemployment on a vast scale and unmanageable poverty.

Volkscas economist, Adam Jacobs, says that largely due to sanctions and disinvestment the "contrived downswing in the economy" had resulted in a 43,6 percent surge in liquidations.

Manpower Commission acting chairman, Mr Frans Barker, says that among blacks in certain urban areas of South Africa, unemployment is as high as 36,4 percent while for the country as a



*Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, pictured recently at 10 Downing Street in London.*

whole it is 11,8 percent.

He said in May 1989 there were nearly 640 000 (registered) people of all population groups without work in cities and towns, which translated to about 69 percent of the total unemployment figure for South Africa.

Unemployment in urban areas gave rise to more serious problems than in rural areas. The potential for unrest and widespread crime was far greater and unemployment in urban areas resulted in the growth of widespread slums and unhygienic conditions.

Dr S F Coetzee, director of policy

analysis at the Development Bank of Southern Africa, says it appears there are now between 1,6 million and 2,4 million black squatters existing in shacks in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area out of a total of 7 million countrywide.

The PWV area had attracted the majority of black people who had migrated to the urban areas desperately seeking work.

"The black urban population will have at least doubled between 1980 and the year 2000 to somewhere between 21 million and 25 million out of a total urban population of about 35 million?"

## ***Burden is on blacks***

**"Employment is about half a million lower than it could otherwise have been, not so much because jobs have been lost, but because so many more new jobs could have been created in a scenario of higher overall growth. And 80 percent of new job-seekers are black people. The harshest burden of sanctions has fallen on them."**

Dr Chris van Wyk, Chief Executive of Bankorp, disclosing the findings of a study into the multiplier effects of sanctions, November 1989.

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