

AID DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON. FEBRUARY 1985

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED AT A MEETING WITH THE AID DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE. WASHINGTON. 7TH FEBRUARY 1985

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When I look back over time, I see the broad sweep of events in South Africa through colonisation and conquest, the subjugation of Blacks, the foundations of apartheid in British colonialism and the Act of Union which denied Blacks the franchise. When I look back to see Black responses, I trace these responses from those events through the circumstances which saw the growing unity of Whites and decade after decade and generation after generation the growth and elaboration of apartheid. I see also the constancy of ever present Black suffering from genocidal wars against Black South Africans through the circumstances in which territorial apartheid established industries and profitable farming ventures in areas from which Blacks were excluded, to the present situation in which the inhuman divide between the haves and the have-nots which is a divide between Black and White.

There has been a vast history of events through changing national and international circumstances, but always there has been the constancy of Black suffering. The ever present separation of White privilege and impoverished Blacks; the ever present spectre of hunger, starvation, disease and death which paint the picture of true human poverty, continued over time and enveloped generation after generation to make the history of Black South Africa a history of suffering.

Over these generations of suffering, Blacks have formulated responses and there has always been the twin stream of compassion for the suffering and anger against the oppressor. The pendulum has always swung between these two dimensions of Black South African response, and always there has been the reality that harsh oppression grew more harsh as anger grew more angry, and compassion grew more painful as apartheid magnified suffering over time and the means to give compassion practical expression was not forthcoming and could not be generated by us in the poverty of our circumstances.

I understand how compassion and anger merge to produce a demand by some that every act of compassion be related to strategies and tactics dictated by anger. I understand how some Black organisations see humanitarian aid and development aid as being needed for political purposes. Behind lobbies to the donor agencies throughout the world, arguing for the selective provision of aid to political activists, there is however another dimension of Black politics.

Through the generations of our suffering there have always been intense Black political conflicts. In desperate circumstances where we face life and death issues, in extremely complex and diverse circumstances, it is only natural that we have developed responses to our circumstances. Because of the intensity of the issues and the magnitude of what is at stake, it is also natural that Black South Africans become intense about differences of opinion, not only on the question of tactics and strategies, but also on the question of the final goals for which we are striving.

This internal Black political conflict which has always been naturally present and unavoidably present, evolving as it has evolved in desperate poverty, has drawn donors so frequently into internicine Black conflict. There has always been claim and counter claim about who can best spend donor money, and there has always been desperate attempt after desperate attempt to lay greedy hands on the largesse which flows at times from the stricken Western conscience about its colonial past and about suffering in the Third World.

While the West for decades now has been impotent on the question of bringing pressure to bear on the South African Government to bring about fundamental change, it has fuelled the fires of Black/Black conflict through the manner in which it has dispensed development and humanitarian aid. Black South Africans are intensely aware that Sweden and Scandanavia generally, and countries in Western Europe with Social and Labour Parties, have given far more per capita in South African aid than America has ever done. Now that Americans are moving towards acceptance of the responsibility of doing more to help bring about fundamental change in South Africa, the pertinent question becomes a question of whether or not American aid programmes are also going to lead Americans into participating in Black South Africa's Black/Black conflicts. As soon as dollars are made available for humanitarian aid to South Africa, there will be a veritable scramble by Black South Africans to lay their hands on that aid and to discredit others who are doing so.

It is a simple truth that Black organisation after Black organisation has come and gone and risen or fallen on the extent to which they could meet their operational costs out of donor agency funding. It is a simple truth that every dollar spent by Americans in Black South Africa among Black South Africans and through Black South Africans will take on one or more political colour in the country.

It is also true that donor agencies willy nilly are drawn into the role of king makers and arbiters between conflicting Black groups, and in this respect I think it is fundamentally important that Americans understand my own position and the position of Inkatha in this complex situation. The first point I want to make is that Inkatha, like every other Black organisation, desperately needs

funding for its self-help development programmes and community development programmes. We work among very impoverished people in circumstances in which the State has reneged on its responsibility to provide essential services and decent health care and community development. Not only does the State oppress Black South Africa politically but it taxes them without representation, and it devotes the resources of the State to fulfill apartheid ideals. Inkatha exists in this situation.

On my own doorstep in the Greater Durban Area, a scientific survey based on detailed aerial photographs and scientific field work has shown that there are something like 1.4 million Black South Africans living in squatter areas, with no decent sanitation, no decent refuse removal system, no health services, no roads or stormwater systems, no electricity, no schools and no formal community authority structures which could attend to the desperate needs of people like this. They live in shanties and hovels frequently made of bits of scrap tin and hardboard. There is on my own doorstep a virtual sea of human suffering. These vast concentrations of human suffering involving millions exist in many places in South Africa, and the bottom line response of the South African Government is that they have not assumed any responsibility for them in the past because, according to the dictates of apartheid and according to the dictates of influx control regulations, this sea of suffering humanity should not exist where they exist, and they must go away or continue to suffer.

Inkatha operates in situations such as these and we have a desperate need for support for our Inkatha Development Office, and for the health and welfare programmes run by our Women's Brigade and by our Youth Brigade. It is, however, a fundamental belief of Inkatha that the struggle for liberation in South Africa will only be won if we evolve a multi-strategy approach which extends the fight of apartheid across the broadest possible front. Our view is that no single organisation, no single set of aims and objectives, no single set of tactics and strategies attached to them, can even lead, let alone win, the struggle for liberation. Our plea is for Black unity based on even the minimal agreement in principle and practice. Inkatha has always held out a hand of friendship to every Black organisation on this basis.

This leads me to plead with Americans to avoid the pitfalls and tragic consequences of using humanitarian money selectively to fund one or another political faction in South Africa. Inkatha has never sought, nor will ever seek, funds by lobbying for the diversion of funds given to other organisations to itself. Every time a cent is given for humanitarian aid we are jubilant. Every dollar given to anybody for humanitarian and development work in South Africa encourages us. It is my plea to America that it evolves criteria for granting aid which is related to needs and opportunities. If there is a need which worries the American conscience and if there are circumstances of giving aid to fulfill that need, then Americans should give that aid to whomever is most

competent to maximise its benefit.

Across the length and the breadth of the Third World, there is history after history of squandered aid, mis-spent aid and aid which achieved no real purpose. Development work in desperately deprived societies is perhaps the most demanding of all work. We in Inkatha are deeply aware of how difficult the job is of tackling self-help development and getting desperately deprived communities to act in unison to pursue aims and objectives in development programmes which work.

It is in this context that last year when funds were withheld for a bursary scheme by the State Department from the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa, I told the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, that if Inkatha was a stumbling block to his organisation being given this money, he must inform Americans that Inkatha members would forego any benefits which might flow from the scheme to this organisation. I attach a copy of the telex which I sent to Dr. Chester Crocker in this regard to illustrate the point that I am making.

I like every other Black leader in the country see the political relevance of aid programmes. Black South Africa is involved in the struggle for liberation and it is the morally decent thing to do to give aid in such a way that progress in our struggle is enhanced. And I believe that it is incumbent upon those responsible in Washington who make decisions about government aid programmes so to grant aid that the struggle is strengthened in a manner which increases the prospect of achieving victory through non-violent, democratic means. I make this point having put all ideologies aside.

I face a situation in which the vast majority of the country's 22 million Blacks are dependent upon cash incomes for life itself. Something like half of all Blacks live in urban environments where they have to survive on wages, and the majority of Blacks living in rural areas, where there is a desperate pressure on natural resources by a population too large to be supported by agriculture, are equally dependent on cash incomes from members of their families who are fortunate enough to find work somewhere. This dependence on wages must be seen in the context of the massiveness of the poverty problem.

If Black South Africa struggles for its liberation and achieves ends at the expense of the country's productive capacity, we will have a hollow victory which will not be productive of any betterment of standards of living for the majority of the people. The whole range of factors in confrontationist politics aimed at creating urban violence, the armed struggle and all the tactics which go with the politics of violence, are championed by people whose naivety is alarming in their belief that it will be possible

after political victory to write a new social and political order on a slate that has been wiped clean. We have the dubious advantage in South Africa of being the last area in Africa to wage a struggle for liberation. We are taught by African experience to recognise that the way a people struggle for their liberation and the tactics and strategies they employ, and the aims and objectives they strive for, have so frequently set the scene for continued poverty and the kind of human desperation which makes sound government and social and economic planning impossible.

American aid should assist in the process of bringing about change through non-violent and democratic means. Americans should recognise that over 50 per cent of all Black South Africans are 15 years of age or younger and that this population bulge now approaching the market place is going to exacerbate every shortage of want that already exists. Vast backlogs in housing, education, essential services and health care will be made yet more vast.

American aid to South Africa can be an investment in decency and this investment portfolio, as it were, should be a balanced portfolio. Humanitarian aid should be given simply because there are desperate human needs. That is one area of investment in decency. Another area of investment in decency would be an investment in community development and the creation of the kind of infrastructure which is so essential for the best utilisation of incoming resources for both humanitarian purposes, and for the purposes of bringing about fundamental change. I ask particularly here that Americans assist in developing the kind of expertise we need in the evolution of self-help as a philosophy.

A third area Americans can invest in decency is the whole area of development and advancement of the more privileged members of Black society. Impoverished communities, peasants and workers and young and old will remain dependent on the achievements of the privileged few for a long time to come. Those who already have jobs must be assisted with job advancement programmes. Those who already have education must be assisted with higher education. Those who already have expertise in health, welfare and other essential services must have their expertise increased, and I believe that in this regard Americans could make a very telling contribution towards the process of change.

Americans should understand that even with a continuing growth rate which in terms of Western industrial norms is very high, it will take the majority of Black South Africans generations to achieve a decent standard of living and by decent, I am talking about a standard of living which is far lower than that enjoyed in affluent Western societies. We will have to maximise every opportunity for self-help development schemes, agrarian revolutions and industrial growth if South Africa is to progress towards the kind of future which is rewarding for the majority of the people. Even the maximum economic growth rate will be insufficient to enable us to

meet human needs - even fundamental needs for the foreseeable future. Any impairment to the growth rate of the economy will retard human development and magnify real suffering. If we are going to avoid the kind of violence which flows from desperate and unrelieved suffering, we will have to do everything in our power both to maximise the growth of the economy and to develop human skills amongst Blacks to sustain that growth.

I make the important point that South Africa has already passed the threshold beyond which Whites have become totally dependent on Blacks economically and beyond which every per centum of economic growth will vastly increase that dependency. There is a reciprocal dependency of Blacks on Whites and the interdependency of Black and White creates the circumstances in which the prospects for a negotiated settlement can only improve. Blacks are evolving power bases which Whites can only touch at their peril and it is now a matter of time before these bargaining bases are strengthened to give Blacks the kind of social, economic and political clout which is so essential in the negotiating situation where there must be a balance of advantages. There can be no negotiating in South Africa between weak Blacks and powerful Whites. Whites will negotiate only when Blacks are powerful and continued economic growth foretells of the continued growth of Black power.

Inkatha is a membership based organisation with a vast constituency of nearly a million paid-up members. The majority of Inkatha's members necessarily are workers and peasants and the bewildering array of demands flowing from the poverty of my people impinge on my daily life. My involvement with ordinary people, the closeness of their desperation to me, the greatness of their need, makes it impossible for me to indulge in flights of Utopian fancy and for me rules out luxurious ideological stances. I am saddled with real responsibility. I am an elected leader of this vast Inkatha constituency and because Inkatha is deeply democratic, the policies I pursue have necessarily to be the policies of the people.

Inkatha's supreme decision-making body is its Annual General Conference to which I have to report what I have done each and every year. I have to stand before Conference, which is attended by thousands of delegates drawn from all walks of life and from a wide range of areas, and be judged by Conference. I therefore have mechanisms of consultation and mechanisms through which I am directed by the people. I do nothing of which Conference does not approve, and the policies and aims and objectives to which I am committed, are the policies and aims and objectives enunciated by the people.

Not only am I directed by Conference but I am guided by people's responses at mass meetings which I hold regularly. In Soweto, which is the heartland of industrial South Africa where there is the largest concentration of urban Blacks in the country, my mass meetings are attended by people in their tens of thousands. When

therefore I say Black South Africa wants non-violent change and wants to become involved in the politics of negotiation and that we see our future as best being secured through the free enterprise system, I am speaking on behalf of a great many people.

It is to me ironic that to date the Western world has given more to those involved in the politics of confrontation and even violence and to those who talk so glibly about a future socialist state or a worker state, than they have given to Black organisations which are dictated to by the realities which make Western industrial ideals the ideals of the greatest utility in our circumstances.

Lest I sound negative, and lest it not be recognised that what I am saying is inspired by faith that America is doing something and can do more, let me add that I am very grateful for what already has been done. I am grateful that there is a real awakening of American concerns about South Africa. I am grateful for the heightened debate about South Africa which is now taking place. I am grateful that Congress is now actively considering stepping up its aid programme to Black South Africa. I think Congress has been wise in selecting education as something it can and should support. I am grateful for the very substantial support which has been forthcoming from the United States for famine and drought relief in South Africa, and I am grateful for the contribution which American companies have made because of the lobbies of concerned people here in job advancement and the advancement of union rights for Blacks.

In terms of total needs, however, what has been given is I hope only the beginning of a long working relationship between America and Black South Africa.

To conclude I want to return to a Black South African political issue, and this is the issue of Inkatha being stigmatized as a tribal group and my leadership being stigmatized as a leadership role in support of apartheid. The first observation I want to make is that Black ethnicity is irrelevant to ordinary Black South Africans. Black people who labour together, suffer together and live together in South Africa, also strive together for political ideals. Black South Africans are aware that apartheid is no respecter of Black ethnicity. All the monstrous apartheid legislation applies to every Black. It is too seldom recognised that the obnoxious homeland policy of the South African Government has a coin with two sides. The substance of the coin is that in terms of legislation, every Black wherever he or she may be, whether he or she may like it or not, is formally and officially a member of one or another so-called homeland. And this side of the coin is stamped by apartheid with so-called homelands, and the other side of the coin is stamped by apartheid by various urban structures. Soweto is a construct of apartheid. It was built and located where it is for ideological reasons. KwaZulu was a sovereign independent state before White colonial conquest and the fragmentation of KwaZulu and its dismemberment to give Whites prime

land and ports is the work of apartheid. People living in Soweto as much as people living in KwaZulu suffer under the yoke of apartheid. Ordinary Blacks do not perceive politics in terms of Black ethnicity.

The second thing I want to say is that regionality in politics in South Africa is inevitable. The Committee of Ten, whatever its influence in Soweto is, has virtually no relevance anywhere else in the country. AZAPO is primarily a Witwatersrand based political organisation and it exercises influence within apartheid-demarcated areas. The refusal to recognise the importance of regionality in tactics designed to oppose apartheid led to circumstances in which the South African Government could lead the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei up the primrose path to so-called independence. KwaZulu would by now have been manipulated into so-called independence had I and Inkatha not waged a fierce and successful battle against apartheid in KwaZulu. I cannot apologise for this, nor need I apologise for the fact that the Zulus were the only people to have fought a full-scale war against the full might of the British army, and of all the so-called homelands, KwaZulu is the only area in which the people rejected so-called homeland machinery outright.

I led them into that rejection and KwaZulu is the only place where homeland machinery had to be introduced by the force of law, and every Black South African who carries a pass and who lives in Soweto or anywhere else, knows that the force of law is a reality. I do not have to apologise for the fact that when this machinery of so-called homelands was forced on us, the people turned to me to lead them through the difficult years ahead. They knew that through my father I trace my descent back to generals, advisers and prime ministers of successive Zulu Kings. They knew that I was a product of history and not a product of apartheid. They had seen me campaign against apartheid and against the introduction of so-called homelands. They chose me to lead them through the labyrinth of explosive issues they were facing. I have led them through those issues without shame, and I have never betrayed the trust that they placed in me, and I have never departed from the noble principles on which the African National Congress was founded in 1912.

Inkatha is a vast organisation. In fact it is the largest Black political constituency ever to have arisen in the history of the country. It is a blatant political lie to call it a tribal organisation "working within the system." Inkatha is also the dominant political force in the Transvaal for all but Inkatha opponents and the ill-informed media. It was only in November last year that I held a rally in Soweto attended by more than 35 000 people, whereas Bishop Tutu can at best organise meetings of a couple of thousand people. The United Democratic Front's constituent member organisations are also dominated by regionality.

pudding is the membership of it. Politics is about realities and one of the starkest realities in South Africa is that membership-based constituency politics is one of the levers which Black society so desperately needs. Others attack me because they have failed in this regard. Inkatha is at the centre of the South African political gravity. It is a tough, well-organised, durable organisation there to stay. Black unity is desperately needed and Inkatha labours to produce Black unity on the basis of a multi-strategy approach and shared tactics and strategies on even minimal agreements.

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